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Worthy Sir !

I rec: yr dated Nove: 26 on Jan: 24 wch was very
wellcome I being out of hope of an answere to ye question
wch I h: put to many but could never get an ans: till
now, I shall yr see wt I can say to ye particulars of yr
lre & first yu h: very fully satisfied me as to affections &
I am very much convinced yt ye body is a great helpe or hin-
derance I h: since yr last observed some yt are very full
of affect: & h: bin ready to take discouragmt: to my selfe
yt some new come in h: more zeale then I & seeme to
h: more love to god but I then rem: ye tree wch put me
in minde yt it was soe wth me at first convers: & I see though
yt some are soe high in yr affect: yet are not lasting but
somt: are downe agin wch makes me be better content wth
a constant solid temper yt may keepe me in a way of obedi:
waiting for extasies till I come to ye full injoyment of Xt
in whose sight will be ravishing to all Eternity. as to ye quest.
I shall give ye reall sense of my ♡ as far as I know any
thing of it & I thinke I may say wth confidence yt I could
pt wth all estate & be content to live wth bread & water if
it should come in competition wth Xt I h: oft put ye case
to my selfe, & wn I h: bin in places amongst friends where yr
hath not bin such order in yr families nor ye injoyments of yt wch h
in ordin: I h: much rejoyced in my portion & though I h: seene
yu h: wt I could wish in outwards yet I h: thought I would
not live amongst yu or in yr fine habitations noe not for 100l
a day be tied to continue amongst yu in ye want of yts better
things I h: bin put to my choise & yet h: willingly chosen rather
to live here farre from friends & in noe pleasant country because
the plentifull injoy: of ordinances makes up all ye wants & ye
good ministry makes me value it more then all yr intrest I h
here. & for returning to my former estate sure I would not doe
it for ye whole world noe though I cannot serve god soe well
as I would yet I will doe it as well as I can I will not willingly
commit any sin or chuse any sinfull way yt I know to be soe
& doubtles I would be rid of ye remnants of sin else they
would not be soe burthensome to me. where gifts are joyned
wth grace ye make a Xian much more serviceable but I had rather
chuse ye least sparke of grace then ye greatest gifts god ever
bestowed wth ye absence of grace. I conclude my selfe to be
guilty of ye fault yt I looke too much at wt I want & to little
at wt I receive but I take ye chiding soe well yt I will endea-
vour to mend I can be very well content wth any chiding
to chide me out of any thing yts sinfull, I would not grati-
fy ye divell in any thing yt would argue me out of many
things for I would be sure to avoid any thing yt pleaseth
him for yt ever pleaseth him displeaseth god & wrongs my
selfe. for my melan: temper its more constant then ever as
yu say yt long trouble brings soe it is by me for I thinke its
not my naturall temper, wch was from a child cheery & a kind
of even quiet contented frame never much lifted up wth
any outward thing, in ye midst of all my troubles I was never
subiect to discontent nor am not but all turnes to greefe & ys
yt knew me in my greatest troubles will testify me for yt yt I never
spake a repining word against god but still acknowledged all to
be just & soe still if he should never give me a good looke againe
I would very feigne be rid of my melan: its a great burthen to
me & noe delight I see its noe helpe in religion or any holy duty
but a great hinderance & makes ye person fit subiect for Satan
to tempt & yt things will make me hate it I thinke indeed it is
a great cause of my want of sensibility because I find it makes
me as unfit for any thing of ye world yt I delight not in any
thing not in ye company of friends or in any comforts. as for
my calling I find busines enough for h: a great family many
children & wt things must be looked after & out of pure
consc: I doe very much stir about in yt imployment though
it would suit better wth my nature to set & read all day
yet since god hath called me to such affaires its my duty
to follow ym & in yt respect I strive not to neglect my calling
though many a time I goe about my house & amongst my
Servts wn I had rather locke my selfe up in a roome alone
amongst my bookes. for meditation I never knew it my duty
till I read yr Rest. & then setting on it found it very hard

wanting inlargments & skill in it thinking it nothing if not done in some measure according to yr rules wch made
me leave it off after I was not quiet & resolved to take it up agayne yet still neglected & was as much troubled a
bout it as about admonition wch th: I told & he pressed me much to it I bid him aske yu about it wn he was last
wth yu it seemes he forgot, I would as willingly be excused from yt duty as any but yet would alsoe performe
it too as well as I could if it be my duty for I am for sanning all sin & performing all duty I h: of late take
it up agayne but find noe great benefit by it any duty comes yt heavily if yr be noe inlargments in it. [illegible]

makes me desire to be much alone is because I find yt busines &
company take up my thoughts to much from better matters yt I
cannot suddainly compose ym & bring into order, agayne alsoe I find
yt imployment doth much prevent melan: but then it keepes ou
other good thoughts too & puts my ♡ much out of frame for secre
duties. now I shall say noe more but only give yu an instance of ye
maine case wch is I complaine soe much for want of strength of grace
& its thus I am apt to set my affect: to much upon hus: & children
soe yt I cannot come to a willingnesse to pt wth ym nor to beare those
thoughts & yt sin of inordinate affection I h: long greeued under &
prayed agaynst & yet cannot prevaile over it though I striue much
nt to let out my affection to ym soe yt I forbeare much of yr company &
converse wth ym for feare of being taken in yt snare, & yet I thinke I cou
most freely & willingly give ym up to martyrdome in a cleare case
wr yy must either sin or suffer; but yu shall see ys affection to be t
much by ye working of it upon any dangerous desease coming into ye town
as ye small pox &c: tn am I presently carried away wth such feare for
my children yt I am presently surprized wth greefe as really as if they
wr sicke & past hope of recovery though I h: oft experienced gods pre-
servation of ym from yt desease & in others yt h: bin neere of kin to
it, & wn once yy are sicke I am sicke too & in such a feare of yr death
yt I can neither eate nor sleepe, & in ys case I doe much condemne my
selfe & it greeves me yt carnall peo: shd see it yt I shd soe blemish religi
& yt yos yt h: noe principles should goe soe far beyond me in trusting god
in ys cases I can & alsoe doe say much to my selfe yt ys is not ye way t
keepe ym but to loose ym to bring yt wch I feare & yt god can preserve
ym in any desease & my giving ym up is ye way to have ym backe agay
& many other arg: I use but at ye present nothing will prevaile but I
am cleare carried away wth passion others chide me & argue wth me but a
is alike yet in all ys passion suffer noe words but only cry & feare & gree
as if it wr as I feare & then wn its a little past yt either yy are n: sicke
or are recovered tn I greeve most of all yt I shd thus greeve & thus
offend god & I am soe ashamed of it & soe troubled at it yt I know n
wt to doe & ys corrupt: have I prayed for strength against many
a yeare & used all meanes & waies about it yt I know & to my con-
stant greefe cannot at all prevaile I could suffer much to conque
here yt I might but come to such a frame to resigne up all to god
to submit to his will in every dispensation & since I lost a child
yt I know yt it is I have bin worse now wt can yu say to ys case for
now yu know ye worst yt I know by my selfe, & I am ashamed yt
I h: soe oft troubled yu but truly ye great reason hath bin bec
yu are a stranger to me & I thinke yu will deale more faithfully
wth me for I am many times afraid my neighbors yt know me are
apt to thinke me far better tn I am & soe speake according
to yr thoughts of me being too much byased by affection, yt
sir if yu can afford any time to ans: ys I desire yu to please
to send yt to London by ye carrier directed to mr John
Wright Stationer at ye Kings head in ye little old Baily
in London for soe I send ys to yu it being ye safest way I
have noe more at present to trouble yu wth but my serv

Ap: 29: 57:

I sildome set my name to
tres where my hand is knowne
& I suppose yu can tell who ys
comes from.

LETTERS

Fol. 4 . of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

ffor Mr Richard Baxter Teacher of these
the church at Kederminster
in
Worcestershire

LETTERS
fol. 5. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Sir 2

I shall trouble yu wth as breefe an account as I can of passages since I saw yu I have sad cause to say yt I went from home very bad & am come home 40 times worse I have found to true wt yu writ once to me yt generally Xians doe not make it much of yer busin: to looke after yer hts; I did n: expect much among yu I went fearing disapointmt but I found n: so much as I expected, I ws in hope yt I might h: reaped some benefit by converse wth yu wch as I had cause to say I am wounded in ye house of my friends I was a wonder & a reproach amongst ym fr noth: yt I know of but desiring to live more strickly some sd it ws as much sin to do more yn ws required as to do lesse & brought yt text be n: righteous over much, & yt it ws a sin to desire to be dissolved &c: recreat: liberty fine apparell & such th: wr much pleaded fr & visiting vaine gallants & such company we oft had & some papists alsoe, wn we had any good discourse we never agreed. [illegible] common-prayer booke ws cryed up & formes of prayer in fam: & congregation much pleaded fr wn yu wr instanced yt yu used a constant forme of prayer verbatim on ye Lds day before sermon, I discerned no such th: wn I ws yr, we did so much differ in opinion yt I saw it ye best way to leave of all discourses of ys nature, & greeved to see such an alteration fr I am sure its yee yt h: changed yer opin: & n: I but ys is ye fruit of living under a dead miny & ys is ye life & zeale yts got by formes of pray: in fam: wch ws often used, I am much more out of conceite wth formes yn ever (tho I hold ym lawfull in some cases) bec: I saw plainly yt ys th: did much flatten my spt & abate my zeale before I came away, I lamented ye altera: to Mr Woodb: wn I had conveniency to speake to him fr its a very rediculous th: in ys pts to speake wth a minr some told me I need never aske a minr abt any th: fr ye scripture ws full to satisfy every one yt searched into it, & yt privat conferrence wth a minr ws much worse yn gaming or mixed dauncing or bare breasts or spoting painting &c & more pbability of ill to come yr by yn by any [illegible] of ye other thi: above mentioned; I could n: but see a great deale of pride to be ye ground of crying downe discourse wth minrs bec: ye same psons wd consult wth Phy: & lawyer or sit alone to discourse wth any great pson & make no scruple of it but they looke on minrs as ys yt are below ym & wr it a Bishop I suppose such might be conferr'd wth & no question made of it. most of ye gentry of England are now come to be of ys straine we see n: such th: in ys country but I see its so abroad almost every wr, & some are so much agt yer power yt ye run as far as yy can ye other way & stand up fr yt wch yy fought agt. all ys is but to give yu some hint how th: are abroad & wt a sad time I had. I will now tell yu how I went fm yu wrby yu may see yu wr n: so unprofitable as yu thinke fr I continued abt a weeke after in a most heavenly frame, & pray: so as I ws refreshed wth it fm duty to duty I did yn so much desire to dye yt I found it very hard to be content to live, I wondered wt ws become of ye devill yt I heard noth: of him all yt time, but I see yt ys ws a great meanes to carry me through ye disturbances I met wth, wt yu sd to me concerning asking blessing I could not call to minde nr yt yu bid me say to ym if yer wr any dispute abt it, but I did it to my mo: as it ws expected & done by others twice a day, but if ever yu see Mr Woodb: he can tell yu wt past being present wn she spoke to me of it wth great fury & indignation bec: tho I did it, yet I did n: affirme it to be an incumbent duty so constantly, I ws under displeasure of ye parent most of ye time I ws yr & had fm her many hard speeches wch much greeved me because I suffered fr desiring to be soe holy as I ws taken to be & n: fr being so really.

I saw Mr Woodbr: after I writ last to yu told him I wd write after I came hom yt I had writ but I promised him to send him word if you sd any thing of him for I told him I wd writ somth: yt I was confident wd make ~~[illegible]~~ you desireous to see him yt truth is I am very desireous you shd be acquainted & did ~~[illegible]~~ resolve to promote it & oft: wished you had sent a word in yr lre in ans: to wt I writ bec: I promised him wn I heard from you I wd write to him if you sd any th: to him & yl rather do I desire you shd see him bec: I sup: it might be a meanes to get him neerer to you for he told me he had thoughts of leaving Newbury in refference to his health wch he thinkes living so neere ye water dos impaire & some other causes, but he was desireous to h: yor opinion in it he, told me he wd take a living of much lesse value within some few miles of you then in another place, & I was willing to bring him into or pts if ~~[illegible]~~ I could & asked him wt he wd desire he sd not under 120 ~~[illegible]~~ per-an but neere you lesse, he much complns for want of some minr to aske councell of for saith he I am a young man of 4 or 5 & 30 & yet all ye minrs come to me wn I h: more neede of advice of some other wch wd be ye ground of his going to you to aske ~~[illegible]~~ you abt severall things yt I say yt you may know upon wt ground I writ ye former & yt you may returne some ans: to be ye ground of my lre to him to disingage me of my promise he is indeede a man of excell: pts & piety & very merry wch you dislike not in Xians, & much good hath he done in ye place wr he is.

bec: you thought I looked n: enough after my fam: I employ my selfe more in it then before tho I cannot find its to more purpose ~~[illegible]~~ I h: made my obs: abroad, to see wt yee do & wt yee get or save yrby & yet can: but with thankf: say yt god here having provided me consc: servts I plnly see yt yrs lesse wast then in ye places I h: bin in, but 2 th: I see to be ye cause why such ~~[illegible]~~ as we are so busy in yrs th: ye one is want of forecast to contrive busin: orderly & to have some method wrby things may be done, in right time & manner ye want of wch brings much confusion in a fam: & multiplyes busin: to no purpose & ye other is ye great love yee have to be plunged in worldly busin: bec: ye delight in it yt I h: seene yt some much cry ot yt yee must not neglect yer fam: wn I see ye make busin: & invent & contrive unnecessary businesse because yer delight is so to spend yer time & yet I h: heard yes complⁿ for want of time to pray & heare & read by ~~[illegible]~~ reas: of yer fam: employmt wn it was very evident yee might h: time enough for yos th: if yee did delight in ym as much as in ye other wch through ye deceit of yer h yee have used as a lawfull excuse yt I have seene & observed & know yt ye devill can take advantage both waies, but yet yr is a diff: betw: ym yt must worke wth yr owne hands & yt yt are only overseers having servants enough to do yer work as we h: yr. no more desired of me by my hus: nr needed in my fam: ~~[illegible]~~ except, for physick wch I trust no other hands wth & to satisfy you in yt wch I endeavor to do my pt in.

ye effect of my being soe long in such company has occasioned a temp to me to live more carlesly, I through gods mercy yeeld n: to it for sure I love a strickt life better I thinke, but yet I am much perplext abt it bec: I know n: how to ans: it for it runs thus you see such & such wt liberty yee take in meat drinke sleepe apparell recreations fine buildings & any thing yt makes for delight or pleasure yt don not for a world but say yee are godly knowing you of old so well yt yee keepe close in ye maine yee shall go to heaven as well as you tho you take more paines & abridge yr selfe of yr liberty &c: yt most prevailes upon me wn I read & pray &c: to no purpose I find no com nr any th: but discouragmts then I am apt to be troubled yt yer way to heaven is so easy & mine so hard.

but ye maine ~~[illegible]~~ th: yt I intended to write abt is prayeng
somth: I sd to yu abt it & shall now say more fr it is a subiect I
could continually talke about finding comfort &c & how much as I
enjoy in ye duty; alas how unwilling am I to goe to yt duty bec: I pform
it so ill & find no benefit by it, I doubt I shall want ~~words~~ to ex
presse my selfe concerning it, most of my pray: may be called dullnes
& distr: I am oft more fit to sleepe tn to pray & wn its of I am so
pittyfully distracted yt somt: I am ready to thinke I had better leave
of ye duty tn continue it in ye manner yet I goe on wth all my dis
couragmts out of pure obedience wthout finding any benefit, I can be seri
ous in any th: but pray: & medit: but distra: takes my h quite away
fm ys duties, I told yu I used to pr medit: wt to pray it did me some good
tn by helping me to some words but now it doth me no good if I do
so I can say no more tn I h: iust before thought ~~[illegible]~~ & tho ye
using words wn I have convenient place be ye greatest helpe I h: found
agst distr: yet it doth not helpe me so as it hath done, but besides
all ys I am so tied up & strait: in my spt yt I frequently come into
gods psence, & have not a word to say know not wt to pray for wth
any affect: I want both expression & affection could I but discribe
ye my temt as I feele it sure yu wd very much pitty me &
helpe me if yu can, its iust true wth me as Mr Cobbet saith in his trea
tise of pray yt for distr: & slightnes in pray: god doth many times by degrees
take away ye gift, its iust so yt it has not alwaies bin thus time wa I yt
n: much above a yeare ago wn I h: thought long to get to pray: h:
bin glad wn yer & not wanted either express: or affect: I h: had such im
med: assist: yt before me sent: wa uttered another wa ready I neede n:
h: cared who had heard me tho now I wd be loath ye least child I h:
shd heare my pray: I h: tn had such delight in it yt I h: thought an
houre but a short time I h: come away so refreshed yt I h: bin cheer=
full all day after & h: had so much love to god yt I thought I could
pt wth any th: fr him & h: had such frequent ans: of pray: yt h:
bin much incouragmt to me in going on in yt duty but now all ys is gone
quite gone & I am every day worse tn other in ys duty, my pray: are
not ans: at all not one pray: yt I can find ans: it may be some others
pray: for me are ans: but not mine fr my selfe, its true as yu say
yt a pray: is n: lost wr yers no psent returne, but are gods pray: heard
wr yer is no returne at all, how many yeares h: I pray: agst distr: in
duty & had got a great victory over ym, but fr ys last yeare I h: bin
so overwhelmed wth ym yt I thinke now I shall never conquer, I must
n: expect to h: all pray: ans: but wn I see yt non at all it must needes much
trouble me I am upon ys account very much under ye power of ys
tempt: yt sure yers n: such efficacy in prayer as is sd to be I cannot
get ys thought of bec: I n: only pray: my ~~[illegible]~~ selfe (wch I reckon nothing)
but I know I h: many pcious prayers fr me by others (tho I deserve ym
not) wch wd gaine prevaile if prayer be so prevalent or else at best I
must conclude my selfe ye soule undisposed fr mercy. god doth not
deny all ye prayers of his owne people & yt so constantly & continu
ally, sure now god has quite forsaken me I find not his psence in
any th: I do yu cannot beleeve how much worse I am growne I
am decaying as fast as can be & I doubt shall end in iust nothing
I cannot thinke good thoughts as formerly & even to will is wanting
yt I h: not such desire to thinke good thoughts as I have had
I strive to live cheerfully bec: yu bid me but I see no cause my life
is my burthen by reason of ys th: & I am many times troubled to
thinke wt if I shd live another 30 yeare how shd I be able to passe
in such continuall sorrow by reason of my sptll wants ye above
mentioned ys are ye th: yt make me willing to die, if ye will
but mend ym, fr truly of late I am ready to give up all my
hopes I h: much ado to keepe ym but I resolved to write to yu
first & to follow yr advice about it & so h: only ld ym aside I
dare not make use of yt assurance I told yu of I much question ye
truth of it & fr yes are n: ye fruits of true assur: I asked yu if
yu thought it wa true it came so suddenly & as I rem: yu made
me no ans: & now I thinke of yt, & indeede am iust ready to count it
a meere delusion I shewed yu ~~[illegible]~~ some leaves in my dia: I am

much ashamed read: ym over since I find yy: n: writ sence but
it is n: so much matter it may be fr want of some words or minding
but I doubt now its not truth & all a delusion I thought it truly
fr ye such comforts I had but know not whence yt came; ye weeke
I ment: in ye lre wch I went from yu I thought sure now god wod
heare my pray: fr I was confid: I loved X more wth some freed
from distr: in pray: &c I began to hope I had got some ~~comfort~~ strength by
ye Sacramt but now I thinke I am deceived in all. I am sure
I do n: love deare X so well as I did fr, nr thinke of him so
oft, nr wth yt affection, & shd yr be a Sacra: now I shd not go
to it I dare not fr I do really & apparently grow worse after
yn, certainly I get not any good by ye ordinance & is not yt a
sad & most deplorable condition to get no good either in dutys
or by ordinances, I know n: wch way to passe my life in ye man
ner. Mr Woodb: wn he preached wth us sd it was one fr a marke
of true assur: if it stayed wth us in times of afflict: but mine
has alw: bin leaving me fr wn I h: had great sorrowes & trialls
I could very hardly hold my confidence, god is seldm pres: wth
me in afflict: wn I h: outward discomforts I h: n: inward comf:
many times & yrf: I may conclude mine false still.
I will tell yu a story of my praying wch non in ye world knowes
but ye ptys concerned & it was ye wn I was in Berksh: Sir Jo: Cur
sons daughter my Co: Archer who is ye mirror of yt family came thi
ther wth wm I had much good converse she pray: twice wth me alon
having most admirable gifts & indeede graces answerable but
before she went she heard her only child & son was sicke wch much
greeved her I going wth her into her chamber she so earnestly de
sired me to pray wth her yt out of love & ingenuity & pitty I could
n: refuse yt I was unwilling to grant, though I was very loth to
make such aventer as I never made before yet ye case being
thus I resolved to trust god & went into ye next roome a very little
desire his helpe & assist: & did beleeve he wod give it now I
was so suddenly surprized & did wholly depend on him but it
proved otherwaies & a pittyfull businesse I made of it & much a
shamed I was but she was willing to take it as an act of love & to
conclude all faults yrin to be feare being ye first venture, she
may trust me or any else hereafter fr praying wth yu, but yt
did extreamly sadden my spt bec: I did so wholly depend on
god & he forsooke me then I h: gathered many arguments agt
my selfe from yt wch will not soone weare of & yt is ye ground
of my writing yis to yu wch is knowne to non else but she & I.
now to say somth: to yr lre wch I rec: abt a weeke after you
writ it & h: ans: somth: already it was some comfort to me &
fr 3 or 4 dut: after I read yr lre first & pray: wth many tears, I
wd be very willing to change pray: wth yu if I could, I beleeve
verily had I yr dullnes & all ye imperfections of yr pray: I shd
thinke ym comfortable duties alas mine are far worse I know
yrs: I shd be thankfull if yrs were like yrs, wn yu were speaking to m
yt sd yu was dull & yt so yu preached but I found it not so & I wo
not wrong my selfe was it as well wth me, & fr ye profitablenes to
me it was very much it may be it might have bin more had yr
bin more time yt could have bin allowed on both sides, I have
wished we had but had some prayers & sung a psalme tog
yt if I had right in yr chamber of comfort so yt might have la
ed as long as I lived for I will not wrong god if I know it
but I have still ye mercy of almost constant comfort in sing
ing ps: but pray Sir tell me how I shall know from wt my
comforts come for yu know ye devill can put us into extas
& inlarge us in prayer too yrfore it wr good if it wr disc
nable to me; I am sorry to trouble you so much as to be
in another sheete fr I have more time. to

writ then yu haue to read pray forgiue me ys wrong
I neuer so much troubled yu wth writing before nr I hope
shall h: ye like occasion agn, I forgot to tell yu wn I spake
of my pray: wth my Co: & my great discouragmts how it fell
ot within 3 daies after Jues: Jul: 6: wch I Loue to rem:
fr yt morn: in my secret pray wn I began I ws very un
willing to ye duty fearing it wd be after ye usuall manner
but wth ye very first word my h began to be raised & so I
went on fr an houre wthot distr: or dullnes &c: & full of
express: & att in heauen all ye time very much assisted very
much inlarged full of ioy all day after, & my very h aked
at night fr feare yt duty shd not be so I had neuer such
since ye I tooke to be ye benefit of yr pray: & prayed very
htily fr yt pty yt had pvailed fr ye duty fr me, I sup: yu
rec: my ~~last~~ tre iust ye Sat: before & yrslf: thought you
pray more earnestly fr me, another benefit I supposed to
be by yr pray: is my great freedm fm yt temptan to feare
in my dutys wch I bles god I h: bin tottally free fm since
I went fm yu except once wn at Donington I went to pray
fr conueniency & distance in my old chamber wch is only
left ouer ye gate yet, & ye place being so dismall did occasion
ye tempta: wch in hindered me fr making use of ye good
frame I ws in; yr tre giues me good incouragmt to pray fr
others bec: ye may be disposed fr mercy & so I may be heard
fr ym wn ye n: fr me nr I fr my selfe, & yet sure if we
could pray feruently fr others we might pvaile bec: ye
feruent prayer of a righteous man &c: I resolued much wn
wth yu to liue more thankfully in ye sense of gods Loue
then euer I had done but I h: done little ye way because
I am ready to doubt of it & so suspend such actes till I
h: aduice fm yu wt to do or thinke abt it, I hope wt yu
preached wn I ws yr will be printed in time yt I may h: ye
direct: to liue thankf: wch I missed in & much wished fr
in ye meane time I wish I had ym fr I know yu use n: to leaue
yr sabiects yu preach on wthot direct: how to pforme wt yu
presse, wn I told yu I had n: had much ioy of yt assur: I had
yu sd we might h: more extasies & ioyes if we wd I wish
yu wd tell me how.
now sir I desire yu wd n: thinke yt tre to pceede fm melan:
or any tempta: fr tis reall ye th: in it are too true & doe
much pplex my spt & discourage me else I wd n: thus h:
troubled yu fr yes are th: yt I impt but to yu & mr Porter & in
deed wt he or my owne hus: saith I thinke is but ot of too good
an opinion of me n: yt ye purposely flatter but seeing my
otward actions iudge accordingly but I cannot make ym un
derstand how bad my h is now yu see n: so much of my ot
side & I wd feigne helpe yu to see ye worst of my h yt yu might
iudge impartially & besides I know yu are more used to such
cases & doubtles must yrslf: be more expert so yt I can rely
more upon yr word, tho I ws taught in B: shire to beleeue
no body fr yee say wt neede we read any other booke but]
script: ys full & no bookes yt yee regard if ye margent be not
full of script: coatations. yes th: I h: writ about are n: triffling
yrslf: I desire yr helpe & beg a tre fm wch I shall be very glad
of tho I can neither write to yu nr desire ye same fm yu wth out
some regret by reason of yr manyfold busineses, I wish yr tre
might be as long as mine fr I am glad to see yu to ye bottome
of ye leafe & sorry yu turne not ouer because euery word

[illegible] ye purpose if could tell yu large stories how god h
blessed yr tres to me every one of ym wch wd n: disco
age yu fm writing to me. I thanke yu fr mr Herb: Poems
I wr much affected in ye reading & especially at yt place
me not love the if I love yee n: yt put me into a very goo
praying frame wch I seldm arrive at wr I n: somt: how spd
survive but its very seldm. I thinke its time now to have
done wth my owne concernmts, & I shall yrfore say a word o
yrs wch is to tell yu yt it much troubles me to see yu are soe m
taken up through ye cavills of others, I have bin in constant ex
pect: of ye peece coming ot wch wr so forward wn I wr yr yt y
had it printed sent downe but now I heare it is come wth 2
more of controversy yt I sup: hindered it, I wr much greeve
in yrs pts wr I wr to heare of so many writing agst yu becau
I know yr ans: ym wd hinder ye good worke yu h: in hand &
much spend yr selfe to be so over burdened I heard yt mr
Woodb: wd h: ans: Barlow if yu had not, but yu must neede
destroy yr selfe if yt are but one man ans: many & truly
yu wr never so willing to dye I know no warrant yu h: to kill y
selfe, could yu but come to so much selfe-deniall as to let
ym say yt ans: n: because yu wr n: able to do it yu might spar
yr selfe, else ye case wch be iust like mr Sims who underto
so much busines yt he overthrew his health by & being not able
to go through it lost his life by ye way, I absolutly conclude yt y
Devill sets ye pens on worke agt yu bec: he knowes it will hin
der yt good worke yu have in hand or bring yu to yr end wch
is his designe yt yu might do ~~[illegible]~~ him no more hurt, let
me intreat yu to take more care of yr selfe yt as yr design
is to do good yu may h: ye liberty to go in ye way wr yu may
do most, wt I h: writ of yt yu will not take amisse if yu doe
but seriously consider fr wt end I write yt will make yu put a
candid interpretation upon it. I shall thinke it long till yr fa
ily directory is in hand fr I much desire to see yt peece. but
fr put: yu to too much trouble I wd intreat yu to send me
ye names of all ye bookes & sheetes yt yu h: printed fr I intend t
read ym all fr some reasons or else let me know who can tell
me to save yu ye labour. I h: ye rest & of ye gift h: yr 32 di
rect: & yt of conversion & ye call to ye unconverted ws I read sho
wth much pfit wn I ws fm home, ye ~~[illegible]~~ titles of others I know not
except yt size ser: & yt of Iudgmt & setting light by X yrs I have also

I wd also intreat yu to name some place in London whether
I may send tres to be conveyed to yu & fm I shall direct yu how
to send yrs to me ye carrier brings ym safe to mr Wr: & yu come also
speedily to me, but I doubt of late yrs to me are opened & how
mine come to yu I know not, yrf: I h: chosen to send ys fr safe
ty & a more speedy ans: by ye bearer who going a great pt of ye
way yt very desireous I wd send her ye rest, I thinke if she
wr like to get any th: fm her sister Howard she wd gee to her
she can tell yu how she has dealt wth her. I hope ye bearer h
yt is really godly, we have all or faults but I dare n: question
her truth of grace.
supposing yr father yet living I shall send yu word of a medi=
cine yt much eases ye stone & wasts it away it has done great
cures & I h: seene somwt yr of since I went whethr it has given
very much ease & is only mellilot water dranke wth a little sugar
[illegible] a [illegible] at a time every evening constantly. fr my selfe I
take [illegible] my paines are n: extreame violent [illegible] my fre=
quent paines make me thinke of death but my frequent sins
cause [illegible] to desire death; I will not fr shame detaine yu any
longer fm better employmt but desire ye [illegible] temporall welfare wt

if yu can take order how ~~to~~ I may send lres to yu
I shall be accountable to ye ptys for wtever yee lay out
about ym; wt I ws I heard much commenda: of ye Lady
Rous by some yt knew her & saw yu yt I knew not yt
she ws so lately dead but I am ye more sorry since I
saw yu for had she bin still living I shd ha: bin ambitious
to h: bin acquainted wth her yt by ye by I might have seene
yu somtimes.

I must give yu a little account of last Lds day wch was
extreame dull wth me my pray: wr most of yu feares for
my dullnes I oft thinke of a passage [illegible] Mr Newcomes prayer
wn he ws here, Ld let us not be mi[illegible] for pfessors &
damned for hipocrites, I somtimes feare it may be my case
I delight much in sing: yos sutable ps: to my condit: as:
begin: of 63 & yt in 145 I thinke for thy name sake wth quick
ning grace alive doe thou me make &c: yes are my greatest
comforts, I will breake of abruptly for ys is all by ye
by I know not well how I came to write it.

Mr Gell, I must follow yr method in answer to yrs, but with necessitated brevity. 1. Yr observation of ye delusions & vanity of such as you have bin among, & ye enmity to holynes in ye most, must tell you wt God hath done for you, in yt hee left you not in those societies, to bee drowned in vanity & malignity of mind as well as others. Wt would you take to bee in their case? & wt thanks doe you then owe to him yt hath delivered you? And it must remember you ye more compassionately to mind them in yr prayers; especially yr own relations; & I desire mr Woodbridge to deale plainly with them, & tell them of their errors, & get some convincing books into their hands.

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¶ 2. For wt you note of ye ill effects of formes of prayer, noe doubt but it is too true with most: but yt such minds as those would bee formall one or other way too: & a wise & holy person can make better use of formes (tho: they less need them): & in some cases they are most fitt. ¶ 3. As to ye report of my using a forme yt hee saith I never once used one publickly or privately since I was 17 or 18 years of age [illegible] except ye Lds prayer & except yt I used much of ye publick Liturgy in ye congregation ye first yeare & halfe of my Ministry. And I find my selfe ~~[illegible]~~ of late disposed in secret to end with ye Lds prayer, as having a perfect method & satisfactory comprehensivenes of all yt I had omitted.

¶ 4. About their speaking to a Minister yr observation is very good: if it had bin a Ld Bishop, they would have easily yeelded to it, & gloryed in it. they know not yt it is ye Ministers office to oversee each member of ye flock, & to bee a stated Visitor for mens salvation, for all to goe to in their needs, as Physicians are for mens health & lives.

¶ 5. As to their reproaches of yr overmuch religiousnes; its superstition yt is indeed ye overmuch religiousnes; wch materially its a worke about holy things, but formally transgresseth ye Law in the excess; & therefore indeed is noe righteousnes at all. Wt abundance of questions have you at hand, wch none of ym can answer but to their shame. Q. 1. Dare they say yt God is not worthy of all? & should not bee loved & served with all ye heart & soule & might? 2. Dare they say yt heaven can bee bought too deare? 3. Doe they not lay out more time & words & thoughts on ye world & flesh, yn wee doe upon God & heaven & or soules? & wch better deserves ytm, & will bee ye better paymaster? 4. Wt makes ye most of such as they bee soe farr of or mind when they come to die, as to wish themselves in or case? 5. Why doe they extoll ye dead, as St Peter, Paul, Austin, Bernard &c for yt wch they scorne in ye living? 6. Why is it taken for an honor & matter of ostentation to ye Papists yt they have among ym Votarys, Monks, Fryars & Nunns yt pretend to give up themselves only to Religion, wholly forsaking worldly things? Is it their glory to bee by an outward calling, to bee only Religious? & shall it bee or reproach to bee

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regularly obedient to God yt made us, & holy with or callings? Is not this unrighteous partiall judgment? Many more such arguments, If God give mee time & helpe I shall furnish you with in a discourse on Luke. 10: 42.

¶ 6. Had you soe greate receivings from God soe lately (as you say for a weeke after you were here) as to bee scarce content to live; & can you, are you soe soone gotten [illegible] his grace & acceptance of you? yts not well.

¶ 7. As to Mr Woodbridge, I should bee as glad of some conference with him (for acquaintance I have already before I see him) as with allmost any man: But I am not soe immodest as to thinke yt it will bee worth his time & paines to make a journey purposely to mee, nor dare I invite or encourage him to leave a greate people & worke for soe many dayes to noe better purpose, as knowing how little hee is like to receive from mee in requitall, though I may hope to [illegible] from him. Much lesse dare I perswade him to leave soe greate a place as Newbury, where hee hath soe good successe till I better know his case, though if hee were neere I should rejoice if hee were my neighbour; yet durst not motion yt neither, if ye publik good commanded him another way.

¶ 8. For yr family affaires, I hope you have learned to bee faithfull in both callings, generall & speciall, to use ye world in a subserviency to God: & yn you will neither oppose it with him, nor set it agt him, nor him agt it, nor cast it of upon ye account of his service. As wee have bodys, soe have wee a bodily sort of duty to performe to or Creator here, & must read him in ye creatures while wee converse with ym.

¶ 9. You tell mee of dulnes in prayer, & yt talke of ye heavens: wch I can answer I take not my selfe to bee dull [illegible] ye deadnes & barrennes wch you so much complaine of, Alas! are too comon with us yt less complaine. Use yt [illegible] endeavor agt ym & yt waite patiently on ye Spt of grace for his free operations. Remember still wt God is yt you speake unto, how neere you stand to eternity, & wt reference all yr prayers have to eternall things: & use to exercise more compassionate thoughts on ye unhappy world about you, especially on ye unhappy [illegible] yt know not God: & on ye miserable [illegible] popery & worship & [illegible] are [illegible]

matter enough for yr prayers, of greater momt yn any thing of yr owne. Examin whe-
ther too much forgetting Gods publick Interest in ye world, & ye misery of ye nations, & ca-
lamities or dangers of ye churches, & ye sad case of ye wicked whom you know, may
not bee a cause of yr barrenness & dulness in prayer. The three first petitions in
the Lds prayer { For ye hallowing of Gods Name }
{ The coming of his kingdome } { In Earth as it is in heaven (for
{ The doing of his will } { some apply this clause to all)
must bee ye most of yr prayers & have ye chiefest place. If you want matter of yr
owne (about ye three last petitions you may have enough abroad, & from ye fu[ll-]
est of ye Lds. For dulness I find my soule exceedingly vary according to ye temper of my
body. wn by could or rheume or any flegmatick distempr my braine is dulled I have
noe life in duty: & when my head is clear & well I am much better. The bearer tells
of yr sleepynesse, which persuades mee yt this is ye case. As for yt looke to ye cure of ye
cause which must bee by avoiding a watry flegmatick dyet & all cold; & by war-
ming drying means, correcting ye distempr of ye braine. (such as Sage ale, digestive
powders &c) § 10. But ye end of yr complaint provoketh mee to bee offended with
you. Againe are you talk of laying by yr assurance, & giving up yr hopes?
can you soe soone after such large experiences, entertaine such hard thoughts of
love of God, & bee soe forgetfull (I will not say unthankfull) after soe many
testifying benefitts, & evidences of his love: wt! hath God noe faster hould of you?
are you on such slippery termes wth him? yt you dare question whether ever hee
gave you any grace, att every season yt you feele but dullness or distraction
hang upon you? Did not I tell you (& more fully in my directions for peace of
Conscience) wherin ye life of grace consisteth! & are you againe laying all on in-
voluntary things, & denying ye graces bee of rewarded Convictions? Are you wil-
ling to change yr state & life & Master, & let ym all goe for ye pleasure of Sin?
if you are, why doe you not say soe? if you are not, why doe you question ye
life of grace at ye same time when you acknowledg it. And doth this life of
grace yt accompanyeth salvation seeme soe small a matter in yr eyes yt yr
lamented distractions & dulness shall cause you to over look it or deny it, as
if God had done nothing for you. Doe you practise wt I have taught you? Are you
every day in thanks & prayse, when you are ready to deny ye most glorious
mercy yt ever was bestowed on earth, & yt wch should bee ye matter of yr thanks?
I pray you let not mee or any other hear such language from you any more.
If you have distempers yt you love not, lament ym, but never question ye grace yt s[o]
abhorreth ym to hate ym, & disown ym; nor yt love of God wch you have soe lar[gely]
experienced. wt thinke you of God? will hee have any or none? you have
seene wt ye world is in part; but ye part yt you have not seene is farr
worse. Doe you think yt it is they yt shall bee saved before you? what!
shall yr volums of recorded mercyes bee made noe more of, by ye next dis-
temper? doe they serve you but for ye time? why then doe you record ym?
wt put you such questions for (whether sudden assurance or comforts bee sound &c)
it's not ye suddennesse or slownesse yt will prove it sound or unsound, but ye ground
of it: wt need you more words: If you love sin better than God & holyness
assurance is presumption: if it bee contrary yr assurance is of God. The assur-
ance wch accompanyeth sanctification is like to bee from ye Spt yt sancti-
fyeth. I am sure all such have ground for assurance: & ye Divell doth not use
to take Gods work out of his hand, & build upon his ground & give assurance to
Gods sanctified children: Hee comforteth his own but troubleth ye Sts, whom
[illegible] of yt comforteth. Yr words are sinfull, agst Gods grace & about yr your
offers to wrest ye Servant whether assurance stay or not stay in affliction it
need not to know it certainly by: but ye grounds & signs are ye marks.
ii: Yr defect in prayer with another cause from yt naturall bashfullness
disuse, when you are dull alone, pray with some poor ignorant neigh-
bours or servants (for it bee seasonably) & see wt use will doe. Take
heed least any pride make you troubled yt you came of noe better be-
fore others. § 12. If you have yt constant life (wch I have not) in singing ps[alms]
how can you soe question ye presence of ye spirit of grace? is hee absent with-
out duty & yet is hee not with you at all? to conclude yt God hath promised
you when once you are sanctifyed ye continuance of his love & ever-
lasting life but hee hath not promised you (but with exceptions & excep-
[illegible]) any such degree of grace or Assurance or freedome from dulnesse &
distractions as you desire, till you come to heaven. Long therfore to bee
there & stay till then; for it will bee but a while: ye Lord is at hand

I am writing & passing, & you are reading & passing on, & yn wee shall ha[ve] our warfare accomplisht. §.13. ffor my writings I must desire you not to my controversys yet: but yet to believe yt they may bee more usefull to others as food, but as physick, & theref. to ye sick. ye opposition of some to weighty truths made them as needfull to ye church as those practicall books yt are fitter for y use. But really doe you think yt I durst have written one booke, least men say I could not answer ym? how then should I answer God for yt time? I should as carnall & selfeseeking yn, in writing for my selfe, as a covetous man in scraping for hims. And its worst of all to serve ol selfes upon holy things. I can name you above 20 books (of all sorts) yt are more or less written ag mee! But I hope you know yt I have not answered ym all. One fanati-dell booker of late hath written two agt mee, wch I am most sorry yt I have not time to answer. I doe nothing (if I know my heart) but I think is most needfull for ye sake of ye church & truth & souls of others

14: I will answer yr desire in naming to you my writings, on condition yt you will not read ye controversys, for of ye pretious time yt they will consume.

Controversall.

1. Aphorisms of Justification, Covent &c
2. For Infant Baptisme 2 or 3 together.
3. An Apollogy to Mr Blake, Dr Kendall & Mr Eyre, Mr Crandon, & a confutation of Ludiomæus Colvinus, alias Ludovicus Molinæus.
4. My confession of faith in ye point of justification faith & workes.
5. A defence of ye worcestersh. Petition for ye Ministry agt ye Qakers.
6. The Qakers Catech.
7. A sheet agt Qakers.
8. A sheet agt Popery.
9. A sheet for ye Ministry.
10. A second sheet for ye calling of ye Ministry.
11. My judgmt of Perseverance.
12. About ye difference betweene common & speciall faith; to Mr Tho: Barlow.
13. The Grotian Religion discovered, to Mr Tho. Pierce.
14. ffive disputations of right to Sacraments
15. Disput. of Justification, to divers.
16. Disput. of ye safe Relig. agt Popy.
17. A treatise of Episcopacy &c in ye press.
18. A Key for Catholicks, agt Popery, in ye press yet.

Practicall.

1. The Sts everlasting Rest. ed. 4.
2. Directions for peace of Consc.
3. The christian Concord.
4. A sermon of making light of Xt.
5. Two assize serm. of Xs dominion & soveraignty & mans subjection.
6. A treat. of Judgmt
7. The worcestersh. Agreemt for church.
8. The Reformed Pastor.
9. A treatise of conversion.
10. A call to ye unconverted.
11. Directions for a sound conversion.
12. The crucifying of ye world by ye Cross of Xt.
13. An open sheet of directions to Justices of the Peace.
14. A treatise of Confirmation (not yet here)
15. Proposalls for Ch. Reformation, being Heads of a sermon preached in Parliamt time to many members at Westminster, & published by another !!

I remember noe more (but prefaces to other mens workes) yt I have printed yet. I have now sent you two of these, yt of Mortification, & Dir. for sound Conversion. I thank you for yr Receipt: its very harmless: if effectuall, its excellent. The way of yr letters is safe enough. The Lord guide, stablish, strengthen, & refresh you: Still pray for yr

Yr weak fellow servant R.B.
Sept. 2. 1658.

10

To Mrs Gell

Mris Gell. 4

Yor former wonder was, yt you should pray & pray for strength agt a corru & not prevaile: In this, you tell me not wt corruption is; after a full recitall of yor case in other respects. Concerning all ye former part of yor letter, I mu say, yt you have exceedinge great cause of thankfullnes to God, yt can so clearly discerne & so fully & assuredly describe his Image upon yor soule. I am as sure as yt ye word of God is true, yt ye soule yt hath those qualities wch yor lines expresse, is truly sanctifyed & an heir of Life. There are many yt you have higher thoughts of yn of yorselfe, yt would give all ye world, yt they could assuredly say but as much of ymselves as you doe here of yorselfe. You may much easyer beare yt wch you call a denyall of yor prayers, as long as you have so much granted allready; & may be so well assured of pdon, by ye evidences wch you write. And wt if you should importunately beg of God to give you here pfection, even Heaven on Earth, would you thus marvaile, yt you pray & pray & canot gett ye things you pray for? You must be content to stay for heaven till you have done wth earth. As for ye Passions wch you here describe, I shall freely speake my thoughts of ym. It is not in ye greatnes or smallnes of Passions yt ye truth of Holynes is discerned, but in the orderinge & disposall of ym. It is not only a thinge lawfull, but a necessary duty, for you to have a tender Love to Husband & Children: but yt it is attended wth such a degree of feare & greife, proceedeth mainly from yor bodily temperature. Its true, there is a pticipation of sin in it, both because sin was ye first cause, & because it is a certaine inordinacy; seinge ye passions ought to be subject to ye understandinge. But as ye case now stands wth us, ye most gratious soule can hardly expect to prevaile agt such a temperatur of body. Grace will keepe such from turninge ye streame of their passion agt God; but not from beinge too sensible, where some sensibility is du most women are of more sensible passionate dispositions yn men, and children oft more yn women, & old people more yn youth, & weake and sick people more yn stronge. It is not all ye reason in ye world yt can pswade a Child yt is disposed to cryinge to change yt disposition. I can remember since I was a Child, when my master whipt me to make me give over cryinge, wch I thought unreasonable dealinge, seinge it forced me to cry ye more. You may chide yorselfe for yor sensible fearfull temper, & trouble yorselfe about it, but this is not like to overcome it; no though you had a double portion of ye spirit, & should pray continually agt it: yet I confesse yt grace may doe much to hinder ye evill attendants of such feares, as murmurings against God, unseemly speeches & ye like (as I peive it hindereth ym wth you); & somewt it may doe in arguinge downe a passion, so far as to abate ye measure yt else it would swell to, & also to shorten it much: But ye sudden risings of such feares & greifs in such a temp will hardly be avoided. As Grace will not take away yor thirst or hunger, but it will keepe you from drunkennes & gluttony in satisfyinge of it; so it may keepe you from ungodly meanes of expressinge yor feares or remedyinge ye things feared, & yet not overcome ye feares ymselves. When I was younge (yea till 20 yeares of age) I durst not have gone into a darke roome alone; or if I had, ye feare of it would have made me even tremble. I knew ye folly of this, & both Reason & (I thinke) Grace did contradict it; & yet I was not able to overcome it, no nor one moment to forbeare it, if I might have had ye world. Even such doe I take yor case to be. ffeare & greife above all passions are least at ye comand of reason & will: I can force ye wisest man on earth into a sudden feare whether he will or no. My deare friend ye Lady Rous, was as far from over=

with passionate sensibility as most women yt ever I knew; & yet ye Love of her Husband wrought so strongly by sudden fright upon his fallinge into a feaver, yt shee presently fell into one herselfe, & continued in feares of him, till shee was past apprehension, & so dyed wn he recovered. This was a sad case: and yet with a meeke & patient woman, no reasons of ors wch were fetcht from ye unreasonablenes of it, & from her owne danger, could take off ye sudden feares & greifes. Yet I would advise you to, doe wt you can against ym, & keepe Reason & Faith in action by consideratenes, & remember yor many experiences of the fatherly Love & Providence of God: but ye more you find ye troublesome remnants of yor infirmity follow you, ye more admire yt Grace yt hath healed you of greater evills, & saved you in the maine; & ye more looke towards & long after ye blessed day and state of yor perfection, wn ye flesh shall be laid aside wth its infirmityes, & we shall be disburdened of every trouble of or soules. Elias was a man subject to like passions as we, saith James, even inordinate feares & sorrow & discontent. But wn Peter & James & John saw him wth Christ on ye mount, it was an Elias void of passion & infirmity wch there they saw. The Lord prepare you for yt change, & keepe you waitinge & longinge for his cominge.

June 1st 1657.

Yor servant Ri: Baxter.

Vol. 12. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To Mris Gell

To Mris Gell

S^{r}

There will come to yor View a Pamphlet, or Epistolarie Treatise, with an Inscription or Dedication to you, subscribed with these 2 Letters R.B. Now that you may be assured of ye Authour's bold integritie and that he is not asham'd of his Name, he must tell you that, if you send to Mr Royston in Ivie Lane, there you may find a Book intituled, an Antidote agst Swearing &c and his Name printed at large to it. When you peruse this I hope you will charitablie conclude, that the same Zeale for God's glorie, wch moued him to write against that Crying Sinne did incite him to discourse ye danger of Schisme, of wch you are looked on as a Leader or Captaine to o^{r} just greife and ye Churche's shame. S^{r}, you will, I trust, (as becometh a Sincere Christian, as you professe, and I wish that you would shew it in a religious, meek and humble Obedience to ye Church's holy Institutions) you will I hope entertaine ye freedome of my pen with a candid perswasion y^{t} I intend ye welfare of yor Soul by it, that it may be awakened from ye sleep of Securitie, when you reflect upon yor miscarriages, and ye poor people, who have been and are seduced by you into Schismaticall practises, may likewise (with you) recant their errours, that we may all love and live togethe^{r} like Brethren, having one God for o^{r} Father, and one Church for o^{r} mother; and no longer quarrell about pettie things, I meane a few Innocent Ceremonies

&c.

wch are not condemnd by God in his word, but being enioyned by those who by God's providence are set ouer vs are to be obserued by vs, so long as they tend to ye establishment of order, and ye maintaining of Unitie, peace, and concord among vs.

And for a close, I must entreat you to embrace with meeknesse ye discourse wch I make of some few of yor enormities, say not that herein I transgresse the rule of Charitie, wch is an hiding or concealing grace; it is so in regard of secret priuat sinnes, not in regard of those that are publike, and like young Eaglets outface ye sunne, walking openly without a mask or vizard of modestie. Open crimes must haue an open rebuke. This was ye Apostle's, and after them ye ancient Fathers practise, and method, when they dealt with Heretikes, and Schismatikes, who rebelld against ye doctrine and discipline of ye Church.

Now that you more fully know ye intention of my heart, censure me as you please, if you answer my loue to yor soul with sharp inuectiues, I shall be forced to use sharper corrasiues, and inferre that you haue a greater Ulcer in yor heart, when you kick at him that touches it with a mild rebuke and friendlie admonition. I will conclude with ye saying of ye deuout Gerhardus in his 6. chr. of his Exercit. Pietatis, Si perfecta ac sincera in aliquo sit proximi dilectio, tunc ex illa procedet liberrima eiusdem increpatio. So you may be per-

March 29. swaded of ye sincere charitie, and

Philopsuchie of R. B.

fol. 14. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For
Mr Richard Baxter
these

The continuance of my cold, wch yet holds me, wth ye severity of ye weather, hath hitherto hindered me from answering my purpose of coming unto you at Acton; but yet I hope ere long to obtaine ye advantage of enjoying your company there for a season. In ye meane time I returne you my thanks for ye communication of your papers; and shall on every occasion manifest that you have no reason to question whither I were in earnest in what I professed, in reference unto ye concord you designe. For ye desire of it is continually upon my heart, and to expresse that desire on all occasions, I esteeme one part of that profession of ye Gospell wch I am called unto. Could I contribute any thing towards ye accomplishment of so holy so necessary a worke, I should willingly spend my selfe, and be spent in it. For what you designe concerning your printed Essay, I like it very well, both upon ye reasons you mention in your letter, and also that all those who may be willing and desirous to promote so blessed a worke, may have copys by them to give in their thoughts in reference unto ye whole. For ye present, upon ye liberty granted in your letter (if I remember it aright) I shall tender you a few Queries, wch if they are uselesse or needlesse deale with them accordingly; as (1) Are not ye ~~the~~ severall proposalls or instructions too many for this first attempt? The general heads I conceive are not, but under them very many particulars are not only included, wch is unavoidable, but expressed also, wch may too much dilate ye original consideration of ye whole. (2) you expressly exclude ye papists who will also sufficiently exclude themselves and doe, from any such agreement; but have you done ye same also by ye Socinians who are numerous and ready to insinuate themselves into our communion? The Creed as expounded in ye 4 first councells will doe it. (3) whither some expressions suited to prevent future divisions and separations after a concord is obtained, may not at present to avoid all exasperation be omitted, as seeming reflexive on former actings, when there was no such agreement amongst us as is now aymed at. (4) whither insisting in particular on ye power of ye magistrate, especially as unto civile coercion and punishments in case of Error or heresy, be necessary in this first attempt. These generally occurred to my thoughts upon my first reading of your proposals. I will now read them againe, and set downe as I passe on such apprehensions in particular as I have of ye severall of them. To ye first answer unto ye first Quest. I assent; so also to ye first proposall with its explanation; likewise to ye second and third. I thought to have proceeded thus throughout, but I perceive my so doing would be tedious and uselesse; I shall therefore mention only, what at present may seeme to require second thoughts. As (1) To propos: 9th: by those instances, in ye words to use in preaching, in ye words to pray, in ye decent habit, do you intend homilys, ~~the~~ prescribed formes of prayer, and habits peculiar to those of ministeriall dress, for or present controversy will suggest an especiall sense unto generall expressions. (2) ~~[illegible]~~ unto prop: 13th. Do you think a man may not leave a church, and joyne himselfe unto another, unlesse it be for such a cause or reason as he supposeth sufficient to destroy ye being of ye church? I meet with this now answered in your 18th prop: and so shall forbeare farther particulars. Your answer to ye second enquiry, your 10th position, hath in it somewhat that will admit of farther consideration as I think; in your answer unto ye third Qu: have you sufficiently expressed ye accountablenesse of churches mutually in case of offence from maladministration of church censures? this also I now see in part answered prop: 8th. I shall forbeare to add any thing as unto your answer to ye last Question about ye power of ye magistrate, because I feare that in ye matter of punishing I shall in somewhat dissent from you; though as to most cases I shall in some case agree. Upon ye whole matter, I judge your proposals worthy of great consideration, and ye most probable medium for ye attaining the end aymed at, that yet I have perused. If God give not an heart and mind to desire peace and union, every expression will be disputed, under ye pretence of truth and accuracy; but if these things have a place in us answerable unto that wch they enjoy in ye Gospel, I see no reason, why all ye true disciples of Christ might not upon these and ye like principles condescend in Love, unto ye practicall concord and agreement, wch not one of them dare deny to be their duty, to ayme at. Sir, I shall pray that God would ~~[illegible]~~ guide and prosper you in all studdys and endeavours for the service of Christ in ye world, especially in this your desire and study for ye ~~[illegible]~~ the introducement of ye peace and love promised amongst them yt beleive; and do begg yr prayers also for

Yr truly affectionate brother and
unworthy fellow servant
John Owen

Churches a while, will come to themselves, and know that which words would not make the

ffor ye Reverend and my worthy
ffriend Mr Richard Baxter at
his house in Acton

these.

Dear Brother

Yours of Aprill 10. I received not till May 13. I live a
so great a distance from London, that I have not opportunit
to shew your case to any but Mr Corbet who liveth neere;
But I purpose to goe quickly to London, and shew it to such othe
as you name: But will not till then delay my own answer to you
your narrative maketh your case so cleare, that for my part I have
nothing to say against it, but am of your judgment in the case
on supposition that there be no more said on the other side, than
you here mention. I confess I thinke that a Church not meeting
seaven or eight years, deserveth not the name of a particular
~~living~~ church; and that one yeares cessation may and ought to
dissolve the society, where the persons are capable of church
comunion under another pastor: For they ought not to continue
one yeare without; but if they cannot have one, must have
another. And I make no doubt of the sufficiency of lesse ex-
plicite consent and covenanting then yours described, to consti
tute a Church. But as you take it for the fault of Dr Owen and
the rest to judge your case before they heard you (which I
wonder at as you describe it); so if we should doe the like, be
fore we hear the other party, we should be guilty of temerity
and injustice. But my advice to you on supposition that all be
just as you state it, is this. 1o That you marvail not at this
rupture, nor the faultynes of them that cause it; but looke at
it as such an ordinary infirmity (to speak gently) of wellmea=
ning people that once are divested of a Catholicke temper and
principles, and inclined to unwarrantable separation, as will
never let the Churches have Concord, and peace, if Christs remedy
doe not counterworke it # Take not that for a strange thing, whi
most professors are inclined to; But rather expect that more
should breake off, and that in time these that withdraw doe
againe subdivide among themselves. 2o That you be not too
sensible of it, nor by too much complaineing noise it abroad,
because it will be matter of insulting to some that would hav
it so: And that you signify not too much displeasure at them, bu
patiently let them alone, and continue all your love and kind
=nes to them: And if they looke not on you, go to them, and tell
them that though you take that divideing spirit and principles
for a sin that must be lamented and threatneth the church
of God, yet you know that the failings of Christians must
be tolerated when they cannot be cured, and that you desire
the profit of their soules more than any interest of your
owne by the Relation of a teacher or pastor to them; And
therefore heartily desire their welfare, and that you may live
together in love as two Churches, who could not live together
in one. If another pastor by suiting them better, shall edif
them more let them know that you shall rejoice

which true remedies are 1o The overpowering Abilities, holynes, wisdom and Concord of the pastors of
severall Churches, joyning together. 2o. The experience of Christians, who, when they have troubled the
Churches a while, will come to themselves, and know that which words would not make

their benefitt, though you could have wisht a neerer Concord. Why should not those Christians live lovingly in two Congregations, whose weakness hindereth them from uniteing in one. The whole Kingdome, and all the Churches in it, have suffered so much by these weaknesses of self conceited dividing professors, that you and I must not grudge to suffer a litle by them; 3° But my summary advice to you is, that having so many Godly worthy Ministers with you in that City (I hear Mr Hanmer and other judicious men are there) you will preferre the advice of them who are upon the place, and can know all circumstances, before any of ours on either side who live here at so great a distance. The Lord direct you and heal our weaknesses, and his languishing Church

Totteridge
near Barnet
May 13. 1671

Your unworthy Brother
Ri: Baxter

Since the writeing of this I shewed your papers to Dr Jacomb who desireth time to aske Dr Owen the reasons of his action; which when he hath done, he promiseth on consultation with Mr Jenkins and others, to answer yours.

And this day I mett with good old Mr Stubbes who speaketh so well both of you (both for moderation, and peaceablenes and abilities, and also of Mr Halloway as a most sincere and worthy man) which encreaseth my greife, for the Church of God, that so good men cannot live in unity: And though I know that the Remnant of our Corruptions is the great cause (overvaluing our understandings, and want of love and due submission) yet I more and more suspect, that if some unsound principles, (which injure Concord on pretense of purity) were not also guilty of our manifold divisions, they would not be so frequent and lamentable as they are.

LETTERS

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[illegible] Sr 8

I Know you not in the fflesh but haveing of Late through divine grace
Light of sume of your workes as your treatis of the day of Judgment
your Call to the unconverted and perusing them, (I thanke through gods
grace to mee) I ffind sume benefitt by them that the doe in sume measure
worke upon my spiritt, which though unaquainted with you, yett it doth
Imbolden mee to present these Lines to you to lett you know my Condition
and to beg your furder assistance, for I am a man of 52 yeare ould and god
Knoweth hath busied my selfe too much in the world, and been soe true a
server of that master that I have totally neglected and refused to serve
a better, and by this long custome in sin I am soe hartlesse & unaccable that I
Know not which way to gett out being as it were dead in trespasses and sins
and blind and Ignorant of the life of god and of the things of the world to come
I have a wife and ffamily but have neglected (like a wretch as I am and now
ffinde my selfe to bee so) ffamily duties the Jews not so Ignorant but did know
there is a Curse pronounced upon the ffamilies that call not upon god, yett
wee have Continued a prayerless ffamily for which my Conscience (amongst
the rest of my innumerable sins of omition & comition of Ignorance and of
Knowledge) stares in my ffaice and accuses mee, and now ffayne would I
sett my selfe to that duty of prayer in my ffamily but finde my selfe unable
to call on god and to wrastle with him for Pardon of all my sins and my
ffamilyes past, and with earnestnes of hart to solicitt him for grace for
mee and mine, and to draw us out of the snares of the divell who hath
hitherto been led Captives by him at his will, (and to capacitate us for
a state of salvation through the meritts and blud of Christ Jesus
Sir I find my selfe weake and Impotent and unable to compose a
method suitable to my Condition in this nature, now sir my humble
and ernest Request to you is that you would bee at the paines to draw mee
a method of ffamily Prayer for morning and evening and a private prayer
to god to enable mee and strenghten mee to the worke to performe it spiritually
and savingly to my life howsoever tho I cannot compose prayers to this effect yett
I find I could close with them in my hart so that if you would please
to draw mee a method whereby I may bee enabled to treat with god in
this nature it might by gods grace doe mee and mine good, and worke to the
salvation of our soules, for it is my desire now to call upon god and to
plead with him for the forgivenes of our sins past and to draw us out
of darknes into his marvellous Light, but this I cannot doe without
sume assist mee by putting words into my mouth, and finding your pressing
arguments in your Call to the unconverted and else where, to have wrought upon
my spiritt to come to god and to brake of my former life, makes mee bould to presse
you for a forme of like forcible arguments to wrestle with god for pardon of
sin for strength and power to over come the world the flesh and the divell
for the time to come, which I hope might bee Instrumentall to our
salvation for I hope I am that prodigall that [illegible] the mind and
dangerous case I have been in desires now truly and seriously to returne home
and if you please to bee my ffather under god to give mee the meeting by your
assistance, to bring mee to my ffathers house, & the premisses before mentioned
I hope it may not bee labour lost and that our soules may bee of that number
that you may present to god at that great day that you have been Instrumentall
to bring home to himselfe, which to your abundant Joy and our everlasting salvation
& this humble Request by you performed, will more abundantly oblige him who is
Ellerdyne
[illegible] the 4 June 68

Sir your very obliged servant in the Lord
John Hollingsworth

× 19

If these Lines find acceptance with you and that you will please to draw mee a [illegible]
prayer as a forme pertinent to my Condition and lett mee know in two lines from [illegible]
I am not worthy of one) when it shall bee ready this bearer or sume other shall
[illegible] for it to bring it mee sealed up [illegible] or [illegible] you please and I hope to find a
way my selfe to returne you my humble thanks for it

LETTERS

fol. 20. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To the most lov [illegible] unknowne
ffriend Mr Richard [illegible] minister
of the gospell at his house in [illegible]
these present

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Clarissimo Viro, Pastori vigilantissimo
Doctissimo Theologo
Domi. ~~[illegible]~~ Baxter
Fratri in J.C. plurimum colendo
S. P. D.
Paulus Testardus Dei gratiâ S. Evangelii Praeco.

Quanquam tibi sim ignotus, Vir Illustrissime, tamen litteras ad te scribere nullus dubito: Tua enim eximia humanitas, tua in J. Christo charitas ut eas à te benigné acceptum iri in animum inducerem. Duplici ergo nomine id muneris mihi suscepi. Primum ut meam erga te venerationem testarer, maximamque meam tuae in religione pietatis, in doctrinâ Christianâ eruditionis, existimationem significarem. Secundo, cum scripta quaedam tua, scil: The Saints Everlasting Rest, and The Life of faith ab aliquot mensibus magnâ cum voluptate legerim, lubentissime mihi oblatam eam occasionem captavi, ad te accedendi tanquam ad doctissimum Theologum, ut dubiis ad nostram professionem pertinentibus tecum in quibusdam argumentis agerem, quin potius consulerem. Quaecunque in illis supramemoratis voluminibus vidi, mihi admodum placuere, et ambabus ulnis sunt amplexanda. Itidem quae Tu de Spiritu Sancto, de ejus operationibus, de ejus testimonio, operibus, et modo operandi dixisti, supra omnia, quae hactenus in eo argumento legerim, ore rotundo profiteor, mihi arrident. Haec tua verba Vir Clarissime, ut habentur in The life of faith, pag. 402. mihi liceat assumere, The Work of the holy Ghost (as we are baptized into the belief of him) is poorly, lamely, and disorderly opened, to the incouraging of the Carnal on one hand, or the Enthousiasts on other; Haec tu verissime dixisti. Totum etiam caput septimum ejusdem libri admodum fecit ad meum gustum; multa loca in utroque volumine notavi, notatu dignissima

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quas paulo memoravi. Sed ut uno verbo dicam, cum tu de Spiritu S. dissentiam video, de modo quo nostram conversionem administrandi, o Praesul dispensantem, cum doceas quibus artibus suam lucem in mentem hominis infundit, et tenebras fugat, quibus instrumentis sanctitatem et pietatem cordibus imprimit, qua vi et efficacia affectus illibatos exprimit, atque cordibus in sententiam tuam eo.

Ut Animi mei sensa a quibus ea qua par est modestia, et demissione, et humilitate, nunquam ego cassum potui, illam plurimorum Theologorum opinionem et doctrinam, Spiritum S. scil. in negotio nostrae conversionis ita cum hominibus agere, ut modo quodam Physico, vel Hyperphysico si volueris, immediate mentem et cor hominis contactu afficiat, quasi peccati labe illarum facultatum substantia, et qualitas, si ita loqui fas est, sit et sanata, liberata, destructa, quam Spiritus S. manum dextram admovendo et restauranda. In Moralibus non ita se rem habere scio, et agnosco, et cum multo dolore et fletu dico, et praedico, hominem in peccato natum esse, peccati labe a capite ad calcem corruptum, in peccati catenis et servitute devinctum, diaboli mancipium, habentem stupidum animum, obrutum, caecum, agrotum, mortuum in peccatis, a Deo aversum, ad sua idola conversum, ad bonum omne gelidum, impotentem, morti aeternae addictum, ab omni parte miserabilem iuxta atque sumpsi. Nec quisquam me ad Pelagianismi scopulos navem allidere dicat, ego omne illud hominem gelidum ac animum salvum et illius omnibus naturam immitto quae de peccato originali, de impotentia morali, de viribus naturae, de victoria gratiae manifestavit. Longe mihi alia mens est. Verum sic ego existimo Spiritum S. hominem in horrendum illum malorum abyssum lapsum, in tam lugendum statum devictum, prostratum, profligatum, attritis viribus, sic afficere, sic excitare, ut verbi divini ministerio utatur ad illum e tenebris ad lucem avocandum, ad illum convertendum a creaturis, et idolis suis ad Deum creatorem, ad illum sanandum, manumittendum, et toto caelo transferendum ad Christum salvatorem, et redemptorem adducendum.

Eum vero, in mente hominis illuminanda, in voluntate dirigenda, in corde sanctificando, in affectibus domandis, in fide, charitate, spe ingenerandis, totum nostrae conversionis negotium perficitur: haec omnia potentissimus Spiritus operatur, verum quod Spiritus S. nos illuminat, quod nos sanctificat, quod nos convertit, quod fidem gignit, quod charitatem infundit, quod spem salutis excitat, verbo divino haec omnia pariter [illegible] solemne Spiritus S. tanta haec opera verbo attribuit, nec mirum, est enim Dei verbum Spiritus sui ministerium, et organum quo utitur ad suam potentiam, et ad brachium exerendum: Ne autem verbum divinum in auras evanescat, contra vero ut semen illud sacrum bonos fructus edat, Spiritus veritatis, et doctor noster verbum proponit accommodatum ad persuadendum, accommodatum ad mentem [illegible] irradiandum, accommodatum ad carnem compescendam et affectus subigendos et tandem multis machinis, multis curis, multis artibus, in quo [illegible] miracula olim a Christo ejusque Apostolis edita quae usque et usque urget afflictiones, morbos, virgas et varios casus, varia vitae humanae discrimina ponimus, et hisce multis et infinitis artibus inquam, tandem ineluctabili fato Dei Electos subigit, cum Deo et Christo gratiae foedus inire cogit, et ad optatam salutis metam perducit: ut nunquam satis celebranda, charitate nunquam satis laudanda, cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum.

Haec est vir celeberrime, nostra de Spiritus S. ministerio, testimonio, oeconomia, sententia, quae est etiam multorum nec infimae notae nostrorum Theologorum, de quam paucis absolvo, brevitati studens ne [illegible] qui litteras scribam, si longior esset campus ego plurima ex Veteri et N. Testamento Loca proferrem, quibus et fides nititur et doctrina illa fulcitur. Tu vero vir clarissime, ac Scripturarum peritissime. Dicam (et breviter dicam) sic Deum me docuisse dum preceptis, mandatis, promissis, minis legis et Evangelii conversionem hominis aggreditur, verbo suo utendo potentissimo et efficacissimo illo, quod et lumen cordibus, et malleus cordibus, et semen regenerationis, et Spiritus ministerium honoris causa nominatur, ejusmodi praeconiis nunquam decorandum, si actum nequiret ad finem propositum.

Ita me docuit Christus dum discipulos et sequaces turbas sua methodo

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instituere, quâ et Magistri in Scholâ, et Philosophi in pulpito utebantur,
Cum ille, qui est Aeterna Sapientia, sua candida mysteria; sapientissima verba
et procederet a rebus naturalibus et humanarum scientiâ et cognitione, ad rebus
divinarum intelligentiam: et fideles et cum Judaeis et Pharisaeis suam doctrinam et [illegible]
litteram nimis vertere, sed ~~[illegible]~~ illis quaeritur quod nec sibi, nec operibus
suis, nec miraculis fidem adhiberent: [illegible] pro facto in querimonia habebat
ipse clementissimus Dominus; si crederent, fuisset illis hominibus
omni modo ἀδύνατον, sed ad credendum gratia illa immediata et immediate
hominem afficiente quae nec semper, nec ubique datur [illegible] illustraverat,
opus fuisset: haec erat causa incredulitatis et contradictionis, quod illi sua gloria
audire illam quaerebant et [illegible] nostri Domini.

Ita nos docuit Spiritus S. dum Christi Ecclesiarum Angelos et
Pastores alloquitur, et ipsos secundum, increpat, divitiasque ~~mollitiamque~~ et pra
vos, ad meliorem frugem hortatur, et ad Christi gratia animos addit
et incendit.

Passim in suis sacris Epistolis Apostoli nos docent gratiam
Dei, et Spiritum S. operari cum verbis, cum Evangelii praedicationibus,
cum veritatis manifestationibus, cum lucis divinae affectionibus, et cum sanctorum
Dei ministrorum ministeriis: Cum hoc ministerium habeamus, inquit Paulus,
non deficimus, non adulterantes Dei verbum, sed declaratione veritatis
commendantes nosmetipsos apud omnem conscientiam hominum, in cons-
pectu Dei.

In qua felicitate fuere Sacerdotes et Doctores non dubito; qui ad malum
natus est mendacio fallente, multo magis ad bonum movebitur veritate
cogente, sic loquitur Cyprianus.

Quotquot et Antiquiores et Posteriores Theologi veritatem Religionis
Christianae, et Scripturarum divinam originem et authoritatem probare
ipsi habuerunt, operam suam et oleum perdiderunt, quod nolim dicere
de [illegible] tam bene de Republica Christiana meritis, sed dicendum tamen est
si tota illa argumentorum validissimorum quibus usi sunt, nobis [illegible]
homo interna illa et immediata gratia non movetur nec reparatur, quid enim, illi
Infideles, Paganos, Judaeos potuere et instructa sua acie aggrediantur

Itaque hominum appellans Rationem compellunt. Sic autem illos interrogatos velim, Num vestra argumentatio est apta ad movendum et ad persuadendum accommodata, vel non? Si non est, cur tantam argumentorum congeriem, ejusmodi operae moliti estis? Si est, ergo hominem ejusmodi argumentis moveri potestis.

Tu mihi eris Domine, instar omnium; Tu enim dixisti, The S. Everl. Rest, pag. 128. Esse vanum figmentum, affirmare Quod Spiritus vocet et doceat homines ubi non est verbum, et ubi vel creatura vel natura non loquitur. Et Spiritus S.ti operam in ipso consistere quod mentis tenebras removeat, mentem illuminando, quam illuminationem sibi pro verbum in eodem loco agnoscere, Scripturas cum Sole recte comparando. Pag. 134. Quanta sit affectionum humanarum vis et efficacia in homine permovendo eleganti oratione prosequeris. Pag. 169. Optime [illegible] vir clarissime, Deum agere cum hominibus rationalibus practicis, ut ratione Sua utantur recte, instar Rationem esse principium pro quo principia religionis sunt probanda, quod verissimum est, imo Rationem autoritate et Scripturis illi esse inferiores affirmare non dubitas nec doctus non quidem ratione excellentiae, sed ordinis habito respectu, ut formam posteriorem materiam, et habitus facultatem. Et quid non, mirum in modum, loquutus es, et miraculorum vi et energia? ad probandum et stabiliendum Scripturarum divinitatem; quod fundamentum si semel bene fuerit jactum et stabilitum et maneat immotum, caetera religionis Christianae mysteria, et tota revelationis moles nullo negotio superstruantur, nec laborabit fides ut sic esse credat, non laborabit Scripturarum authoritate ut fidei persuadeat.

Quam sit fructuosa et frugifera ista doctrina accurate vidisti Domine et fructus ejus satis amplos mihi omnibus colligere licet. Ubi est ad publicandam Dei Sapientiam, qui nihil facit sine aptissimis mediis ad propositum idoneis, tandem Dei gratia et Misericordia extollantur, quum hominibus affatim largitur quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria, et custodem Justitiæ jura tuentur.

Utilis est ad Christi Crucem, Mortem, resurrectionem, in Cœlos ascensum, hominum oculis objicienda et proponenda tanquam incredibilitatis causas et exemplaria, dum Scripturis sua constat authoritas et dignitas.

Utilis est ad peccatores convincendos, et multos alios eorum propagandos, ad venenosas et noxias comprehendendos, et exquisitis obturandum apta est, cum multa ex viribus attribuit, et in scholastica sua, et Gallice sententia confunditur, et oblatrant, bene ut optime dixisti, magnum esse apud infideles damnatorum luminatum, si confitentur ipsos non torquebis et non torquebis vivos et pro eos non stetisse posse prætendere quominus ad salutem pervenirent; sed utinam eorum non meritum quoniam peccatorum quibus cruciantur, sibi autores sunt.

Item est utilis ea doctrina ad fideles et Dei filios ad officium suum cognoscendum, ad pietatem colendam, excitandos et stimulandos.

Tales erant Manichæi, et Flaccii sectatores qui in peccato aliquid physicum dicebant remedio physico sanandum; tales erant Anabaptistæ, et fanatici Enthusiastæ; Militat adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ qui nobis Scripturam particularem imputant et improbant quo cum male fidelitate istis hominibus syncretismum fovent.

Maxime ad Dei gloriam, laudem et honorem facit, ad quam scopum omnibus viribus, vitæ omnibus tendere debemus.

Hæc sunt viri clarissimi quæ habitus dicenda habeo, ut ex [illegible] disputationem æqui bonique consulas. Subjicio ad [illegible] sermonem quem nuper habui e cathedra pronunciavi, qui in ~~[illegible]~~ lucem prodiit Amicorum precibus [illegible] gallica lingua scriptus et recitatus, sed linguam vestram callere vix fallor, [illegible] facile quemquam reperias qui anglice reddat. In concione illa de Spiritus S. donis, operibus, ministeriis distribui, sed modo ad concionem publicam accommodato, et in precationem

Euangelij [illegible]. Hoc munusculum hilari animo, et dextrâ manu accipito.

Cum ego Londini ante biennium versarer, ibi per tres menses commoratus prioribus labijs linguam anglicam delibavi, et postea librorum vsu majorem progressum feci, et iam eo veni ut possim eam bene intelligere legendo et non-nihil effari loquendo. Magnum semper me tenet desiderium Angliam adhuc semel videndi et Londinum revisendi; illo semper me vexans dolor, quod te Vir Celeberrime, non viderim, multos viros illustres Londini et Oxonij adiui, cum quibusdam necessitudinem iunxi. Quod mihi fuit gloriosissimum, et maximum decus semper erit, Regem Serenissimum Magnae Britanniae eâ quâ par erat reverentiâ, observantiâ et cultu salutavi a Franciae Legato introductus, eius Maiestas me eo favore dignata est, quem sperare non poteram. Parentis mei nomen non ipsi erat ignotum, imo litteras ab ipso rege Carolo II. ad patrem meum scriptas manu praetendebam, et meminit Rex Serenissimus meum Patrem magno honore ipsius Maiestatem coluisse, et de eâ bene esse meritum Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, gallice traducendo. Sic pluribus causis magno semper teneor desiderio Angliam revisendi, et si qua vobis Dei porta pateat, si qua sese daret occasio libenti animo amplecterer si Deus faveret.

Est mihi Londini frater, mihi charissimus, qui ibi sedem fixit, et ciuitatis iura sibi acquisivit. Parentis nostri olim Ecclesiae [illegible] pastoris scripta nonnulla vidisti, et quibusdam in locis laudasti, opto ut frater meus te [illegible] colere faciat, et ut Tu, Domine, ipsi benedicas et tuâ benevolentiâ prosequaris. Ille tibi, si fieri potest, hanc epistolam reddet, et si ad me scribere non dedignaberis multo honore me afficies, et pergratum facies et fratris mei ministerio poteris uti. Ab ipso nuper petieram ut ~~[illegible]~~ librum tuum The Unreasonableness of Infidelity, mihi compararet et ad me

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mittebas, rescribere Domino [illegible] officium meum innuebat. Si copiam illius libri velis mihi facere gratias amplissimas habebo. Scripta tua et lucubrationes tuas magni facio, pluribus nominibus Tibi colendissimo. Reliquum est, et Deum ardentibus praecor votis ut Te diu incolumem servet, et Tuae Ecclesiae J.C. pastorem vigilantissimum et tuae urbi Praeconem illustrissimum omnibus suis benedictionibus et omni beneficiorum genere abundantissime cumulet. Vale.

(180)

Reverende Domine

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Sum tuus humillimus et addictissimus
servus et in J.C. frater

Dangelli (that is, at Dangzigk)
die 22a Novembris 1678.

Paulus Testardus.

[illegible] you [illegible], I am not [illegible] so fit to be your [illegible]
[illegible] the ministers that are neerer you are. As to the sicke a physician
[illegible] that seeth the patient hath great advantage, so hath a faithfull pastor
[over] the soule. My chiefe advice therefore to you is, to make the ablest
[godly] minister your counsellour that you can get, who knowing you, may be
more out of danger in mistaking your case, than such as I that are at a
distance. In the meane time supposing your case to be iust as you de-
scribe it, I shall briefly advise you as followeth. 1° Blesse God yt hath a-
woke you by his convincing light. while the strong man armed keeps
his house, the things that he possesseth are in peace, till a stronger disarme
him, & cast him out. If all was not well with you, blesse God that
hath made you know it: for without knowing your sin & misery, how
is it possible you should be delivered from it. You might have gone
on blindfold to perdition, if God had not sent his light from heaven
(as he did to Paull in another manner) to shine about you, & stop you
in your wayes. 2° Believe that God hath not convinced you in order to
your desperation, but to your restoration & salvation: And that he is wil-
linger of your returne & to be reconciled to [illegible] you, then you can be to
be reconciled to him. 3° Resolve therefore speedily to returne & to
give up yourselfe entirely to him, to love him, & serve & please him
that you may enioy him & honour him for whom you were cre-
ated. 4° The true peace of your soule must now be built upon this
threefold foundation. 1° The most gracious & mercifull nature of
God, who is love itselfe. 2° The sufficiency of the sacrifice & merits of
Christ, who taketh away the sins of the world. 3° The fullnesse & freenesse
& universality of the promise of pardon & salvation, offered to all that
will receive it as it is offered. And a threefold evidence of life you must
have, to prove your speciall interest in these generalls. 1° Your under-
standing must have the highest estimation of God & glory, above all
transitory things. 2° Your will must be resolved to be entirely his, & to
take heaven for your portion, though you loose all that you have in
the world by it. 3° Your conversation must be accordingly the [illegible]
life of sincere universall obedience. 5° Get away from temptations
& occasions of sin as farre as lawfully you can. 6° Settle yourselfe in
a regular state of life, under a faithfull pastor for your soule, to whom
you may freely open your case, & associate with a sober, humble,
holy people, that are neither dead hearted on one side, nor carried by
spirituall pride into uncharitablenesse, censoriousnesse, & church dividing
on the other side. 7° Looke not for high measures of knowledge or en-
ioyments at the first, but come into Christs schoole as a little child
that begins the world anew, & resolve with patience to wait on the teach-
ing & helps of Christ, till you are growne up to the knowledge & holinesse
you desire. 8° Still keepe your eye on the life to come, & never more
fall in love with the world, but take it as your way to your everlast-
ing happinesse. And as there is your treasure, so there let your heart
be. I shall leave you with these few briefe directions, seeing you
have bookes enow at hand to give you more. And I must crave your
pardon that I send you backe your bill, & leave you to buy your bookes
yourselfe, & to tell you what to buy. I commend to you, Mr Whately
on the new birth: his redemption of time: Mr Pinks sermons of the
triall of love to Christ. Mr Jo. Rogers Doctrine of faith & love. Mr
Shephard Sound Beleever. Dr Sibs Bruised Reed: & Souls conflict. If you
will reade any of mine, reade the Saints Rest: the sermon of making
light of Christ: of Christs dominion & soveraignty. The treatise of iudgment.
A call to the unconverted. The treatise of conversion: Directions for a sound
conversion: Directions for peace of conscience. The treatise of mortification.
A treatise of selfe deniall now comming out. All Dr Prestons, Mr Boltons
Mr Perkins, Mr Burroughs bookes are good. But it is not number, but
the well using of a few, that will bring you to knowledge. Learne
well the meaning of some catechisme, the Assemblies two, & Mr Balls
with the exposition, which will much helpe your knowledge. Live in
serving the Lord. thinke not hardly of him or his waies. Let his service
[be your] delight: & be more ioifull in his worke than ever you were in
[the worke] of sin. Pardon this hast, & accept these directions from one that by
[his] weaknesse is uncapable to be your soules physician but is

Aug: 5 [illegible]
An unfeigned desirer of your peace. Ri: Baxter

LETTERS

fol. 26. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To Willm Stephens Linnen
drap at ye Chapple on ye
bridge in Bristoll

Deare and pretious Sr   Bristoll 7th August 1659

God hath beene pleased to send you into the world as an [illegible]
of his hand to convert Soules, by his providence I have came to [illegible]
perusall of many of yor bookes, but the corruption of my nat[illegible]
weakness of memory, wholy destitute of godly Society, but especially
being exceedingly entangled wth worldly affaires from my youth, also [illegible]
applause & respect generally from ~~[illegible]~~ morall vertues [illegible]
entangled that I cannot find any hopes, as to my Salvation
Sr having a thorough convincement of my undone condition [illegible]
eternity, wthout true repentance & amendment of life, I doe
begg of you in the name of Jesus Christ, that you would [illegible]
mee yor best advice and assistance to redeeme mee out of [illegible]
Carnall Estate, wholy Ignorant of the very principalls of Relig[illegible]
Sr morall Civility is all of it, Soe accomplished that I now in the [illegible]
ity am able to render most, [illegible] mee, to answer [illegible]
In religion then I have not one word to answer for my Self
deare Sr it hath beene such, I am now entertayned into a re-
ligious family upon the acc: of merchandize, and am now [illegible]
shall not answer the expectation of those relation, as to things of
which rest as a burthen upon mee. Fayne would I pray but have
ability, weakness of memory is such, that I feare the very Stones [illegible]
will one day condemne mee. I cannot retayne the heads of [illegible]
twice I have heard, the very words of a text [illegible] much more mat[illegible]
my Soules good. O my sad condition. Hee whome I most delighted [illegible]
City is Mr Edw. Paule, minister of St James, unto whome I am asham[illegible]
to lay open my condition, I have come [illegible] to godly men but
my ignorance keepes mee from Society wth them, I have in a [illegible]
an account of Stones, layd open my condition, humbly begg[illegible]
answer, wth yor full counsell unto mee, earnestly desiring [illegible]
prayer to god for mee. Enclosed I send you a Bill to receive
five pounds, I humbly request you would bee pleased to rece[illegible]
fower pounds of it to bee expended in bookes as you shall Judge [illegible]
for mee, & sent unto mee. The other twenty Shillings to bestow
to some Charitable use as in yor discretion shall bee thought fit
O Lord graunt that what I now doe may bee sincerely out of a single [illegible]
If conveyance you shall want to send direct to mee to Bristoll, [illegible]
Kinsman [illegible] you send unto him will take care to convey any
unto mee, either the books or letters, I live at the Chappell [illegible]
the bridge a Lynnen Draper, pardon mee deare Sr what I have [illegible]
amiss, knew could I but bee capable to doe you any Service [illegible]
happy should I bee; I commit all to god, resting

Yor unworthy [illegible]

Wm Stephens

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To Mr Richard Baxter
Pastor of the Church
In
Kidderminster

B

Sir 2

Through ye [illegible] of god I can now write yu a com
fortable lre for I blesse god I am much recouered
of ye melan: distemper yt I used to complt of though
it ws by away contrary to all aduise (viz) reading I
found & read: mr Gurnalls Xian Ar: did soe reuiue
me & refresh my spt yt it set me much aboue any such
things as used to discompose me & since I find yt I
am euery day freer yn other from it for wch I h: great
cause to be thankfull, yr last did much satisfy me
concerning yt distemper I then compl'd of concerning
my feares & greefes about relations, I much troubled my
selfe yt I shd be soe trou: in ys particulars but since it
ariseth soe much from my temp: I resolue by gods
grace to follow yr directions in striuing agst it & beare it
as my affliction wth reioyceing in wt god hath done for me
in greater things, & ye effect it hath to make me more desireous to dye, I once thought & h: oft said I should
neuer be willing to dye except I wr forced to it by some
terr: tormenting desease or greiuous afflict: yt I cannot but
admire gods goodnes to me who hath made me euer to
long after death yt my constant frame yt Lord gran
I may be as willing wn I am indeede called to dye
I thinke I shall trouble yu wth but one complt & aword
in yr lre incourageth me to yt in hope yu may helpe me to
a remedy, yu writ somwt of yt temper about going into
a darke roome wch yt wr neere 20: & alas yt is to much
my ~~frame still & hath bin from~~ a child all ye faith
I can act & all ye experiences yt I can summon up will
n: preuaile its but few yeares since I spake of it t
any body being very much ashamed of it but wn I
heard some Xians complr to me of ye same thing th
I discouered my case to mr Porter & perceiue its a th
incident to many, he aduised me to auoid ye occa
of ye tempt: & goe to pray: while it ws light wch I d
& soe wr free last winter from ye tempta: but n
very much preuaile upon me that though I goe to se
wn its light both mor: & eue: yet wn I begin to pra
I am soe surprized wth tempta: to feare yt it mu
disturbs me in ye duty & euery little noise doth of
soe affright me yt it makes me start from ye place
I am, wn I pray carelesly or distractedly I seldome h
any of yes but wn I am serious & in a good frame
I am pittyfully molested if I take but one of my ch
wth me or yer be but any liuing creature in ye roome I
am free though I see wt non-sence it is for I cannot
h: ye least thought of yes can preuent wt may cause
feare I am much ashamed yt my faith shd be noe
stronger but I beleeue ye deuill makes much use of
my fearefull temper to suite his tempt: to it for I
can trust god in greater matters. I doe soe hunger &
thirst after holinesse & to get more strength agst sin
& Satan yt since I weaned my child I resolued to k
a secret day of humiliation once a month for ye obtaining of it &

monethly I kept it upon ~~[illegible]~~ ye 2 accounts ye distrust: feare & Atheist: thoughts, I blesse god since I h: bin
more free from ye latter but more preuailed upon by ye former & yt much greeues me yt I shd growe worse
such a day if yu can helpe me or direct me wt to doe in such a case I desire it: wn I consider
this I could speake shall to doubting & quest: all but wn I looke upon X & thinke wt he hath done for me
I dare not question his aboundant loue wherewth he hath loued me but rather fall into admiration
of gods free grace to me. I h: one case of consc: to put to yu & a query about a duty & I h: done

the case is my owne & thus it is whether I holding
usury unlawfull may put forth ye money of an other
to use who doth hold it lawfull.
ye father of a maide wch willing to put his daug: porti
into my hand upon my request for her sake knowing
he wd bring it to nothing & yesf: to secure somwt to
her brooke it & for ye improvemt of it (wch he will re-
quire of me) I put it forth & but lately am informed
yt I being n: clearly satisfied of ye lawfullnes of yt
way (soe yt I durst n: put it ot if it wr my owne)
may n: doe it for another, I desire yu wd please to
resolve it for if it be agin, I must tn put ye money
agn into her fathers hands & soe give it for gone having
tried other lawfull wayes & had noe successe wth it.
ye query I put is about ye duty of selfe-examination
in wch I am much at a losse upon ye account.
I h: ys 2 yeare kept a diary of spll matters wr by I
can tell ye frame of my ♡ in every du: & ordinance
& wt thoughts passe too & fro or stay yr; before I
tooke ys course my way for selfe examin: wr to call
to rem: as many sins as I could agt ye commandemts
& those to mourne over & confesse in pray: before
pub: privat or secret fast bef: ye sacra: & sab: as
I had opportunity, now in ys diary I find many more
tn I could ever rem: wth ot it & non ye I can rem:
are ? of it. yesf: I desire to know whether ye serious
read: of ys diary dgt ys times wth suitable affectiones
to ye things I read & after confesse: & pray: accordingly
be sufficient & may goe for ye duty of selfe-exa:
I count ys booke to be like a booke of expences wr every
peny laid ot is set downe & yet to be found & summed
up at ye yeares end, wch if yee wr only kept in memory
many a peny wd be forgot at ye yeares end & n: reckoned
I desire satisfaction in ys point wt yr judgmt is.
I could very well afford to trouble you oftener wth my
tro: but yt it would n: be a point of prudence consider-
ing ye great occasiones wch makes mee forbeare, I desire
yr answ: assoone as conveniently yu can & yu wd please
to send it to mr Wrights wch is ye safest way of con-
veyance, I shall now leave yu wth a desire of yr prayers
in ys particulars & wth my service rest

Hogston No: 10:
57

fol. 29. of Baxte volume shown.

These for m^r Richard Baxter
teacher of the church
at Kedarminster

Worcester shire

(88)

29

Reberend & Worthy Sr London Sept 8 75

3

I am very sensible of the
trouble my scriblings put you to, and therfore I purposed to habe been
silent: but necessity (that unmanerly thing & regardless of all laws) hath
again extorted this present line: for understanding by yours the uncertainty
of your returning home, and fearing lest the taking up of those papers should
be lyable to misconstruction, I looked upon it as my duty to let you know
yt in doing so I only resolved in this idle peece of my time to peruse them
my selfe; and therfor I hope at yr return you will be pleased to let me hear from
you, that they may be again redelibered: Sr in my last I earnestly intreat
ed your adbice in some few things, but I receibed no answer (howeber pressing
my present condition pleaded) and amongst other things, it was my humble desire
to know, if ye thought it fitt that I should (during your absence) present them
to any other minister, and to whom: but your not answering makes me conjec
ture the inexpedience therof. It did bery much glad me that these papers
you habe perused, lyke you (as you are pleased to signefie) so well: and therfore
the more regardless shall I be if others shall carpe: only I am heartely agrieved
that in some few things, ther should be a difference: your objections are truly bery
weighty and considerable and therfor the more affraied am I (especially con
sidering my ~~[illegible]~~ weaknesse) to interfeire; were it not ther yet remains
some hopes (pardon if my ignorance make me speake so) of reconcilement
for in the idea ther is only that one tenet anent fire wherin ye seem to dissent
from my father: what you understand by fire I know not (for I had not
tyme to peruse your scheme, my receibing therof trysting with a present
sure hand with whom I sent it to my father) but I suppose the thing my father
intendeth is to ebidence the fabulose conceit of ancient philosophers, who supposed
it to be a simple element & yet knew not what place to assigne it (untill one
more eagle-eyed then the rest espyed its situation to be near the moon
and bery reasonable is this noble conjectur since the humidity of the moon
may be somewhat more temperat by reason of the heat of this ffantastick
fire) but if by fire you only meane a subtile, hot, bolatile pearcing spirit
resembling the nature of flame; then I am apprehensibe that my father
will neither deny its actibity, nor usefulness: As to these great objections
ye habe mentioned against somethings in the 2d section of his treatise
I cannot say much; my memory not serbing me to know upon what
grounds my father walketh; only I am apt to beleibe that upon 2 accounts
he might habe rationaly inferred these things agst Des-Cartes: as 1o his
inconstancy, 2ly his mistaking the figure: both bery unbecoming such an
applauded doctor: which (to ebite prolixity) I shall only instance in two
particulars; as to the first [ego cogito (saith he) ergo sum est primum cog
nitum] and yet with that same mouth [a dei cognitione (saith he) omnium
aliarum rerum cognitio dependet] quo teneam vultum &c: and I suppose so
Cartesius speakes here of priority (in genere non essendi, bel causandi, sed cog-
noscendi) nay that [idea dei] which he so frequently inculcats is that which
he will habe to be born in upon the intellect so forcibly, and engraben so
deeply, that it must of necessity be the object of the ~~the~~ first act the intellect e
mitteth: His mistaking the figure is also ebident in his taking the direct
for the reflex act of the intellect, and in supposing [ego cogito] to be an

incomplexe whereas it is realye a complex. There are also two
things wherin I bery humblye desire a further satisffaction and first
why is it not as perillouse to assent the certainty of (ego ambulo) which
Cartesius is not affraied to doe (as of (ego cogito)) since 1 ambulation
is as ebident a demonstration that man existeth as cogitation and de-
monstrateth the existence of the body as pungentlye as cogitation doth
the existence of the soule 2ly both are only and equalye knowen by a reflexe
act and so they become only the object of some new act and although it may
be rationally supposed that in neither of these we are deceived yet that we
are not deceivable in both I dare not affirme lest I should reflect upon
and not a litle derogat infinit power. 2ly I would humblie desire to know
why it is that I must perceive I doe (cogitare) before I know what that is
which I think (since my act of cogitation tends directlye and is only
terminat in the object without any interruption. now to know that I
doe (cogitare) not only implyes (as I humblye conceive) an interruption of
my former act of knowledge which was terminat upon such an object but also a
reflection upon my former thoughts which inferreth as ebidentlye a
distinct act, as the object is certainly distinct for the act which tended
towards the former object is now become the object of a new act and alas doth
not daily experience to sadly demonstrat our doing without the least
reflexion. Reberend Sr I humblye implore your pardon for the boldness
of this interprise and that your charity (which is so bery conspicuous)
may be in a great measure extended for covering those multitude of
faults which may occurre since coming from him who is a lober and
admirer of your singular and eminent piety and learning as he also is

Reberend Sr

Your most humble and most
debotet serbant
A: Pitcarne

I have according to
your command sent my father
an just account of your objections
& if you writt to me ye letters may be
directed to James Renires mert in
Crooked Lane near to the Bridge

(681)

For

The very Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the
Gospel

Good Sr, 4 9:ber ye 30th: 86:

Mr Smith att first told me that you were willing to pay yor fine to have off yr behaviour & & since his majesty Remitted yor fine mr Smith – offered me his bond before Wittnesses for 100:li & that I should have 40:li worth of bookes nay that I should be yor heir, & this was offered both before & since ye business was don I sent you a Letter lately but having noe answere makes me send this seeing you are for my referring it to yor selfe I desire to know what you in yor Conscience Judge I deserve: & I hope I neede not fear being well rewarded by a person that is esteemed & reputed vertuous & Godly I pray direct yor Letter to me to be Left wth ye porter att ye Duke of Sumersetts att Northumberland house in ye Strand wth as much speede as you can for I am in ye interim

Yor humble servant

David Williams

190

To Mr Richard Baxter
att a Patent Shop over agst
ye Kings Bench Prison &
Gate wth Spurrde in
Southwarke

190

PAYD
PENY

Most Honord & Worthy Sr

5 I have often attended ye Rt Hono:ble ye Earle of Powis abt yor Concerne & prticularly this morning we have consulted & agreed yt a petition should be fairly written directed to ye King & Councell to be prsented to his majesty next Wednsday by me on yor behalfe & also there must be short petitions to other Noblemen yt are privy Councellors to move for yor Enlargement & to second ye Earle of Powis's motion, who hath moved his Maty severall times for you I know who obstruct it all this while I have prevailed with ye Earle to offer to be bound for you for ye future, Sr I spare noe time nor mony to serve you faithfully, Therefore if you can possibly this night write any petition by your word frame it to ye ~~K~~ King & Councell & ye Lds I will get those ~~w~~ transcribed by a scrivener & will present them my selfe. ye Earle will engage 6. or 7. Lds of ye Councell for you. & I will prsent Petitions to ye Earle of Craven ye Earle of Berkeley the Dukes of Ormond & Beaufort I have ye [illegible] Petition [illegible] by me I will waite on you to morow att 12 [illegible] who am

Yor humble servt
Da: Williams

monday
3 of ye clock

I will leave noe stone unturned to serve

(161)

35

These to mr Richard
Baxter

These

191

Sr

I take your letter (which I received this day) to be a great accomodation to my affections to my ancient flock, as giving mee an opportunity which before I wanted to cast in my advise, for ye preservation of their unity, & obediance to god and man; though I have incidently spoken to one or two who have called here (which it seemes have bin made acquainted with) I take that to be as nothing to ye just satisfaction of the rest, I have written very few letters to them since I left them, & those few such as medled not with such matters, wherein the laws have interposed. I am glad y give them your testimony, how free that place still is from sectaries: by the long experiance of their humility, obediance & perswadable temper, I may well be confident that thay are still inclined to peace & unity; & if thay refuse any warrantable comm yt it is through som such doubts & scruples as the most peaceable are lyable to. (whet if I had given them my advise thay might have bin sooner satisfied I am unfort becaus I have used to offer them satisfaction more by evidence of truth than by my au thority: And being not at hand to have reasoned ye case with them, I should have made doubt with ye most teachable & peasable of ye successe. I confesse when the corporation oath was imposed on them; when al the twelve are turned out; when I heard of div of them lying so many monethes in jaile, & in other such cases in which I wished the just information, I did forbeare the interposition of my counsell, & thought not m to write a letter to them. which if it have proved any wrong to them or you, I am but cannott accuse my selfe for it. for I doubt not but you knowe, how much labour it cost and of what importance it was judged, to take them of their dependance mee; & should I have writ ye one letter of advise to them, after al this, I might easily fore see, that I should have bin censured as their seducer, & to have don in an affront to these great indevours and athority: And therefore I chose rather bare som displesure of ye people, and to be censured as negligent, timerous, or any such thing, then to sett my selfe agt the indevours of those, yt judged this meanes necessary to ye peoples good: though I will confesse, I wondered that any by an h breathing in their aire, could so quickly & certainly discover yt thay were prof serpents, & a generation of vipers that could not escape the damnation of he when in about 17 or 18 yeares experiance I had knowne two presbiterians al ye parrish, & had found them so humble & peasable a people, gilty of opposit to profanesse & schisme, but not to purity & peace. And when once heere yeares agoe) I wrote a letter but to my aged mother (though mixt with lang very harsh agt the seditions of that time) it was intercepted with great indust and sent up to you may knowe whoe, as if I had bin a traytor for reviling traytors (though the great condesension of yr noble Lord in that busnes must not be unthankfully forgotten.) These reasons & others made mee expect tha a letter written by mee to Kederminster, though only to have confirmed them in charity, obediance & peace, would have bin taken for som haynous crime & tended to their detriment. which made mee so much forbare till now you give mee this unexpected opportunity. And as for the concealment of my letter which you promise, I am so farr from desiring itt, that I intreate you to rade it to as many of them as you can, becaus I have noe such way of communicating my thoughts to them without offence to others:

one case (as I understand yo) you intimate, & two you expresse as ye matter of discontent. I shall freely & pleasantly tell you my opinion of them al. 1. both thay & I are agt al private meetings, which are kept up schismatically, in opposition to lawfull publick church communion: but not agt lawfull peasable converse of christians in the managemt of a holy life: if those families which cannot reade or remember or repeate your sermons, shall goe to those that can, to be helped herein, & to spend ye Lords day in such edifiing dutys (as psalms & prayers) which thay are unable to performe at home, I cannot disswade them from so christian and charitable a course, no though thay should be imprisoned for itt. butt yet I judge, that when the good to soules is not like to be so great, a is ye evil that will folow itt (in their owne sufferings, or any accidentall at that time itt seseth to be ~~a duty~~ theire duty. Butt a little

[illegible] dance I think it prudent if you conceale it, unlesse [illegible]

Spirituall good will weigh downe a great deale of corporall suffering (whi
is inconsiderable and will quickly have an end). || 2° As to ye poynt of Baptisme
I have so much scruple about the ye use of ye Crosse, least it prove a human
Sacramt added to Christs Sacrament, yt though I only doubt, & presume not
condemne itt, yet I cannott perswade them who ~~only~~ are doubtfull as I, to ch
that way of baptising their children, (when they may have it without on equ
tearmes: And what ye sense of ye Church of England is about godfathers, I wa
never able to discover: whether they adopt ye Children & take them hence
forth as their owne; or whether they totally undertake on the behalfe of
children: that they are undertakers & not meere witnesses I am satisfied.
that they promise for the Child & not for ye parents seemeth very plaine:
the parent is forbidden to be godfather himselfe: And I well remember yt wh
in ~~the~~ a most Reverend Consesse of Fathers & Brrs I put ye doubt whether al
children of Turkes & Infidells were saved if baptised, or ~~whether ye children~~
were iustly baptized, & godfathers was ye iustifieng medium; that I desired to kno
whether ye said godfathers tooke ye Children as their owne, as Abraham di
those that were bought with money &c; & so became to them parents in a
sided sence: And the speakers affirmed it. what ever ye silent thought. If
it be not so, I knowe not by what right they enter them into ye covenan
and promise them salvation: And if it be so, I confesse I cannot exhorte
my godly neighbors to give up their Children in propriety to other men, n
nor to their education; nor can I exhort others to take such a propriet
or charge. But I pray you tell them, that it is my iudgment, yt if the pa
may be suffered to offer his owne Child to god in Baptisme, & to Covenant
openly in his name, & others to be but either witnesses, or sponsors tha
ye parent shall doe his duty, or speake only in ye parents name & stea
they may lawfully bring their Children to be baptized by you: yea
though you use the Crosse, seing their desire of baptisme for their
children, is no approbation of your use of yt transient Image at all, but
may stand with their dislike, & leaveth the guilt on you alone, And
it is so great a convenience to have baptisme publickly administred,
I had rather seeke it there with som imperfections, than by privacy
avoyd them || 3° As to the sacrament of ye body & blood of Christ I know
thay are for the frequent participation of it. & if they communicate not with
you, I conjecture it is upon some of these accounts. 1° some of them do s
scruple ye receiving it from mr Dance, becaus thay think his partes to be in
competent for ye ministry. 2° some of them are so over desirous of retainin
som relation to mee as their Pastor, that thay are loath to receive from a
another, least it seme a consenting to that change which thay consent n
not to. 3° some scruple communicating with ye scandalous & prophaine,
And some few scruple to receive it kneeling 5° And you tell mee som
think the covenant doth restraine them (that is, as I suppose, from comu
nicating according to ye liturgie, with ye Ceremonies, & with ye scandalou
To these perticulers, 1° As to mr Dance, ye searcher of hearts knoweth
that nor ill will to his person, nor animosity against him, causeth me to
judge as here I do. its like thay think that he understandeth not the
fundamentalls of Christianity so as to bee able to preach them competently
to ye understanding of others: I had so litle triall of his partes, that I am
nott able to contradict them. & though thay & I well knowe that ye validity
of sacraments dependeth not on ye ministers good life, nor on those partes
which are nessesary but ad melius esse — yet I must distinguish of personal
faults (as morall vices) & what ever become of ye question of ye validity
of sacraments yet as to the question of ~~their~~ our duty as long as thay so judg
of him (& I cannot confute them) I dare not perswade them to comitt the
guidance of their soules to such a one nor to doe that which tendeth
to incouradg him in undertaking the charge of soules. Therefore I should
desire that thay may receive it ~~at~~ from you, of whose capasity I here noe quest
-ion though I knowe you not). To the 2d doubt I think it wholy
causlesse. both because god hath removed mee from them (whom man

man cannot resist) & if he had not one church may have divers pastors, & thay
should be thankfull that thay speed better than many other people do. & if
all this were nothing, yet as a minister in the universall church may give
the sacrament to any particuler church yt calleth him, so to receive it from
him is not presently to obliudge ones selfe in a fixed relation to him. To ye 3d
doubt, I confesse I take church discipline for a great ordinance of god,
for want of which ye church is so like to ye Infidel ~~nations~~ world. yt I suppos
it is ye great hinderance of ye conversion of heathens & infidel nations,
while thay think that religion to be not better then theirs which maketh ye
societys no better which professe it. And I confesse I am one of those that
think church communion too precious a thing to be forcedly given to ym yt are
unwilling of it. & yt every man is not meete for it, that had rather receive
than be imprisoned or undone: & yt unwilling receiving is farre from meriting
or saving soules. But yett my iugment is, that seeing it is not in ~~my~~ theire
power to keepe away the unworthy, the prepared people may communicate without
being guilty of the sin of ye unprepared. And that the want of disipline is
is the sin of others, & not of them that cannot hinder it. And especially
that church having so many to joyne, that walke in ye feare of god and
so fewe of the scandalous to be with them, it is their best way, if you
will administer it alone to receive it from you with unity & thankfulnes.
4o And as for kneeling, thay knowe already that I judge it lawfull though
not the most convenient if thay had their choice. But some fewe
of them I knowe are still in doubt, in which my bare opinion cannot
satisfie them having not opertunity of converse with them, & answering
theire doubtes: & if I had, we shall never be all of one mind in all things.
5o And as for the forme of common prayer, I knowe nothing about the sacra-
ment that should keepe them of, it beeing being better in that then mo
of the rest. And for the covenant, I think it is liker to bind them to yo
communion then from it. for I hope none ever covenanted against wo
-ping god, & church communion, but only against the faultes of it.
that professeth to avoyd a defective way of worship, doth not inte
avoyd all, if he cannot have what he would, As he is faulty that prefer
disorderly or defective wayes before a better; so hee is more faulty th
prefers none at all before that which is defective. for to have none
publick worship and church-communion & sacramts is prophanness which is
expressly disclaimed in ye covenant. I thinke that is my duty after
covenant which was my duty before, seeing I covenanted not to
me dutys to my selfe. To conclude my advise to them is to communica
with you thankfully & cheerfully: But with these two additions: first y
those that are yet unsatisfied, & dare not do it for feare of sin, do
take it for any division amongst themselves nor judge those yt doe it
nor those that do it despise those that do it not, but hould as much love
and unity as if there were no such difference, for it is the censerers that
backbite & judge & despise one anothe that are gilty of ye devision;
2o that if you will not connive at those that scruple kneeling (as in London
I here thay ordinarily doe,) at least that you gently beare with the unsati
-fied, & stay till god shall lead them on to fuller satisfaction; & not to note
it as a division, & trouble or reproach them: I knowe that some will be yet
in doubt, & such as are as wise and as honest & humble as any of ye rest.
To revile or vexe such as schismaticks, or contumacious will merit no favor
or thankes from god. I take ye bouldnes as a friend to you as well as them, to
adjure you as you will answer it shortly to the universall pastor, that yo
excercise over those faithfull people a paternall governmt of love, & not
a tiranny; that you rule them not by constraint but willingly (vid Dr Hamon
in 1 pet: 5. 2) & that you joyne not with those that offend Christs litle ones,
and make a reproach of a soule that feareth to offend god; nor with them yt
in sheepes clothing have bloody teeth; but imitate him is who dwelleth with ye
contrite, & carrieth his lambs, & shed his blood to save ~~them~~ even the
infirme. Thus Sr I have at your owne desire taken the liberty to give
my advise to that people whom I love; poore in ye world, but I hope rich
in faith and heires of heaven, however judged & used on earth

ed I politickly designed to keepe men united to strengthen them agains
other party, I should not have thus advised: For I knowe that the
munion with you will for a time occasion som little difference among
but I confesse ~~that~~ as I love not to take such little reasons against ye gre
cause of unity & peace so I abhorre al principles & practises which tend
to divide men from the universal church; & consequently from a pticul
church uppon any cause which is common to ye universal. And when
goe to worship god in Christ I suppose I have al christians in ye world
(and saints in heaven) together, offering their worship to the same go
and though I am absent in ~~the~~ body, I desire to be as present in spiri
with al that call truly on ye name of ye lord, whether with a forme an
liturgie or without. And it is so dreadful a judgment to be excommunicated
from the Church universal, which is ye body of Christ, that I hope I shall
not dare to execute it on my selfe: but though I would ceteris paribus
worship god as purely as I can, yet shall I never on pretence of purity
seperate from ye universal church, either from visible communion with
the church congregate, or spiritual communion with the church regen
ate, nor perswade any others so to doe. Sr pardon this freedom and
plainnes occasioned by yr invitation, & for your tendernesse of that
peoples peace, and care of their salvations accept the harty thankes of
him who repenting of his negligence & slightnes in the matters of eter
ternal consequence, earnestly desireth that you may take warning & be
more cumpassionat to mens soules, & more serious in imitating that ex
ent patterne Feb. 20 then he hath bin who is

your unworthy felow servant worthily
silenced, for working noe harder in
that part of Christs vineyard whilst he
had time R B

too obscure about the covenant let it be perused & it will appere
that tooke it never vowed yt thay would never worship god accordin
liturgie, much lesse that thay would seperate from al churchis
it (for al most al ye ~~churchis~~ Christian world useth one more faulty) th
vowed that in their places thay would endeavour ye reformation of
church discipline, & ye extirpation of schisme & prophaneness: he ther
having in his place endeavoured reformation, because he cannot acc
sh it, doth withdrawe from any such communion in sacraments, as befor
covenant and without it is a duty, & either doth prefer a more in con
nt way, or totally omitt ~~this~~ ordinance of god, doth goe much further
reformation by such omission than by such publick communion: it is a
ther reformation to turne from omission of sacraments to the useing
according to ye liturgie then to turne from this to a purer way

Wr 7

The report of yor displeasure agt my Paraphrase on the New Test. and your prosecution of it seemeth so strange to me, yt me thinks were I able (as I would) to waite on you & discourse it a little wi you I should sure give you satisfaction. But being by paine & weaknes disabled, I can but send you these few lines instead of ye fuller reason would render you. It is past my reach to understand yet ye reasons of your offence. I cannot doubt but you are for a peaceable concord & abatement of rancorous & passionate enmityes, under his Matys government. Misinterpretation of Scripture & one another, is notoriously the cause of much of our discords. To expound Gods word to the people is the office of Gods ministers; were this a crime, it were a crime to be ordained. It is ye worke of all preachers daily in ye pulpits. wt have they els to teach ye people. The Bp made me promise it in my ordination; & ye Canons forbid me to forsake my calling; being vowed to be faithfull in it: & ye Church of Rome saith the Character is indelible. If I desert it, I am sacrilegious & a traytor to Christ. If I do it not without faults & failings, humanum est errare; it is no wonder. Let him yt is without fault cast the first stone at me. If no mortall man doe any worke wch may not be amended, I might not scarce [illegible] either. I have had (till they were taken from me) many hundred books in my library; but not one yt I know of yt is wholly faultless (save Gods word). And I think halfe or three parts of my library were the writings of Papists, Jesuits, Fryars, Schoolmen &c. Most of them had principles of sedition & treason, & yet I & all ministers ordinarily keepe ym & none ever forbad it, their excellent learning being more usefull than their errours are hurtfull. And am I the only man yt liveth under Adams law of ignorancy, I must be a Catharist, & am ~~[illegible]~~ unsufferable if I am not faultless. No Law forbad me printing. Tho I have ye Bps valid Licence to preach, & ye judgment of ye late Ld Chiefe Justice Sanders & Mr Pollixfen yt it is in force to enable me to preach occasionall sermons, I forbore to use it, lest I should offend them yt are agt my preaching. This Paraphrase is loudly accused by the Sectaries, who have raysed a clamour agt it, & say yt I doe in it plead for merit, justification by workes, agt Reprobation, for Liturgies, & imposed ceremonies &c. Specially yt I have multiplyed arguments agt ye Popes being ye beast & papall Rome Babilon, & to prove it to be Pagan Rome, & they cry out yt I am a Papist & make ye Pope not to be ye Antichrist. And one of them hath written a booke agt me by ye name of Bellarminus junior to prove me a Papist. And how will you promote ye rejoicing of these men, if you also condemne ye booke wch they so accuse of Popery. I cannot imagine why you should think it ye publike interest to suppresse it. If it be for civil interest, it asserteth non-resistance even of heathen Governours: If it be for ecclesiasticall interest, It asserteth three sorts of Bps: 1o Episcopos gregis, as jure divino in every Church; 2o Episcopos presbyterorum where there are many presbyters in one Church as lawfull jure ecclesiastico at least. 3 Arch Bps as jure divino successors of ye Apostles & other generall Officers. Forreigne Jurisdiction by ye Pope it contradicteth; but pleadeth for Love & peace with all men. // For my owne part I know not why I should grudge at Gods providence in ye least degree if when I have served him as well as I could (tho imperfectly) till at 70 yeares in miserable paine & languor I am good for nothing, & can do no more, he will have me end my worke by suffering for my duty. I thanke God I little feare it. But if I know my selfe I more regard the honour of the Government, & the publike peace than my liberty or life. And for these I intreat you to lay by partiality & consider whether you & all Magistrates should not by your actions expresse his Matys gracious resolution for clemency & tendernes to his subjects & to invade no mans Property. And whether you should not rather encourage & helpe us to allay dividing principles & animosityes, than prosecute us & hinder us when we do best. This booke hath no word contrary to Law or to publike peace. And they yt read it will see yt it justifie it selfe. And I heartily wish yt none may dishonour ye Government & the condition we are in, by tempting people to think yt it is implac bent against ye opening of Gods word wch is no worse than this while we are allowed the use of Papists Commentaries. If any so farre mistake their interest as to think my reputation, liberty or life, a necessary sacrifice to it, Gods will be done (though I know how ill so leane a feast will be at last digested). But as I humbly intreate you to charge nothing on the booke which is not there so also that you will deale mercifully with the poore afflicted widdow who publisheth it: And that you will not hinder that little helpe to the ignorant which I endeavoured with the best skill I had. Could I have done it better I would. I have studyed these 55 years as hard as I could. My youthfull crudities I have cast up. Sure no Christians yt use the Lords prayer take Charity for a vice or ceremony nor forgiving others for a sin. What you think there is erroneous in ye booke, if you please to notifie it to me, I shall thankfully take it for a helpe to my repentance, & retract it if evidence convince me. But hard thoughts of the author may make you hable to misinterprete. God direct us all into ~~into~~ ye way of Love & peace wch must heale us if wee are curable & in wch wee would all meet together at last. Death is at ye doore, & will end our animosities & quarrells. And he shall have judgment without mercy who sheweth not mercy. Overdoing is undoing. God is Love, & he yt dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God & God in him: but he yt hateth his brother is a manslayer. To follow peace with all men is ~~they~~ unfeigned endeavour ~~of~~ who am

unfeignedly willing to be taught by you or any man

Ri: Baxter

Feb. 19. 1684

fol. 39. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Sr The Reasons why I subscribed not the Addresse were first because I never saw it, nor was it offered me; My brethren knowing my weaknesse, I suppose justly thought me unmeet for any such employment, & mett about it a mile or more from me. And now I am under 400l & 200l bonds for the behaviour, the first at Hicks Hall, the other before Judge Holloway: And I canot returne any thanks for our deliverance from the Act of Uniformity & many such others wch ejecte silence, imprison & ruine us, without either expressing or intimating some blaming of those acts, & of the Bps & Justices that executed them: And if you peruse my paraphrase on the eight texts wch speake of the persecuting of Christ & his Apostles, you will see that this blaming them ~~& ~~ by wch we have suffered will be a farr plainer reflexion on the lawes & ye Church of England ~~& the Government~~, than the words wch were interpreted against it by innuendo's: so that if my bonds be not remitted (for losse) & I secured from the like sentence (for more) I who I thanke God can beare that other men take away my liberty & life, shall be guilty of casting it away myselfe: I believe the King would be against my punishment; & that he was not for it then, his Declaration seemeth to tell me: And yet I was neere two years a prisoner or worse, & my cost over great notwithstanding his Matys Gracious remission of my fine: The Judges will interprete the Lawes (& me) as they have done.

3o And my Nonconformity lying most in an aversenes to such oathes, subscriptions, & covenants whose truth I am unsatisfyed of, its two to one but an Imposed forme of Addresse will have some word ~~in~~ wch I shall scruple & thereby offend: And what I should draw up may not satisfie others.

4o I have these 35 years made Love, concord & peace the maine study of my life: And I dare not now violate it causelessly with the body of the Conforming Clergie: And I have not skill enough to draw up an Addresse wch shall neither displease his Maty nor them. But silence in a dying man not thinking should displease none.

5o I have tryed with two or three whether they will concurre if I should do it. And they deny it, because they were not invited to the former addresse wch all reasons offered in the name of the Presbyterians; & they know not wt other name to take, & will not meet the same terms with an after addresse on any account: And I cannot be answerable to make such an Addresse alone as if I were so considerable a person. Sr these reasons [illegible]

fol. 41 of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

194

A Copy of Letters to Sr
John Baber (two
or 3 words only altered
& not ye Sence)

(194)

Reverend Brother

9 yours of Oct: 1 I receiued, as wil appeare to you by the sequele hereof. As for that passage in your Now, or Newes, although I did within my selfe suspect, that I had spoken of it at one time or other, to one person or other, neuerthelesse as I wrote unto you in my former letter, could not at that time by any meanes call to mind the certaine person, to whom I spake it: but you minding mee of Mr Blake, I doe now thereupon remember not only the thing it selfe, but moreouer the occasion of my mentioning that passage unto him, which as I did then call it your mistake, so I doe (pace quod dicitur sit tua) still iudge it to bee, nor did I at all (as to mee seemeth) mistake your meaning: for you doe affirme in your letter as much in effect as I did impute unto you as ~~[illegible]~~ necessarily implyed in that passage, viz: That the soundnes of the doctrine in all points contained in the Homilies is to bee subscribed unto. This I doe humbly conceiue to bee your mistake; for the subscription required in the 35th Article is in these words, viz: That they doe containe a godly & wholesome doctrine necessary for these times — This subscription doth not imply (as I am verily perswaded) an acknowledgment, that every passage in the ~~[illegible]~~ Homilies is true & sound doctrine. And I doe thereupon offer it to your consideration, whether you & I could not conscionably, ~~[illegible]~~ or rationally, subscribe to the Sermons of Dr Preston, of Mr Hildersham, the Westminster Confession of the Assembly, Mr Howes booke of Blessednes (which I doe from my heart iudge with you to bee an excellent booke & the Authour also though altogether unknowne to mee otherwise then by his writings, to bee as you say of him a sound, iudicious & excellent man) as containing a godly & wholesome doctrine necessary for all times & places — although neither you nor I doe, or can acknowledge, that every passage in their bookes, or Sermons is true, & sound doctrine. I haue made these instances, not as if I had any underualuing thoughts of the persons of those learned, pious & iudicious Authours (I onely say of them as St James did of the Prophet Elijah & as you would haue mee say of themselues) they were men & not God) but because I know assuredly, that there are certaine points of doctrine in their two bookes asserted, which you your selfe are as farre from being able ~~[illegible]~~ to subscribe unto as I am.

This answer is, I thinke, sufficient to discouer the mistake to bee yours & not mine, & for that cause I would haue added no more words unto it, were it not, that I did iudge it a matter not unworthy your consideration, whether a lesse rigorous or more fauourable construction might not in reason bee put upon the words of the Homily, then you seeme to take notice of: for 1 The Homil: doth not positiuely & peremptorily pronounce, that neuer any scorner was conuerted, but he thinks.

2 Nor doth it say simply I thinke, but I thinke, I may without danger of Gods iudgment pronounce

3 Forasmuch as Solomon doth not sticke ~~[illegible]~~ to pronounce of Adulterers (Pro: 2:19 that none of them doe returne againe) I doe thereupon leaue it to your consideration whether the like comparatiue construction may not possibly, or rationally bee made of those words in the Homily as of the sayd words of Solomon & other such places of Scripture, where the words (none & neuer) are to bee construed in a comparatiue sense, none for a few, & neuer for very seldome. But I urge none of these things upon your consideration, I doe onely propose them, leauing you to iudge of them as you please.

As to that passage, wherewith I did confesse my selfe to haue been much surprized, my answere ~~[illegible]~~ is, 1 You doe word that matter in your letter ~~[illegible]~~ otherwise then in your booke, for whereas in your letter you say, That ~~[illegible]~~ though the Magistrates haue the disposal of the ~~publike~~ place & publike maintenance, yet the making or dissoluing of the church relation betwixt Pastor & flocke is not altogether, nor directly at their will; in your booke there are no such words as Altogether, or Directly; you there in asserting of our Non-conforming brethren, that they doe thinke, that the Magistrates putting another Minister in possession of the Temple & Tythes did not dissolue the relation ~~[illegible]~~ In which words I humbly conceiue, that there is a 2x mistake, 1 As to the thoughts & opinion of our Non-conforming brethren: for as I neuer heard, that any of the old Non-conformists in the dayes of K. James & Q. Elizabeth (I meane of Non-conformists purely such; for when in tract of time the Non-conformists began to diuide among themselues into pure Non-conformists (headed by Mr Cartwright) & Separatists (headed by Browne & thereupon called Brownists) of these later sort I doe not speake) were of this opinion, so I doe both thinke & hope, that very few or none of great name of them are now so minded & I did in my last letter to you instance in one, who declared himselfe to mee to bee of a contrary iudgment to you in this point.

2 I humbly conceiue, that you are mistaken in the thing it selfe: for, I am sure, that the Magistrates, or supreme powers doe take upon them by their lawes, to ordaine, who shal bee the Pastor of the church of Xt within the precincts of all parishes in their dominion as well as who shal receiue, or enioy the tithes

2 ~~[illegible]~~ The tenour of Ministers ~~[illegible]~~ their legal institution into their places doth manifest that they are first (at least in order of nature) constituted Pastors of ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the church of Xt in such & such a parochial precinct & then, or thereupon are they inuested into the publike maintenance & thereunto, into which after their institution they are formally & corporally inducted

3 I know no power assumed by the supreme Authority of this Nation in this matter, which is not assumed by the supreme Authority of other

Protestant Churches & countreys, as in the Palatinate, the Cantons [Berne, Zu-rich, Basil-] the Low-countreys—

4 I am not able (though I were never so willing) to prove, but that the supreme Authority of the said places (countreys, or Kingdomes) have of right the same power belonging to them to ~~[illegible]~~ dissolve the relation betwixt Pastor & people, as Solomon had to put out Abiathar from the priesthood & to put in Zadock in his place.

5 As for what you speake, or can say of the African Byshops under Hunnericus & Gensericus—(who for ought I know, were either Pagan, or Arrians & Tyrants both in Exercitio, & Titulo) I shal not bee much moved therewith til I know a greater similitude betwixt their government & ours in this Kingdome, then as yet I doe.

What I did with relation by a publike Minister you may perceive by the premises, viz One sent by the Law, or Magistrate, or supreme Authority of our nation to bee the Pastor of the church that within such or such a parochial precinct & in consequence thereof is rightly setled with a right to enjoy the publique maintenance allowed by law; & you wil also see upon review, that I have not hitherto to learne to distinguish as you doe betwixt a Teacher of subjects in such a precinct of ground, who shal have the temples & tithes, & a church in that sense of Xts institution; if by these words in your letter you doe meane a Pastor of a church in that sense of Xts institution; for I stil doe thinke, that Ministers are sent to parishes by the law of our land not only to bee Teachers of subjects & the[n] to enjoy the temples & tithes, but to bee Pastors & to rule the ~~church~~ church of Xt within such precincts. And whereas you say, that you doe thinke as you speake, & doe what thinke, that there are few Churches (Greeke, Papish, or Protestant) that are not of your mind; I doe therefore thinke it my part to say no more to you concerning this matter, wherein although I doe differ (as it may seem) from you, yet I hope not from the Greeke, ~~[illegible]~~ Protestants you speak of. And I shal the rather forbeare to adde more, because I doe altogether concurre with what you say in your letter, How that to dispute this point further would bee troublesome both to you & me, & all disputes occasioning heates with the most. With my prayers to the Lord to direct & prosper you & us all in all our labours I remaine

Your most assured loving
as obliged friend & brother
Thom: Hotchkis

Stanton
Nov: 4
1673

To the reverend Mr Richard Baxter
minister of Gods word at his
house over against new
South-hampton build-
ings these

Sr

20

Being lately at a kinsmans house, Mr Edward Polhill of Burwash (to whose writings I think, you are not a stranger, for I remember somewhere you quote him.) & there mention being made of ye Quinquarticular Controversyes, your late book endeavouring to either evidence the differences none, or abate ye intemperate heats, those yt are real, are managed with; came under discourse. I indeed (whether out of a reverential deference to You, for whose writings I have had such cause frequently, to thank God, & now do You; or out of a hope that the things are true, as you have represented them, & that our controversyes may at length, detectis verborum ambiguitatibus, be fairly composed; or because you have done signal service, & hit the truth in that writing) did think there would have arisen little opposition to it. the worthy & most holy Gent. was pleased to show me some papers of animadversions upon some parts of it. & I undertook, with his good liking, to transcribe these two, & convey them to you. desiring you would please to peruse them, & find a leisure time to return your thoughts thereof to me, by Mr Bright your friend at ye Golden ffleece in Lumbardstreet silk=mercer. In which you will do a gratefull thing to ye Gent: to his friends, & to me. there is another thing, I will be bold to mind you of, that, whereas you have somewhere (for I am now in so great hast I cannot look ye place) wished that good & eminent men would do as Junius & others did, leave behind them some remarkable passages of their own lives, for ye benefit of posterity; you would consider, it is greatly expected & desired you would do it your self. Sr I have no more but my hearty thanks for ye civilityes of your table, & study, when I was there with Mr Bright, & prayers for your longer life, & further usefullness, I take my leave; & if this paper be accounted a trouble I beg your pardon, & remain

Sr your humble servant

Sam: Hoadly

from Westerham in Kent.
Aug: 1. 1677:

(961)

These
For the Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter ///

45

Fol. 45 of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

LETTERS

Mr Polehills objections
fully anſwerd

Viro Acutiſsimo Liter[illegible]ſsi

Viro Acutiſsimo, Literarum & Literatorum Fautori summo,
(supra Omnes amicorum Laudes & inimicorum invidia Spiculas non
Fortunâ sed virtute constituto) Doctiſsimo, Pientiſsimo & undiqꝫ
Ornatiſsimo Dno RB: Theologo pro Libris (viz: Theologia Methodo,
Decalogi & Orationis Dominicæ Explicatione) singulis noſtrum
hanc chartam ἐυχαείσηυ D.D.D.

Quamvis Nos minimè latet, (Vir Reverende) tricis Gramaticiis jamdudum te extremum dixisse Vale, Quamquam verba exculta Leporibus incaſsum infundere Veneranda tua Canities prohibet; tibi tamen ingratum non fore speramus, quod nos et habere et debere gratias, quas semper debituri sumus, ingenuè profiteamur; secundum enim Veteres beneficia ex animo funditus extirpare, Heroicum conferente, Sordidiſsimum verò accipiente arguit ingenium; Etsi cum donum tum donatorem meritis exornare encomiis Verborum vires negant et ingenii; felices attamen nosmetipsos judicamus, qui tibi Gratias agere gestiamus, at infeliciores quod non poſsemus, pariter ac in se sunt, tua merita tuasq Laudes oſtendere; felices sumus quod nostrum nihil, tenuem saltem gratiarum manipulum te æqui consulturum esse speremus, sed infeliciſsimi quod non valet; grate tamen accipe quod ex grato provenit animo; hoc gratitudinis tibi exhibemus signaculum, non quod blandientibus Verborum formulis apud te gratiam inire conemur (quem ab ejusmodi assentatiunculis alieniſsimum esse novimus) sed nè hoc adeò insigne beneficium vel a nobis minus æstimari, vel â memoriâ prorsus excidiſse videatur, non enim vana laudis cupido, non ingenii quo minimè valemus, acumen, nos, ut daremus tibi literas, excitavit, sed ad hoc tua solum coegit humanitas; quamvis epistolam exarrare pennâ conantes effugit manus, tanta moliri nefas est, modestia suggerit, gratitudo tamen diffidentiam adimit & nobis hæsitantibus calcaria injicit, quæ nos tandem dubitantes, an ad talem tantumq Virum scribamus, vicit, quid scripturi tamen nescivimus, non nos etenim tantum sed omnes imo obstupefacta te suspicit posteritas; Quid cedò sibi volunt hominum quorum nescimus latratus, Anticyram sanè navigant, sed ut arbores altius radice terram comprehendunt quò sævius ventorum furiis exagitantur, ità clarius illustratur præstantium virorum amplitudo & dignitas quò magis obnoxii sunt malignorum telis, qui virtutes eorum inimicè affectant quorum similitudinem assequi vel propter improbitatem nolunt vel propter ignaviam desperant; si verò ab operibus authoris pretium perscrutari conemur, videris (absit adulatio linguæ) quidem nobis exquisitissimus doctrinæ cultor pietatis fautor et exemplar, ecquis tam subtilis ut distinxerit? tam nullus ut negarit? ecquis

deniq tam crassus qui non perceperit? dantur autem trunco obtusiores Abderitici qui quia nec te nec opera capiunt ergo vellicant. nos tamen non pigebit summâ te viventem prosequi observantiâ, defunctiq (modo superstites) tui cineribus quendam debitum quambis non divinum honorem reddere.

Dat: Aula Episc:
5° Kal: Oct: 1690.

Tibi devinctissimos

Rogerum Griffis.
Robertum Wood
Carolum Owenum
Petrum D'Aranda
Franciscum Freeman.
Gulielmum Hale:
Gul: Parsons:
Gul: Garrot:
Thomam Clark:
Jabezum Earle:
Thomam Loaively:

For ye Reverend
Mr Baxter.

Sr

Being ingaged to examine the manual of Controversies written by H. T. Roman Catholick
I applied my selfe to it, and having examined the nine first articles was desirous to
2 have ~~them~~ printed, which I had already done. The Stationer demurring till there were
some ones perusal and approbation. I told him that I supposed you would be willing to pre-
fixe some epistle before it, and ~~that~~ ~~he~~ I desired him to move Mr William Allen to write
to you about it; which I perceive he hath done, and you have declared your willing-
nes thereto provided I write to you to that end. which being told me this morning I
have immediately written this letter to you requesting you to reade that treatise
and as soone as you can write to Mr Allen or my selfe in London while I stay which
I thinke will be this next month your fit censure with animadversions, and send the
copy with them to Mr Allen to be disposed of as you shall direct concerning your
epistle or censure or animadversions, and I shall dispose of concerning my own copy
or direct him to dispose of it. The sooner you do it the better it will be. I have conferred
with Mr Allen about some sermons against the Quakers whereof one or two of them had
been preached here in a congregation of the baptized, and were approved of, and desired to
be printed ~~the~~ all preached at Lempster, and Mr Allen conceives they will ~~do~~ sell and thinkes
it seasonable to have them printed and would have them printed first. There ~~is~~ are onely
some directions to be added to the 9th serm: how to make use of Christ as our Light which
I had not time to finish afore my comming hither but intend to do it as soone as it comes
to my hand again from you. I ~~I~~ request you to reade this also with the other, and
to prefixe what you think good before it, as I desired before ~~as~~ to the treatise against
H. T. and to send it by a trusty messenger to Mr Allen with what speede you can. I a

From the house of Mr
William Allen in London
Sept. 23. 1659.

Your brother and fellow servant
in Christ

John Tombes

For ye Reverend
Mr Baxter.

Sr

Being engaged to examine the manual of Controversies written by H. T. Roman Catholick
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from the house of Mr
illiam Allen in London
ept. 23. 1659.

Your brother and fellow servant
in Christ

John Tombes

Deare Sr

I am very confident that the reason why you have not answered my last is because you have had other businesse in hand, wch you judged to be more for ye glory of God upon that account I will give you leave to be always silent for that is my end & to it I am devoted, yet I shall intreat you upon no other account to deferre the answer of this. Sr I am petitioned for by the inhabitants of Mashbury in Essex to be their minister & for ought I know am likely to goe through wth all discouragemts that may be to ye flesh it being but of small revenues & a sequestration beside & a very little place & so barren of honour, but I trust in God and acknowledge my selfe unworthy to serve him, & am very glad ye place is so very little because I may be able ye better to discharge a ministers duty among them, & I know Gods care & love & power is unchangeable & I shall never want I desire therefore first yor hearty prayers that God would make me wise & faithfull & blessed & then yor wisest counsells how I should carry my selfe so as to be able most effectually to win souls to God & Christ to settle a church discipline & to joyn in an association or any thing else that may bring glory to God & in both these I desire you as you love me & would have me doe any good not to faile me I am unexperienced & ignorant & God has given you more knowledge & experience, & all for the good of his church, & how can you improve them better than by directing & helping ministers; yet as I began so I end though I will upon no other ways dispense wth yor speedy answer according to my desire yet for Gods glory I am content you should passe me by wthout notice only forget not that I am one that love & honour you & pray for you & would faine be

Yor pupill

Abr: Pinchbecke

Apr. 22. 1658.

I thanke you heartily for yor resolutions of my questions, & as much for yor christian
counsell, wherein, by seeming to passe by idlenesse untoucht you gave it a strong,
& sharpe backe blow, Sr I must needs tell you, that I find it an easy thing to
4 read, & pray in private, & to abstaine from a plenall committing of grosse
sinnes: as also to pray agt sin in others, & to reprove them where I find a
gentle, & willing eare; but to get an operative active faith, to act vigorous-
ly, & constantly for christ, to act according to the highest dutys revealed, to
presse men on to the strictnesse of religion; not to faint, & give over ~~more~~
when I meet wth selfe conceited, proud, scornfull, refractorie persons, that are
ready to count mee a foole, & precisian, or a usurper of more authority then is
given mee, hic labor, hoc opus, especially ~~to~~ if it be often to be done, as
it must, if ever I intend to doe good; the idlenesse then that I specially meant
was, through an indulgence of ye flesh, not to take paines wth my selfe, to quicken
my selfe up to duty, not to be often pressing, & urging my selfe to duty upon ye
account of Gods commands, & promises of assistance, blessing, reward, & threatenings if
I neglect, as also upon ye account of Christs love, & honour, & ye good of souls,
& the sweetnesse of a faithfull discharge of my duty: though I have beene as idle
as ever any man in respect of bodily paines, & labour, wch I have too much indulged
my selfe in upon ye account of my extraordinarie tendernesse (for wch God has of
late ~~very much~~ delivered mee) & weaknesse; & yet ~~now~~ doe too much favour:
yet, when I am not idle, I can study but a litle, partly because I am so sickely
(though seldome, very seldome so as to keepe house necessarily) & partly because of ye
stone in my kidneys, wch doth very much trouble mee, especially if I stoope any
long time together, in short I must sleepe much or be right downe sicke, I must
indure paines in my head, & I must worke litle wth my body, but here is my
sinne I doe not worke aware so much as I may, nor am I so carefull of my
healthe, as I should be. thus I have given you some account of my selfe, I shall
now aske you an other question, wch I desire you fully, & speedily, as you can to
resolve, when I received yor last letter My Lord, & I were discoursing about
chatechizing, wch yet ye family was never (since I came I am sure) exercised in,
& upon that occasion I sayd to him My Lord! I have received a letter fro Mr
Baxter, wherein he puts mee on very much to duty ~~&~~ diligence, & frequent
whereupon he asked me to show him ye letter (that wch indeed was my designe) wch
I privately read to him, so farre as concerned him, & then we fell to or former discou-
in the conclusion whereof hee desired mee to write to you, to know yor judgmt con-
cerning the way of putting that in practise. some of ye family are high
& proud, some profane, some not able to read, and exceedingly ignorant, bu
old, & some young, & some inclined to goodnesse, & I hope some really good, I
meane all this of ye servants, for my Lord I am confident is very sincere fo
& I think I may say (though I wish I could not say so) has as much goodnesse
as almost all, if not all ye family besides, my Lady likewise, so farre as I
know (though my acquaintance wth her be very litle) is a godly woman. I shall
desire you now fully, & rationally to send me word what you think is my
duty, & what minde in this worke & ~~[illegible]~~ then second yor advice wth yor
for ye information, if great men may doe so much good, or their chaplaines 50
I hope you will not be wanting in yor part, when God offers you an opport-
to bring them to ye doeing what they may. I have neglected some things concern-
my selfe for ye sake of ye family least multitude of matters should make you
of yor brother, [illegible], or son Abr: Pinchbecke

Concerning ye Non-usuall way of Separation called Independency, or Gathering Churches
5 as it is attempted or pleaded for by those you mention &c

It is pitty any Godly people should be unacquainted wth ye Evill of Separation after so much written
[illegible] by Mr Bradshaw, Mr Jo. Pagett, Mr Hildersham, wth Multitudes more of ye Old
Non-Conformists: Besides wt is since done by Mr Brinsly, Mr Ball, & (most fully of any)
Mr Rutherford. You cannot expect I should add to wt they have done; nor give you yt full Satis-
faction wch ye Volumes may afford you. Only for a briefe Discovery of the sinfull way, I will show you
these two particulars. 1o They sinfully gather ye Churches. 2o They sinfully Governe ym. I
meane, in a way Contrary to Gods Word. For ye first. 1o They do wthout Command, yea Rule of
Scripture, gather New Chs of Xtians out of Xtian Chs. 2o Thereby endeavouring ye Destructi-
on of ye Old, 3o & much more hindering ye Reformation of ym wch they should promote, 4o By
making way for ye Ruine of Multitudes of soules, by removing ye meanes of their Good, & leav-
ing ym in a freedome to Destroy yms. & 5o is full Libertye to prophane ye Ordinances & name of God,
6o & also making void all ye use of Discipline or Church Censures, 7o & All yt is mentioned wth
yt sin cannot be Committed wthout most haynous Aggravations: Of these in Order. 1o That they
gather Xtian Chs out of Xtian Chs is undenyable by any man yt will confess or Ordinary
Congregations to be Chs of Xt: wch ye Moderate & learned of ym do readily confess, as you may see
in their owne writings. The 5 Dissenters in Apologet. Narrat p. 5. 6. 4. Cottons way p. 111. Answer
to Mr Durys Letter p. 3. Answer to ye 32 Questions p. 26. 28. Mr Eaton & Mr Taylors De-
fence p. 42. 47. Apology for Church Covenants p. 36. 40. Answ. to Mr Prins full Reply p.
47. The Reply of Dissenting Brethren to ye 1st pt of Answer to ye Direct: of ye Committee
for Accomodat. p. 29. And it is most easily proved by bringing a true Definition of a Church &
trying or Chs by it. Now I desire you to show me such an Example in all ye Scripture. & if they
pretend of wresting Reasons remember you how apt humane Reason is wthout Scripture, to be
foole ye owner in such Cases, about Gods positive Institutions. Some use to Alleadge, yt ye Jews
were a true Church, wch ye Xtian Church was gathered out of yet; but its Evidently false
& yt addes a New Article to ye Creed [except yee Believe yt I am he, yee shall dye in your sins]
All yt Beleived it not did Un-church yms. (for he cannot be a Church member yt denyeth
a pp Fundamentall.) & ye Believing Jews remained Church-Members still: therefore Paul
saith Rom. 11. some are broken of by Unbeliefe, but not ye Believers were broken of from
ye Church, 2o Besides, were this true, its nothing to or questn wch is, of gathering one Xtian
Church out of another. For ye grosse applying yt of Rev. [Come out of her my people &c]
I thinke it not worth ye answering: yet I shall confesse yt, 1st if a true Church will Compell us to
sin, & deny us ye Ordinances except we will sin, wch we have sufficiently testifyed agt yt sin, or
[illegible] ye Reformation in hand; we may depart to another Church: 2o or els if they expell us
away, & in some other Cases: But 1o yt is yr Act, expelling us, & not or Separating: 2o yt is not
to Gather a New Church, but to remove to one gathered: I confesse also, yt if most of ye Church
shall renounce a Fundamentall Truth, or openly rebell agt Xt in yr Lives, & obstinately refuse to
submitt to ye Ordinances & meanes of Reformation, yt ye rest together wth ye Minister, may declare
a Non-Communion wth ym; or if ye Minister joyne wth ye Rebells they may declare yms. bound
to [illegible] yr Communion, for they have cast yms. out: But yt must be proved of ye particular
Church yt we withdraw from; But of yt enough. 2o It is ye will of Xt, yt we cast not of any per-
son before we have first told him his fault alone, yn before two or three; & yn told ye Church, &
they have refused to heare ye Church; how much lesse may we cast of a whole Church, wthout
ye proceeding in this Order. Indeed, yt is ye maine point yt I am offended at in ym. How dare
they cast of, or Separate from a whole Church, before they have used yt proceeding & meanes wth ym.
Aske ym, whether they have gone to every one yt offendeth ym, & wth love & meeknesse & seriousness
admonished ym: & after yt taken others wth ym: & after yt told ye Church? I know yt down-
right Separatists will say, It is no Church, & therefore they are not bound to it. But yt is a meere
slander, wch they should not barely affirme but prove, if they would have it thought otherw.
The Contrary I undertake to prove to any man yt will by word dispute it, but it is too large
for a Letter. If they say, It will do no Good to tell ye Church. I answer, 1o They

should aske Xt, who commandeth it. 2º Dr Homes (an Independant) in his Late booke of Reconcilia-
tion, among many other sound & cleare Articles, shewes yu yt nothing should usually be pceeded in
ye open Congregation, till it be first told ye Eldershipp, or Councell, or Church=Representat-
of wch ye learnedest Interpreters expound yt of Math: Howevr, as ye officers are ye Chhes mouth,
so are they its Eares first, tho: I thinke, publiq Satisfaction should be before All ordinari-
ly. But I have long found yt meere unconscionable Laxnes is ye maine Cause of Se-
paration: It is easier gathering to a few pfessors of strictnes than telling every offendor of ye
faultes, & following it on in Xts way, & bearing all ye trouble & ill will yt it may expose
us to. But ye dearest dutyes are usually ye sweetest. 2º This Separating Evidently destroy-
eth ye Old Church: For if all ye strictest pfessors wthdraw, ye rest may do so; & I doubt
not but ye Separatists will at least after conclude it no Church. It is a Corne field, where
Corne & Thistles grow together: But if instead of weeding out ye Thistles, any will weed
out or remove ye Corne & leave ye soile to ye Thistles, yn it is no Corne field. Know no
warrant to destroy Chhes wn they should Reforme ym. 3º It is ye greatest hinderance to ye
Reformation of ye Chhes wch they are bound to Endeavor. For how shall they be refor-
med, wn they are demolished, or wn ye most Conscionable members yt should admonish
offendors do wthdraw. // 4º It tendes to ye destruction of Millions of soules, if ye course Gener-
ally take. For Chhs meanes of faithfull admonition private & publiq, & watching over others, &
Church Censures, do greatly tend to ye Sa~~bing~~lvation of soules; men being pfessors of Xtianity first
as others are: Now wn ye best are separated, ye rest are left wthout ye great Benefitt: for they yt
are separated will not take ymselves bound to watch over ym yt; nor use those meanes. Yea (if
yt way take) they should be deprived of ye Benefitt of All Pastorall watching, & having
publiq Sermons, & yt from ym yt have cast ym of, & so raised pjudice agt ye Doctrine. If they
say, yt Prejudice is a signe they are unfitt to be Church=members: I ans. 1º Woe be to ym
by wm offence cometh. 2º Oh yt ye zealous pfessors were not as much pjudiced agt one another
(yt I say not, hate one another) & yr doctrine, as much as ye common sort. // Besides, by separating
they ~~leave~~ ye Corrupt pt of ye Church in a Church way, to chouse ymselves ~~corrupt~~ Corrupt Pastors
& so goe on smoothly to Hell wthout Impediments. // 5º And thus they ~~have~~ leave ym at Liberty to pro-
phane ye holy Name & Ordinances of God: yt, wn ye obstinate should be cast out of All Church=fellow-
shipp; they shall be left to sett up Jeroboams Priests, & worshipps, & every Lords Day to abuse ye holy
God, & delude ymselves: & to abuse his Servants & All Ordinances: besides yr growing into a hatred of
ye Godly for separating from ym. wt tender hearte can choose but tremble to thinke, how we shall leave
Gods name to be pphaned daily under ye Colour of Church worshipp, if ye Godly separate, & leave
ye rest in possession & Liberty. // 6º Ye way of Independency or Separation directly tendeth
to ye Destruction of Discipline; & to make Xts holy ordinances of Censures to be of no more
weight, than a blast of winde. For if 500 be in a Church, & 100 or 200 of ym deny Scrip-
ture, or ye Godhead of Xt, or turne wantons, & ye rest excommunicate ym, they will but gather
ymselves into a New Church, & yn they have as much to do wth ye Excommunicates, as they wth ym,
& thinke ymselves in as good a Case, seeing they do but as they first did; viz, separate & chose
ymselves a Pastor. And so uppon every Division, ye dissenting pty yt cannot joyne wth ye rest
will Imbody together, till they are Crumbled to Dust; And evry single member excommu-
nicate will ~~but~~ but joyne to a Church like himselfe & yn despise ye censures. // 7º That to separate
in times of persecution, or wn we have no ~~hope~~ meanes or hope left of Reformation, were
lesse faulty. The Old Brownists were farre more excusable: But now to do yt, wn we may
admonish ye proudest sinner safely: wn we may sett up Chhs way if we were but wise & diligent, & if any
help from Magistrates be wanting, they pfesse ymselves ready to afford it; at least, not to hinder us. Now
to separate, wn God hath called us so long to through reforming, & we have vowed it, & should all joyne to help
it on, & have so much encouragemt, if others were not ye greatest hinderances to do allmost wt we would, this
a sin, I thinke, most heinously aggravated. But Satan knowes wt he doth, wn he can engage pfessors
in his worke. He hath done ye Church more hurt, as an Angell of light, & holynesse, yn ever he did
as an Angell of Darknesse. // I know yt ye greatest Cityes, & great Congregations have most open pphane

I answer 1° Either yu know yem to be so, or Imagine it. If but Imagine it, yu slander. If yu know
it: yn yu know all ye particular men: And yn either yu have lovingly & closely admonished all
those men, & followed on Xts way wth yem or not. If not, yn yu have made yr sins yr owne: & so yu are
ye Drunkards, Swearers &c. And yn, wt hypocrisye is it, to separate from others, wn on ye like
grounds we may separate from yu: & to separate, bec: yu will not obey God in ye use of his meanes.
If yu have followed Xts way 1st wth yem, yu have done yt wch I never yet knew separatists do: nor do I beleeve
yu have done. 2° Let ye Congregations be as bad as yu suppose: ye have meanes either to re-
forme, or cast out those yt are bad wthout separating. Try those meanes first. 3° as I have seen
God into many poore soules, yt were neer others to make any profession of strictness, I
have found those probable Evidences of Grace, wch I little expected. It may be so wth Multi-
tudes yt we little thinke of. 4° All ~~men~~ are engaged to Jesus Xt, by ye solemne Bap-
tismall Covenant, & have oft solemnly renewed it; wch gives yem yr 1st Church-Membership.
(If any deny yt, I have in my booke of Bapt. proved it fully.) If they have forfeited ye title yt
have, it must be either by denying Xt by words (renouncing him) or by ill workes. No worke doth
plainly deny Xt, but knowne sin maintained willfully & obstinately after private & publike
admonition. If any man be such, let him be accused, & heard, & judged. Is it not agt all
reason & Common honesty, yt men should be punished wth soe heavy a punishmt, before ever they
be Accused, Tryed, Judged, or heard speake for yemselves? wt heavyer punishmt yn to be shut out
of ye fellowshipp of All ye Godly, or from Church & Ordinances (wch we may more lawfully
do by yem, yn to separate from yem.) It was once a dreadfull thing to be excommunicated. And dare
Xtians excommunicate whole companyes by 100s, before ever they speake wth yem; or heard yem speake
for yemselves? They'le say, It is in vaine to speake to yem, They are doggs & swine. Ans. But
1° Are any of Xts Ordinances vaine? 2° Do yu know yem to be doggs before ever they heard yu? 3°
Is yis ye spirit of ye Gospell? or may I not say, yu know not wt spirit yu are of? Were yu
not once such yrselves? & would it have bin in vaine to admonish yu? or never would yu have bin re-
formed? 4° ye Common reason why or admonitions are vaine is or unworthy, unXtian or Un-
skillfull manageing of yem: we snapp up poore ~~soules~~ sinners wth a few sharpe words, ra-
ther reproaching yem, or rayleing at yem, or jeering yem, yn rightly admonishing yem, & yn
separate from yem as doggs. Oh ye tenderness of Gods Mercy If he take not us by ye throat alsoe,
& deale not by us, as we by yem! I tell yu: those yt have tryed faithfully & ~~painfully~~ rightly yt way
of admonishing & instructing poore soules, wth seriousness & Compassion, yt they might
see yt all was spoake in Love, & only for yr Good, & yt opportunely & skillfully, have
found it not in Vaine; & yt there are few of ye most Prophane yt are such doggs as some Imma-
gine; & have had more solid comfort in yt practice, yn ever others had in separation from
yem. Lastly, I am of those mens mind yt thinke, yt stranger evidences of Gods mynd then
should be well studyed. (Tho: I fall, I thinke it hard to understand yem.) But I marvaile yt
they see not one Obvious Lesson, wch God hath written as in Capitall Letters! Hath he not as
plainly expressed or out-Censuring of Comon-Xtians, & over-valuing yts high profession, as
possibly could be Imagined? wn he hath suffered such professors to maintaine such doctrines, &
comitt such Acts, as few of ye prophanest have done; yt ever ye sun shined uppon? Could it be
hidd any penn & tongue should silence it. Is it not professors yt plead agt Scrip: & ye Godhead of Xt
yt have cast out Ministers from yr dearest people, wn they knew to be godly & able? Do I need to
tell Shrewsbury yt? Is it not professors yt sequester Scholars, Ministers &c more in a yeare
yn ever ye Bishops did in many? But alas! yt is nothing. The ~~Prelates~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Cavaliers were not so
heavy as Professours little finger. They stopp ye eares others cutt ye throates. Is it
not Professours yt have killed one another by thousands (as in ye Scottish warre) & doe we minde not whether justly
or unjustly: God will throughly judge) even those yt they call godly yrselves! Are not Lawes
made to sequestrate every Minister yt will not fast & pray, & give thanks for yr workes?
Find mee out a Church of such as you separate from, yea find mee any in any history
since ye world was made, yt ever did, all Circumstances considered, as Professours have
done in these times? Find mee a company of Turks comparable to ye Ranters? But
doe I speake yis, to disgrace Profession? No: ye God of Heaven knowes: But in lamentation
of ye disgrace yt's cast upon it. And to let yu see wt God hath bene doeing to abate
or high thoughts of bare Profession, & our Vaporous insultings over many poore

Christians yt may bee more sincere, though more ignorant yn ye Scholes: Nor doe I speake a word of yt to reconcile light & darknesse, Xt & Belial, or abate any mans zeale against sin: but to perswade you to exercise it in gods way, & more humbly to allow all men ye frailties of humane nature, even ye common professors of Christianity, as well as professors of strictnes: & to doe as you would bee done by. Not much to shew you yt they sinfully gather Churches: Nor I should shew you yt they as sinfully governe ym when they are gathered. For ye usuall way of ym is, wch they maintaine in yr writings, to governe ym by ye Major vote of ye People. And is yr such a thing allowed in ye booke of God? Nay is it not oppositly contrary to it? Doth not Scripture say, ye whole body is not an Eye, or Hand? & call Ministers stewards of ye household & Ministers of God, & Rulers of ye Church? & command ye People to obey ym? Heb. 13. 7. 17 &c. And they will rule though & ye Rulers? Are all poore soules yt have parte in Xt, fitt to governe all others? Can they judge of all strifes? or can they lay by all yr callings to spare such causes tried, as Parliament doe in rulings ye Commonwealth? Indeed they doe not all agree among ym, whether Women & Children should vote? but are not they Church members? & usually [illegible] vote? Nor agree they whether officers & people shall not dare have a Negative voice, as one or two of ye wiser allow ym: But most put ye Rule in ye hands of ye greater vote. But if yt vote bee against ye Conscience of ye rest, they will bee hard put to it. I thinke ye vote of ye Multitude is one of ye most Tyrannicall Governments. But perhaps you will aske mee, What yn should wee doe? To determine yt is a great worke, & ye more difficult, yt is like to bee of God. I must [illegible] may not rashly thrust my advise on you without a call: but should bee ready if I had one to tell you my thoughts. In summe: You must get more officers, & a competent Number of ym, yt may bee enow to oversee soe great a Church: & yn every knowne unworthy Member must bee dealt wth in this way. First by private loving admonition, & yn before ye officers & ye Church, & if they prove obstinate bee cast out man by man: & not you withdraw from ym. I know much may bee said agt these broken courses: But if any reply to ym, I shall take notice of it; but I know ye full handling of it, requires mee to bee larger [illegible] I will doe: If I have a call, I will by word or writing (if god give mee time) [illegible] ye business, wch any man yt would draw you to separate. [illegible] summe of all my advise to you [illegible] you will heare ye cause debated [illegible] things are not to bee run upon inconsiderately: especially when soe much of Gods honour is at ye stake. If you bee once engaged, yt wrong will bee hard [illegible] for bad: slower Repentance is better [illegible]. You will not venture upon Contracts of Marriage or about yr estates without Consideration. Nay if you heare but of one man yt hath something to say agt it yt you know not, you will not [illegible] till you heare yt man. I tell you, I have more to say agt Separation, yn ye letter will containe. Venture not Gods honour & yr soules rashly, without first hearing both sides speake. Somethings also I dislike as much as you in ye Presbyterian way, wch I cannot now stand to open: but wee might easily bee all agreed, if wee were wise & peaceable. Will you let us all joyn in a Petition to ye Parliament, to set 3 or 4 of ye most Godly, peaceable Divines of all ye 4 parties to debate ye business till they bee agreed? I would willingly joyn in such a Petition suddenly. Fare well. The Lord Counsell you.

I have noe roome to write commendations to particular friends, but in generall: You know my acquaintance.

Letter to Shrewsbury
about forme of Church [illegible]
from Presbyterian
[illegible]

Bro

6 I read over yr papers before I slept & blesse God that they are so brotherly
both so meek language, & so sharp judgement, I am sorry only you have suf
yr selfe so oft to Answer Mr Crandon, you did so about Universall Red. wh
is much enquired for, & out of N England sent for, but mens expectation
frustrated. I cannot but wonder at ye impudency of Mr E: to cite Ruther
for, to say as much as he doth, beside wt you have prov'd out of his triall of f
I cast my eye on two other peices, in one he professedly avows, & in D
pages maintaines [That there is a Cond. of ye Cov. of grace] & urges a great
Crispe, but looking upon his Survey of Familism & Antinom. he look
like you then I thought. I'le hint some of his passages, cap. 8. speaking
diff: between ye 2 Cov. sth [The difference standeth not as Antin. dream
between ye 2 Cov. chiefly in doing & not doing, as if ye gospell or co
grace did not also command doing, in relation to eternall life. speaking of ye
threatnings of ye gospell as well as ye law hath this comparison to shew men are con
demned by a phisitian. [As be ye death of a distemper of body & may
of ye art of ye phis. is ye distemper is ye phisicall cause of his death, his con
by a Rebell. — Moreover he adds to ye like purpose of a kings pardon ag
Law, for the Law saith He that sins shall dy: ye gospell addeth. except he
beleeve, so yt the gospell saith [The gospell is an exception of grace against
not off, nor contradicteth it in yr own nature, — Amen to ye Laws threatning, & taketh ther
[That wee are not justified untill wee beleeve] — cap. 18. he maintaining this po
He spends another cap: 29: to prove, he spends a chap. to prove
beleevers] & ye 30 cap: [God is truly Angry wth ye sins of ye elect
cap: to prove [That ye justified are countable to God for sin.] The
[If a cond: be taken [The gospell is conditionall] in the illustration of this point
& without wch wee are not justif. nor saved, then to deny ye gospell to be cond
nall cont, is to bely the gospell. for it sth He yt beleeveth — paule
he sth [For is it a popish way by Workes to say wee seek glory & immor
by Well-doing. Ro 2. 7: Ro: 5 26. 27 — Joh 8: 24 1 Cor 6 9: 10. he joynes to
this very words [Works are not so much conditions of justif. as faith
& in 20 places he calls it a mistake to be just from eternity. & he sth yt ye just
ignorant of ye cov. of grace & leaves it to ye consideration of ye godly, if beleevers
him who justifieth ye ungodly be no condition; & to beleeve is not to know, yt
are justified ere ever I beleeved. — & is to hungry a notion of faith to
it nothing but a knowing of yt, wch really was before. These I suddenly espied
Rutherford, if ye bodis Psalms will do you good you shall have them. I had many thing
to advice wth you last night. but time prevented. No hopes of ye godly partly
way to have to do with Mr B, He is not contented with Mr Badland except he
examined by Mr Dedicott. & if he approves of ~~the~~ him, then he will have
stay. else not. The Townsmen see ye schoole flourisheth much in a short
& their children are closely kept to it, they will not leave him, or put it to
Mr Dedicott. there was a day kept last week, when I was forth, & the
not Mr Spilsbury, to assist, because Mr B was not calld he was offended
Mr Sp: though none knew that he was come home being forth two day
before, he examining him what they pray for, whither for ye church of
& many such things that Mr Sp: hath lost his favour, & they that have been
great are now dividing. & the truth is no man can keep Mr B favour
except he stoope to him, & flatter him, & cry him up, I ever dispair
of living comfortably with him, except I enslave my will to his; The Lo
forbid I should judge amisse of any man, but so farr as I and others can
gather he doth not seeme an honest downright xtian in his hart, this
probably gather by his carriage toward Mr Bad. & his strangenes to ye most
religious, they are not his consort, he doth not visit them nor associate
with them since his coming to private meetings wth them, Sr I cannot
what to do, I dare not presse it to submit to him, nor to divide, the
way now the ~~poor~~ people say is to sit still, but my worke lies by the
preaching being the best part. I am hardly thought on by good & bad for
with any other part. wch is their ignorance, but their foils are dearer then their
or my own name, but Sr this state is not to bee abided in, either I must do more or
bee gone; the sight of their faces terrifies my conscience with shame not

g along the streets without greif to see & smell the [illegible]
formed at ye wounds, the words & time of sinners spoke & spent in alehouses
upon mee every time I go by the door, how many times have I stood in
st them, to reason the case wth them, though I might lose my life or
but blessed bee my good God, I have been preserved safe, & thro ye respect
me in Town ye stoutest sinner hath trembled to see mee & broke up their
things, how many ill words have I had on the Lords day, for spreading my idle sinn
about some ~~[illegible]~~ exercise, & one thing I have thought to aske you of
that I may safely go into Wrignall on a Lords day when I see them play & can
because it is not under my charge, & if I come to any hurt, if I may
fortably beare it. I ventured once last summer, to go & advise some
young men, but their friends hearing came out to throw mee in Severn
but I stood still, & told them I did but talke of the things of God & advise them
heavenly way, wch I thought I might in any mans parish, & if for this
they would destroy mee, I must contentedly suffer. They hearing this began
stop, & discourse wth mee, & a trembling & palenes fell upon them
I perceiving spoke the more bold & compassionatly, & before I had don
they told mee, yt I did no more than ~~theirs~~ my duty, & they thanked mee for
Now Sr these wicked in my own Town & in your parish have not quite cast me
& this is my trouble if they had denyed me to govern them, their sin &
sorry would be the lesse troublesome to mee, & truly I find too, when I deal
in private that Israel will not heare, I lose affections daily fro good ones
do not looke for it againe till wee meet in heaven, publick reproof doth not
like private admonition, I dare say many Ministers do not know what they
have to do wth us, if they be faithfull things will fall out wch they never dreamed
I am thro grace resolvd to come honestly by, & by honesty keepe love, else
it go, tho: if I stay heare I must be beholden as much to ye love of my
as any, considering that a governt to mend these things is not likly
amongst us, is it not better that I remove where I may in some
would do ~~fit~~ here I must live in sin, & not do halfe the worke I am desired
governt were erected, for building strengthening preventing sin
my soule fro wandering, acquainting more wth knowledge, spending my time
solemnly & profitably. Sr I have calls daily to one place or other, last
to Horton a mile of Newport the Mr dead, & all the side of the
they are earnest at mee, & truly Sr because of the favour I have found
& acceptance of my labours. I conceive I should glorify God more
then here, for there are few able active stirring men, much ado
get a sermon from them, or a private day, or to looke towards discipline
pressing it on ye old Mr Newton, he said wee must begin at home
Minister his own hart & family. but I replyd yt wee are not set over
own harts only but or peoples souls. he said wee must Catechise ye young
so wee ought, & withall govern those yt are fitt for governt, the old
in or parish, else wee do not or best for them, but no more could I
fro him, or Mr Campion or Mr Tho: Wright. tho. they be able pious
have I would do somewt but cannot, these men may do somewt, but will not
would advise wth you about. & withall what to do with those that have been scan
& desire to come to or meetings. I have put them of till ye [illegible] was come
their confessions, but I must not deprive their soules of food no longer, whither
confession before the godly will suffice or no, I cannot tell, & some I have that
given to sin, & any perswasions nor their own prayers, nor endeavours can break
from it, whither I may not endeavour to remove the cause, & take it
away wth ye consent of the Master of the family, I have some cases wch
or Mr W shall not know of, to make it their game abroad, or else they shou
counted to ye association, but you are instar omnium, to mee, & desire to
God for you & be guided by you in indifferent things, & difficult points, my stay or
shall depend much upon you, & yr ~~[illegible]~~ thoughts wt makes most for Gods glory
much like Mr John Goodwin against the Anabaptist separation fro us. wt think you
serviceable to you or ye church of God make ~~you~~ of

Yor beseeched frien
Yor fellow helper

Sir.

Though I know you not, yet I am not ignorant of you: whose face though I never saw yet have I seen the frame of your spirit: I see (in what I have read of yours) the pourtraiture of a man living in another world: and in this, minding his masters worke more then his owne. 7 And I know that hee who sowes upon a living soile is not a trespasser upon any land while his owne master shall reap the crop & Himselfe the wages of his worke. Your seed growes not all at home, & you will (one day) finde the fruit of it where you are not a forreiner. /. Pray excuse soe much boldnesse in one soe far distant from your knowledge. I would not obtrude soe great an Interruption upon your studyes, if it were wholly to hinder your worke.

The occasion (in plain) of this my saluting you, is to bee a begger for one that cannot bee a suiter for himselfe. /. A neighbour of mine (the bearer hereof) Richard Cheshire, hath a son (a poor scholler) in Cambridge, whose arreares to his tutour & charges for his degree (shortly to bee taken) are soe great, & soe pressing, that hee knowes not which way to turne him; beeing already in debt for this his sons education.

God hath put it into our hearts (ministers hereabouts) to commend his Case privately to some confiding ministers abroad as well as near home; partly to avoyd the clamour of them that are enemies to Christe's friends, partly to lighten the charge with a larger contribution. /. Our brethren of Coventrey are not the least active in soe good a worke: and started the motion of our friends application to your selfe for help.

Hee beeing under my ministery, I thought it my duty to speak 2 or 3 words concerning him. Both Hee & his wife are as sincere, sound, humble & precious Christians as these parts (soe far as I can judge) doe afford. /. They shine in their spheare, though they blaze not. Were all our flock but as sound, they would, at Christe's coming, bee our Glory & Joy. His son (the scholler) of a gratious inclination, to doe his Lords worke. And one, whose hand is planting (in praying, & conferring about that which is good) though but newly ingrafted himselfe. /.

Sir, God hath loaded you with inward treasure; a grain whereof is enough to make all (within your line) weigh downe in workes of this nature. A drop of your Counsell is able to make others distill drams of Comfort to our Christian friend, in this his Exigency.

Let mee (with my brother Evance, my next neighbour) bee a Solicitor in the Cause of this our poor (yet godly) friend. /. Though the Husbandmans seed grow worst upon lean land, yet the seed of the Liberall man growes best in lean Times. Neither will that bee lost which God hath promised to water soe abundantly that it shall grow both in him that receives & him that gives.

Sir, I again beg your pardon for this boldnesse: & if it lye in my lot to serve you I shall bee ready to doe it. I committ you & your labours to ye Lord.

With my love & respects to you, I rest

Sir

your friend & servant
in ye Lord
Richard Pyke.

Nuneaton. Novemb: 16: 1659.

Sir, If for better secrecy & advantage of the worke, more time bee required then what our friends present journey may convenientlly permit: you may bee pleased to take your owne time within a monethe space.

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Reverend Sir,

I was glad to apprehend any opportunity to tender my humble service to you, with my acknowledgments for yor great favour & the trouble I gave you above twelve monthes since at yor house; & certainly could I have had the pleasure I desired; to have interrupted your most serious & choice studdyes, I should before now, have ventured in a line or two to have expressed my thanks particularly for my curteous entertaynment at Kedderminster; and have intimated my sense also of my owne with my apprehension of many thousand others obligement to you for yor excellent labours; Sir, I know I write to one that neither due acknowledgments, nor undue detractions will through the great measures of grace you have received hurt. I say therefore that I doe from my soule blesse the Lord, hee hath raised a 2d Calvin and one of whom I am perswaded it may bee said, hee doth so much resemble the Apostle Paull, that hee labours more abundantly then any of his Brethren, for the feared successe whereof, the divell & his servants Peirce, Stubbs, & others, doe maligne you, them tounges being sett on ffire of hell, and dipt with the serpents gall whom the Lord in his time will rebuke & reward according to their malitious & ungodly deeds; but Sir, notwithstanding the vile unworthy & practices of these & others, you may bee confident you have a very high esteeme in the hearts of those that are most judicious & godly; who have been so happy to have been acquainted with the great learning, deepe reason, & holynes, that appeares in your most usefull Treatises; which I humbly wish were conveyed to all parts of the world in, intelligible languages; that the end for which the Lord gave you breath (to the honour of our Country and inabled you to write them, may bee more answered; for my owne part, I have cause to bee humbled, that I have acquired no more good by them: but desire to blesse the Lord for what I have attained. Most deare & honoured Sir, it becomes mee not to deteine you long, I shall therefore hasten to conclude your trouble with the repetition of a former request to you & the addition of another, (though boldly) my repeated request is, that you would bee pleased to expresse yor resentment of Christs dishonour by prophanation of his day, by the Brethren of the Ebionites of our age: whereby I am confident you would more honour Christ then ever yet hee hath been by the like service: my other request is that you would bee pleased at your best leasure to peruse those pa... my worthy ffriend [illegible] the Minister of Rickmersworth in Hartfordshire the place of my residence (who is a person that God hath

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a heart, to prize yor Labours ~~from~~ and will bee glad to receive yor grave Judgment of his;) and that you would bee pleased to commend them to God in yor prayers; and in a few lynes to others for those ends which hee wrote them (through divine assistance) and at the importunity of many have ventured them to the presse and to yor most judicious eye &c; Sir craving of you excuse of my boldnes, & of the Lord that hee would bee pleased to remove your bodily distempers and that yor corporall strength may bee renewed as well as yor spirituall strength increased and yor life prolonged that you may bee many yeares further serviceable the ends of to his glory & his deare Churches good I humbly take my leave & rest.

Yor most obliged ffriend

These

ffor my reverend & most honoured
ffriend Mr Baxter minister
of Kedderminster in
Worcestershire
ffred

9

Reverend Sr

I should not have given my self the trouble of writing, nor put you to ye pains of reading, if I thought I could discharge my duty by silence. It is not a peevish affectation of contention that could oblige m to such a work, were there not stronger tyes upon me. I must plainly confess, that I have not attained to such a prodigy of good nature, as to pass by an injury without resentment. Sure I am, all ye world will do me this justice, as to acquit me of ye imputation either of officiousness on ye one hand, or impudence on ye other, in pleading for ye oppressed; especially one who is not in a capacity of pleading for himself. You have been pleased in your late book severely to handle one Mr Troughton, wherein you have by no means acted ye part of a candid adversary, by insulting over a man when he is dead. But why sir, must he alone be singled out to bear ye brunt of your anger? Or wherein hath he exceeded others in provoking you? But it is not ye first time that you have digged men out of their graves, to expose them. Wise & impartial men are commonly apt to suspect ye justice of that cause, which is managed with anger, where instead of reason they meet with nothing but passion, unreasonable heat, instead of solid argument, and a reflection upon ye persons of men, instead of ye confutation of their real or pretended Errors. How this may be aplied to you, I must leave ye world to judge. But you are willing ye world should know how dangerous it is to impeach any of your doctrine, & to provoke so seve an adversary as you are. I see it is not only ill manners, but a man must run ye hazard of being accounted an Heretick, that dares to call any thing in question that you have asserted. What you say (fol: 4.) of your preface, may very easily be retorted upon you; that it was ye manner of ye Prelates for a thousand years, to put things to ye vote amongst those of their one party. But however it was not handsomely done of you, to single out one that you was sure could do you no harm, and was not in a capacity of mak resistance, and then to trample upon him as conquered. But this author you say, in your preface, hath been blind from his infancy, or early childhood, and you suppose never to have read a Book, and he undertaketh to tell ye sence of Protestant Writers and Fathers, and ye words & sence of Mr H: and you. And you say farther in another place, that he could not be ignorant how unfit he was, who never saw their books, to undertake such an account as he gives of Fathers. &c. What a multitude of words are here to prove, that a man together with his sight hath lost his understanding? I believe you are not so bad a philosopher as to think, that the loss of ye natural sight doth impaire ye understanding. You say you were unwilling to spend so much time, as to answer ye book, because it so aboundeth with untruths, that there was nothing left you to answer but a mentiris; besides you were loath to say that against ye man, that his book required. (But Sr) I dare say thus much, that ye reputation which he hath gained in ye University where he was educated, and in ye place where he was Preacher, hath set him above ye little calumnies of a passionate Reflecter. The University had such a sense of his worth and abilities, that if either Promises or Threats could have brought him to conformity, he would not have wanted for ye best incouragement. And his writings have met with no small acceptance from those who have exceeded Mr Baxter in learning. The want of your good word, doth not diminish his credit; neither is his book ye less valuable, because it came not into ye World with your license. You would have done well, to have discharged your self of that crime which you charge upon others, of not making some friendly and charitable animadversions on your writings. But you have been so far from doing that, that we have only your own affidavit for what is asserted, together with ye unreasonable censure of an Animadverter on your doctrine. But in one place you seem to be more favourable, by allowing him ye Name of an honest man, proceeding of a religious family, whose parents were your hearers; but this only to make way for a more subtle insinuation, that comes afterwards, wh by a natural inference may be deduced from your words, for what other con

struction can be made of them, when you say that his parents asking your advice what they should doe with a blind boy desirous of learning and your incouragement there unto, but that he must be out of mea ungratefull in opposing you, to whom in part he owed his education in learning. What influence your counsel might have had in this affai I will not say, but yet this I can say, that it was not much, so that he is not so much beholding to you, as you would have ye World believe. But why must he be debarred rather then others from publishing his sentiments? Because, say you, he was blind, and therefore ignorant & unfit. But those y^t put him upon ye work, had another sence of his abilities then you are willing to have; neither have they intimated ye least dissatisfaction in what hath been written. There have been those & I believe may be still in being, who have blessed God for what you call Libertinism & error. But because he hath called Mr Baxter into question, it is enough to bring him under the censure of being Ignorant, Proud, Erronious, & what not? Then at last cometh ye heaviest stroak of all, (y^t wch is ye greatest fault in ye good man, & which is predominent in all cases, is an unhumbled understanding.) and so you are resolved to humble him, but I think you have taken an ill time to doe it, when his Lord & Master hath advanced him, & set him beyond all ye carpings of men. To be short, I must freely tell you y^t your passion hath transported you beyond reason, I am sure, beyond y^t charitable compassion, & Christian forbearance wch ye Gospel requires towards those y^t differ from us. I wish, charity y^t is so much talked of, were more in practice, & y^t persons would keep closer to ye Scripture rule & not confound y^t by unnecessary distinctions, wch they pretend to make clearer thereby. If I have written anything y^t may seem to exceed ye bounds of modesty, or of y^t respect wch is due to a person of your worth & charac I Beg your pardon, since ye duty & honour wch I owe to ye memory of my deceased Father hath extorted from me what I have written. I am sure, I cannot propose a better example for imitation, then what hath been set before me by him, who lived in ye practice of what he taught. It is not fit for me to inlarge in his commendation, his works praise him. I shall say no more, but subscribe my self

Yours to Command in what I
may

Clapham March. 12
1690

John Troughton

Honoured Sir

30

You can not think how many months I have travailed with a longing desire to give you ye trouble of a few lines, but I think I may say Satan hindered mee, that can bee but a sinfull modesty that interrupts a man in the pursuance of his own good. Sir if I am bold I am not ye first (I am confident) that have thus attempted you. I have not only incouragement but an invitation to bee free with you from those professed principles ~~of~~ of love and publickspiritednesse and doing good which you commend your selfe to ye world by. Sir this is not every where to be found, especially in our day wherein so many seek their own, so few the things of Jesus Christ. when you tell mee in your books that to live ~~spiritually~~ to our selves, were it never so spiritually, is far unlike ye life of a christian, what need I any further witnesse of your readinesse to doe good. Sir I am a scholar though a poor one, and in the work of ye ministry, though not to so good purpose as the Lord knows I desire, especially since your Gildas Salvianus so seriously summoned mee to a more conscientious diligence in my duty. Now sir that which I earnestly beg of you is that you would please to direct and counsell mee for ye method of my studys, for ye improving of my parts and time for the best advantage to ye church of Jesus Christ. I must not conceale that I came too early from Cambridge not staying there to take one degree and therefore I have ye more need to commence into your favour. the Latine Greek and Hebrew I have a competent share of. but it is very little either of philosophy or divinity ~~that~~ ever I read. I blesse God I have enough estate to furnish my selfe with books, had I but advice about them, sir I ~~[illegible]~~ am the plainer, and give you the truest account of my selfe that you may know to make your more distinct and suitable discovery of your love and care in my direction. I would gladly spend most time of reading in such books as may most informe my judgment and im=prove mind and understanding. Sir forgive mee this bold use, though I never saw your face, yet I have a tast of your spirit, and I blesse God for your precious books. if you deny mee your help, I shall conclude it is because I doe not deserve it. if you afford any I shall blesse God for it, and expect that Jesus Christ shall one day requite it, or else ~~deny~~ strangely deny the prayers and hopes of

Dear sir your very humble servant and true
lover in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Matt: Meade.

X

59

Sir if you please to write to mee a few lines, pray direct your letter
To ~~mr~~ matthew meade, Leave this at ~~[illegible]~~ mr Williams shop
at ye corner of fanchurch street a mercer.

[illegible]

Reverend and worthy Sir

I give you manny thanks for your last letter wch I had sooner answered, but that I exspected suddaynly to hear from ye people at Worcester, since wch time it hath pleased god to snatch away from us our most reverend & dear friend & our most faithfull minister Mr Willson of Maydstone to ye sadning of ye hearts of all good men round about, yea and the whole County, and rejoycing of adversaryes to truth and holyness. In ye removall of whom ye Lord has given such a stroke to this country as the like cannot be conceived, by those that know his abilityes labours and influence on all sorts to have bin in any one other man besides himself, (the Lord give us to see his hand wch is lifted up) and hereby his poor people without a shepeard, are left open to much danger and hazard from enemyes on all hands for although there be many of considerable quality in regard of their honor, estates & offices yt joyned wth him, yet in that soe great & populous a town there are also many gentlemen ~~[illegible]~~ and others of ye royal party, and others yt went out from them & are devided fro them, whose interest has sometimes bin pretty great at Court. But through gods good hand upon their applications, to my Lord Protector, in whose gift now ye place is, they found a very favourable reception, & had freely granted a liberty to spy out a man fit for them & a fortnights space for that end wch is since augmented to another month. Now ye People there joyned together in church fellowship (whereof ye Mayor Recorder & manny most jurats are members) have chosen Mr Crump minister of Loose a place & villadge next adjacent on one side & wthin a mile. But he being settled a pastor of another people, the contest has proved very hard to take their pastor. Nor is ye knot as yet fully untyed, but if another were provided for Loose they hope they have as good as done. Whereupon it seemes good to them to make yt proposall to mee. I answered they might be elsewhere much better supplyed, & yt I was but a little one to make up any gap, wch I thought I might (& if they had known me as well as I know my selfe would) have satisfyed: But because it would not I was faine to let them know I could not fairly take it into my consideration & therefore they must excuse me, because of your desire (wch I remembred & told them of) to keep my self loose in relation to another made to me from Worcester: But thus far they would not be denyed, yt I should write to you or them to give you notice hereof & to desire your answere assoon as possibly may bee, because their businesse requires some speed, and I fear lest they should be neglective in seeking out a man, until they receive my answere, altho I have earnestly desired and charged ye contrary. Now Sir I earnestly crave your prayers to god, & counsels to mee about it, and to signify thus much to Mr Higgins, yt noe offence may be given and that I may be free, to remove if god shall call me elsewhere.

The People at Loose (I mean most not every one) and at Maidstone are of one mind and way in admission to & rejection from ordinances as their teachers Mr Willson & Mr Crump were viz that ye children of those only who are admitted to ye lords supper should be baptized wch I conceive is in part ye tendency of your good worke not undeservedly commended reformation begun among you, & although your practise have bin and it may be are for other reasons still otherwise yet I thinke your judgment to be soe, if people could be brought to it, as it seemes to me in your Baptisme pag. 93.94.95. where you make yt ground wch is enough to admit them to the lords supper to be only enough to admit their children to Bapt. & noe lesse: And thus far they are Independents & I think noe farther. Indeed this was a hard worke here, & ye more because only done in 4 or 5 parishes, without generall agreement: & I am psuaded one great cause of some mens soe generall admission to ye lords supper, is ye admission of yr children soe generally to baptisme; wch when they doe this principle secretly urges them to admitt to ye lords supper. I crave your pardon for my prolixity & intreat a word or two fro you also about this, especially if I have mistaken you or ye truth, if not I intreat your most continuing [illegible] to those yt are more large, of wch number I have bin. & soe I commit your person & [illegible] to ye Lord & rest

your ever loving & obliged friend

The ministers of East Kent, desired a meeting wth some in our parts at Ashford the 17 day of this month but Mr Willsons death, & other many occasions thereupon caused it to be deferred: I answ. your last Querys in my papers & we fear little will be done our Independents will goe higher & not many presbyterians goe soe high. Want of ruling elders sticks wth some, wthout wch they doe nothing.

April 24 165

LETTERS
Fol. 61. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Good Mr Baxter

Since my returne out of Shropshire I haue made it my whole worke almost for these three weekes (setting my other studyes asyde for that tyme) to returne pro re natâ an answere to Mr Robertsons whole Epistle to my selfe in all things, wherein wee are either ioyntly, or seuerally concerned. My answere doth containe 6, or 7 sheetes of pap, wch I haue herewth sent unto you, wth a purpose ~~to~~ as speedily as may bee to print the same, if upon the perusal thereof you shal (as I verily think you wil) approue it & my intention of printing it. I haue thought good to write & to print the Vindication of my Exercitation against Mr Robertsons Epistle not onely for the reasons specified in the first & last section of my vindication, but also because as I guesse by the feruency & ardor of the mans spirit & by what hee insinuates in one place of his Epistle as if hee had more to say & print against you & mee, that unlesse hee bee answered & his mouth by that meanes stopped, hee wil ~~[illegible]~~ bee extremely insolent & proceed to vent & vomit forth more of his follies, slanders & calumniations against us to the dishonour of God & his truth, to the wounding of his owne soule, & to the wronging of the soules of some welmeaning xtians; & hence it is that hauing desyred the direction & assistance of God (wch I am perswaded by the reading through of my vindication you wil say that God hath graciously vouchsafed unto mee) I haue concluded not onely to print my Vindication, but moreouer to endeavour the printing of it as soone as wth conueniency I can procure it to bee done. In the meane time I shal request you at your leisure to peruse it & in a few words by letter to signify unto mee what your sense is concerning it, my intention of a speedy printing it, or of any alteration of words, or phrases wch you iudge fit to bee made in it. I remember that at my being lately wth you, you spake somewhat to this purpose, that if I thought good to answere his Epistle to mee, you would ioyne wth it an answere ~~[illegible]~~ to his Epistle to your selfe about the immanent acts of God, wch if you shal doe, I think it wil bee iudged very meete & fit, that Mr Robertson hauing assaulted & calumniated both of us, hee should accordingly bee answered by us both. May the onely wise God, the God of loue, of truth & peace direct both you & mee wth all his seruants, that desyre to feare & serue him, ~~[illegible]~~ in all our & their concernments & in special what to doe upon such occurrences as these. When you haue perused it, I shal humbly request you to returne it to ~~[illegible]~~ Mr Vnderhill together wth your letter, who wil, I doubt not, according to my desyre, bee carefull speedily & wth safety to conuey the same unto mee.

Since my returne from you I considered of the word Effectiue as used by mee pro effectiue I am the rather minded, that the word may bee used in such a sense, because I find it in that sense used by that notable Schooleman Mr Anth: Wotton De reconcil: p. 187, where you wil find him to distinguish of sin, as it is taken, either Formaliter [pro actu] or Effectiue [pro effectu peccati] I remember what you told mee concerning those few leaues at the end of Dauenant de morte xti, that (as you heare) they were not his, but B. Ouerals; whereupon I think good to suggest unto you one argument, wch makes it seeme probable unto mee, that they haue one & the same Authour, viz: because (as I called to mind since I saw you) I did in my reading of the booke take notice, that that usefull distinction de intentione, or intentionis dei wch you wil find in that part sayd to bee B. Ouerals, ~~you wil~~ is found euen in the same words in the Dissertation de morte xti. I pray in your next letter to send mee word, whether the whole of those last leaues bee reported to bee B. Ouerals, ~~[illegible]~~ or onely so much as concerns the perseuerance & apostasy of the Sts mentioned in the close of all; & I shal also earnestly request you, that you would a little explaine unto mee your opinion about xts dying for us not onely nostro bono, but also nostro loco in opposition to the Socinians, & yet ~~[illegible]~~ not nostro loco ~~[illegible]~~ in opposition to the Antinomians. I haue forgot ~~[illegible]~~ what you sayd would bee answered to the common argumt (If xt did dye strictly nostro loco & as our delegate, then are wee iudged of God as Redeemers of our selues, yea of the world) & therefore if you shal bee pleased in your letter to mee to acquaint mee what is ~~[illegible]~~ answered thereunto, I wil accordingly take it into consideration at what time I shal set about the transcribing of the second pt of my Exercitation for the presse.

I haue taken upon mee (as you wil perceiue by my Vindication) to make answere for you, or in your behalfe unto Mr Robertsons exceptions against the Scriptures alledged by you about Heathens punishmts, viz: Lam: 4, 6, 22. Leu: 26, 18, 24 & I doubt not but that you wil approue of ~~the yours [illegible]~~ the answers, wch I haue made as to your vindication ~~[illegible]~~ in the allegation of the sayd Scriptures; but if it seeme meete unto you to make answere for your selfe, I wil according as I shal heare from you ~~[illegible]~~ omit what I haue written in way of your vindication as to those Scriptures (wch because they did concerne the like subiect, ~~[illegible]~~ about wch my selfe had alledged other Scriptures, I did therefore think good to vindicate) & leaue ~~[illegible]~~ Mr Robertsons exceptions ~~bee~~ as to the sayd Scriptures to bee answered by your selfe. Hoping very shortly to heare from you & wth my prayers to the Lord to preserue your life, & to direct your studyes, & to prosper your labours I commit you to God, in whom I foreuer remaine

Stanton
Sep: 5
1655

If you send your letter to mee by Mr Vnderhil, hee wil take care for the safe & speedy conueyance thereof unto mee.

Yours assured
as obliged
Thom: Hotchkis

LETTERS
fol. 62. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Reverend Sir,

You may justly thinke it bold presumption in mee to trouble & disturbe ye more publicke & more weighty Employments with my ~~mee~~ ~~here~~ private Condicon. But it will not Require much time to read, & as little to answer, if yu vouchsafe so much favour. Possibly yu may suspect some secret pride in mee application to you; I have Reason to doe so too. but I thinke my great affection to you, & high estimacon of your Judgment, together with ye providence of so safe & direct sendings, are ye greatest inducements to ye businesse. Because noe one in ye world like to know of it but yu by whose hands ye letter comes to you. Sir, It pleased god to bring mee into ye world by Religious parents & under their wings I had ye greatest part of my education. In ye 13 yeare of my age, It pleased god bring Convictions upon mee but in a very mild way, wch for yt time put mee upon the duties & Restrained mee from Sin; & so without any terrours I seemed to bee drawne to Christ, by a faith, when I thought it consisted in this to beleeve my sins were pardoned. Towards ye 16 yeare of my age I went to Cambridge in 49. where god carryed on Convictions very strongly, & my desires after Jesus were or at least seemed to bee ~~much~~ mighty fervent. But besides my godly acquaintance, I lighted into ye familiarity of others ~~one~~ of ye same standing with my selfe, in other things very morall but yet by frequent converse wth them I learned ye practise of selfe pollution. The first time I comitted it was wth ye eminent danger of my life, wch I tooke notice of, but it did not prevaile [illegible] ye frequent Comission of it I continued some monethes after a little Cessation I was willing to take peace though I thinke god never spoke peace to mee. still in prayer & secret dayes of humiliacon striving against it. Thus sinning & praying & praying & sinning I passed 50, 51, 52. sometimes for a moneth or 2, or 3 ~~in~~ keeping out of this sin & then falling into it againe, till in June 52 I quite Lost ye sense of gods favour & light of his Countenance. for I never since to this day durst call god father. but under many terrours & horrours, though not very violent, till about ye 13 Octob. 53 when it pleased god to bring this sin closer to mee & so of a sudden I fell into exceeding great ho[illegible] accompanyed wth very Atheisticall Blasphemous thoughts, hard thoughts & hard speeches against ~~&~~ Jesus Christ, & many an attempt against my owne life. This I continued Thursday, Friday, Satur[illegible] under ye deep sense of gods wrath, & wth sad forethoughts what a pitifull Sab. I should enjoy. In ye same Condicon I passed Sab. till at night being to crave a blessing, it pleased god out of ye midst of horrours to Raise up my soule to some dawning of hope. I no sooner enjoyed these [illegible] fruits but I Questioned their Reality & divinity. Whereupon wth ye advise of friends I went to a very godly ~~Minister~~ fell. of Eman. Coll. where I layd open my Condicon, & gave him my hand yt I would never Comit this sin againe. hee bad mee goe away wth this yt there was in Christ [illegible] Comitted to mee. This was Octob. 17. about ye 18 of ye next Januar. I wanted & forthwith grew idle formall & lazy & Jan 30 Comitted ye same sin againe. ye next word I heard from Conscience was thou must now bee damned, there is no Remedy. I was still in Camb. but durst not goe to ye Minister againe, though hee had charged mee if I ever comitted it to come to him. About the spring 53 I came from ye University still continuing to this day ye Comission of my sin. About [illegible] agoe I was to preach about ye Nature of hell torments. In ye making my sermons I comitted my sin & as soone as I had comitted it I fell into very great horrours wch continuing 4 dayes hindered my preaching on ye Lords day. In these Conflicts wth hell & sin I was much tempted to curse god & [illegible] & give up all hope of possible salvation, & so live like a desperate wretch. [illegible] yt might bee so hainous, as would admit no pardon. but I allwayes got out of my horrours [illegible] dayes not by healing. Thus I ~~ee~~ have since my last horrours been concerned [illegible], yt for all my [illegible] I was never yet truly humbled for sin under ye greatest horrours I ever endured. ye least [illegible] Christ. Its to mee ye strangest thing in ye world, yt I should ~~not~~ not bee able to leave this [illegible] for a sweete Christ. It hath cost mee many a secret fast, many & many a prayer & teare [illegible] & Resolutions nothing. will tye my hands or duty my heart & sin. I thought when about [illegible] of a yeare agoe I began to preach, my owne sermons would have beene Medicinall. I thought [illegible] should have [illegible] to heare [illegible] in Pulpit [illegible] wth ye guilt of yt sin [illegible] my Conscience & I know not whether I had best not goe againe. Its no small griefe yt my owne sermons doe mee so little good. ~~though~~ Its sad yt ye Child yt is borne wth [illegible] should not [illegible] I am thus sensible of my sin, & gods wrath: yet cannot I get a broken heart. God seemed to leave mee over to ye persecution of my owne heart [illegible] wth hardnesse of heart, [illegible] had, [illegible]

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Upon these sad Considerations I Question my ~~state~~ call to Ministry. But I dare not Question
my State of grace, for I have put it out of Question, yt I am in none, nor never was, & wh is worst
of all I doe not Know how to get into one. I have sometimes had Resolutions to marry, but my
322 guilt, & my Incompetent meanes for Maintenance of wife & Children, my fear of want & worldly
Distractions Keepe mee of. Since yt I have often used to ye manifest danger of my life &
unless marrying Remedy I know not what will. I hope ye have few such Consciences come to you
but yet ye canot bee wholly Unacquainted wt them. I would faine have your Counsell in these
businesses, as to my Ministry, Marrying & getting out of this Sin & into Christ. I have declined
particulars as much as may bee, & written as plainly & fully as Generalls would suffer. Ye
answer I hope will bee very satisfactory & much settlement as to ye whole course of my future
life. If ye Returne yours as ye Receive my mind, it will come safe to mee, & I shall engage
yr prayers (if worthy this) of

Sir

July. 18. 1699

your Servant

Reverend and beloved Sir

I having with much delight pondred
4 some of your printed works: chiefly that
elaborate Treatise on Hebr. 4. 9. and found
breathing therein an excellent spirit
rationally pressing to holines here:
the undoubted forerunner of happines
hereafter. and although I have learned
it: to be folly and sin much to admire any
man. or to poyson him with flatteryes.
yet a gratefull acceptance (wth humble
present) is due unto you from all the churches
this sir. (I searching for somewhat that
would speake to my present condition
or rather to a state wherein I had
been for about 30. yeares together, but
at present amply crowned blessed
be the riches of his glorious grace: truly
for I may with S. Augustin of the
say: what can be spoken so much more
greatnes of my disease. so of my
will I speake in praise and onely
I hesitant and now I have a word or
tymes to scribble unto you. That
two of my thoughts brefely. I fell into
about the yeare 1623. about
great distresse of mynd about the poynts
Predestination. and also strongly
appendant. then Satan blasphemous temptations
assaulted me with: God was unjust and all
to wit that the world did proclaym
the reason in such a decree before the
it in making to wit to elect a few to
world was consequently non elect or
+ salvation & passe by millions of the
reprobation. I could

Upon these sad Considerations I Question my ~~state~~ call to Ministry. But I dare not Question my State of grace, for I have put it out of Question, yet I am in none, nor never was, & worst of all I dare not know how to get into one. I have sometimes had Resolutions to marry, but my 22 guilt, & my Uncompleted meanes for Maintenance of wife & Children, my feare of want & worldly Distractions keepe me of. Since yet I have often used to ye manifest danger of my life & unless marrying Remedy it I know not what will. I hope ye have few such Conditions come to you but yet ye canot bee utterly Unacquainted wt them. I would faine have your Counsell in these businesses, as to my Ministry, Marrying & getting out of this sin & into Christ. I have declined particulars as much as may bee, & written as plainly & fully as Generalls would suffer. ye answer I hope will bee very satisfactory & much settle mee as to ye whole course of my future life. If ye Relieve yours as ye Receive my mind, it will come safe home, & I shall engage ye prayers (if worth any thing) of

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July 18. [illegible]

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at present amply recovered blessed
be the riches of his glorious grace. truly
for I may with S Augustin: say. what can
be spoken of the disease: so much more of my
greatnes of my in prayse of my and ondly
will I speake And now I have a word or
I hesitan unto you. That
tyme to scribble briefely. I fell into
two of my thoughts about the yeare 1623 about
great distresse of mynd about the poynts
Predestination and also strongly temptations
attendant. then Satan blasphemous and all
assaulted me with. God was unjust and did preordayn
to wit that in the world before the
the reason in making such a decree to elect a few to
it in world was to wit: consequently non elect or
salvation (& consequently millions of men
passe by pretirition. I would

63

see no other event but inevitable
damnation (after Adams fall). for what
good gayne the reprobate by all the
offers & purchases in the second covenant
I saw none. but all did occationally mak
them worse. and what ever I found in
St Austin Calvin. Mr Perkins Bp Davenant
& all others did cleare my iudgment for
the first. that it was so decreed certaynly
but how it could stand with divine iustice
I thought all the Angels in heaven could
never overcome me to aproove of it. But
God was pleased to draw me to subscrib
to the Synod of Dort. in such a manner
as is too larg now to insert. wch when I
had attayned I did more wonder at it
then if I had seene all the miracles recorde
in Scripture wrought before my eyes.
And fynding somewhat in ye bookes that doth
not a litle trenche vpon some of my mayne
Principles (and knowing satans policies) to sugg
a neglect of a precious baske for one errour sa
I haue with humble boldnes adressed this unt
you. to intreat your full and cleare resolutio
in these two poynts.
First whereas the Synod of Dort amongst the
errors wch they reiect do Anathemise this
for one. viz. & they that say it is not absurd
for aman to lose his regeneration and to be
agayne and agayne borne spiritually. for they
say they deny the incorruptiblenes of that
seed of which they are begotten. 1. Peter. 1.
and make voyd the prayer
John 17

LETTERS

Intercession & custody of Christ. Now
You seeme to me to affirm or intimate
that a non elect person may attayne
a iustifying fayth & bee regenerate
or that a weake regenerate man may
if he be but a new born babe may
fall to perdition. nay you further say you that
dare not lay ye salvation on this the
al strongly rooted beleevers do persevere.
out of this ye opinion (if I understand aright) doubts appeare to mee.
these. further if a iustified man might totally fall from
that state he could not be agayn renewed by
repentance; secondly if iustification be not the
infallible fruite of election nor in this life ~~for~~ 3
can be assured of their glorification. for
thirdly if the non elect attayn the iustifying fayth
and should dy in that estate he must be glorified
& then the number of the glorified would
exceede the number of the predestinated
contrary to that Rom 8. 30.

My second mayne principle is that Christ
satisfied for sins not agaynst the first covenant
onely (as you seeme to me to affirm) but
for ye elects sins against ye guilt of all the
gospell sins or deniall of the second covenant
wch the elect must else be charged with

Sir I can explane my selfe no further
at present but shall wayte for ye answer
as Cornelius did for Peter, and pray
the Almighty to multiply his blessings on
you as the stars of the firmament for
number

Your unfaigned and
dearely beloved
in Christ, though a
stranger.
Edward [illegible]
minister at
[illegible]

From Repton in the
County of Derby.
8bar 31 – 53.

To the reverend
and his much
honoured friend
Mr Richard
Baxter Pastour
of the Church at
Kederminster
in Worcestershire
be these.

Reverend & much Honoured Sir

5 I received your letter but on Sept: 20th or I should before this time have let you understand how glad I was of it, and thereby of this ~~[illegible]~~ opportunity of a further treaty with you in what in my present affaires, it hath pleased the Lord to make somewhat difficult to mee. I shall make bold 1st to lay downe my case in generall as to the matter of removinge or stayinge where I am. 2ly In case I may & doe remove, for the place whither I should thinke I have a call from God, and what my scruples are concerninge Shrewsbury. Ffor the first. The case is thus wth mee. (You will excuse mee if I be somewhat tedious, for I conceive I shall not give you a full account, for you to give your judgement of in this matter unless I lay downe all circumstances before you, and but that I received your letter as an encouragement I should not thinke it reasonable that you should be so far troubled with my perplexed busyness.) — I have beene here setled at Gawsworth now goinge upon 7 yeares, where it hath pleased the Lord to give mee some successe in my poore labours, little in comparison of what I could desire, yet more than many of my pretious Brethren here about mee have had: yet not so many to so many within the compasse of my owne parish, as to others that have congregated wth us from other places, many from far, from places where the ministry either is wantinge or were not as they should be, though to some from places, where the ministers are honest, and it hath oft beene some trouble to mee, least I should not have done my duty in hinderinge such persons from cominge from such men, (and if by the by, you would tell mee your thoughts as to that what were to be done by mee in such a case I should be thankefull to you) But for my owne place wee have had the opportunity of settinge up the presbytery, and the congregation is in order accordinge to the rules of ~~that~~ yt government, wee have the Lords supper in much freedome and the scandalous & grossely ignorant are kept backe, & though the good are the lesser party, yet the other party through Gods mercy is kept in some under more than heretofore. and for the Lords supper severall congregations about us not enioyinge it most of the godly in the neighbourhood doe ioine wth us, to our mutuall great comfort. Now as to my removinge hence, this place is a Rectory that hath the name of a competent maintenance much greater than ever I could, or I thinke shall make of it. I beleive 60li p annum is the utmost it will be cleare to mee. Now it hath pleased God to give mee 4 children allready, and wee ~~are~~ in probabilitye of more of Gods blessinge this way, and I was at first by an oversight (wch here I shall not mention) cast behinde in the world. Now of this meanes wee could live conveniently, but shall hardly upon it recover what is behinde or make provision for the education of the children. — upon these grounds I attempted this last summer to remove, whereupon the people seemed desirous to have mee stay, conceivinge the parsonage to be much worth than I said I could make of it, whereupon I desired them to take it, and to make what they could of it, assuringe them if they could raise mee an 100li p annum I should not upon that ground of maintenance be hasty to remove, though all along I assured them I would not doe any thinge in such a weighty businesse but what ~~[illegible]~~ should be wth the advice of my Brethren in the neighbourhood friends to them and mee. They thought they could out of the parsonage have answered my demands, but when they went about it, & tooke a view of the whole, they found it much about the account that I had given of it, and thereupon they shewed themselves at present very ingenuous, & knowinge my condition they ceased to urge my continuance. whereupon notwithstandinge I tooke it as it was & resolved to stay another yeare which will determine now at April next. The matter that makes [illegible] stay here is, that the lordship is in suite & so the patronage uncertaine. If I should leave before the title be tryed both partys would present which might hazard sadly the peace of the place, and if it were tryed I am very iealous whether either would be such a one presented as might be to the peoples comfort & the churches interest in the place. Now how farre I am tyed by this to waite on God as to my owne outward condition, rather than in the least to hazard such great thinges as relate to the pretious soules of the people: and whether if I might remove may it be till I see the other businesse cleared about the fitness of one to succeed, wch will be very hard for mee doe: And I suppose in the case you mention about the removall of the minr wth you, there was no question of comfortable provision for the place he left.

Now in case I may remove. for what you say of a great place I could not withstand your arguments, if I was satisfyed in myselfe that I was such a one as your determination in the case seemes to imply. I am conscious to myselfe of great unfitness for a great charge, I beleive if you knew mee you would blame their iudgment that presented you wth any other account of mee. I doe really professe to you I know myselfe to be far defective in learninge & parts ever many others. and as farre short otherwise as a deceitfull base heart can make mee. I am not yet 30 yeares of age, & I did not spend past 3 of this in the university. I can at leisure bewayle my hasty entrance into this great employment, which who is sufficient

x

for. Besides I have not the helpes that many others have of a library all wch would sooner be felt in ones constant ministry in a more judicious auditory. — I was lately in Huntingtonshire where I have severall Brothers and friends liveinge who are very earnest to have mee remove into my native country, and indeed I could be much inclined that way, not only because of the helpfullness I know I should finde from my friends as to my outward condition (which from the troubles & hinderances I have found in my worke from them, is considerable in my case) but also that I finde more acceptance of my labours among the people there than I could have expected. and if God make way & give mee a call thither, whether might it not much take of the offence that may be taken in my removall goeinge to my owne country to which somethinge is owinge, to prevent which offence I would willingly be very tender of. — For Shrewsbury I am abundantly satisfyed in the generall pious people that are there, wch may much strengthen the handes & encourage the heart of a godly minister But, besides the maintenance at present is somewhat uncertaine, and the place is chargeable for liveinge which will make it more inconvenient for mee (which if my condition were not as it is, I should not I hope speake of in any first place) but Mr Paget is a man too well knowne to be of a very sower temper, and ~~[illegible]~~ if I should come to another church wth any such intention of succeedinge him I should looke for such unquietness & discomfort from him wch I should not desire if I could avoid. And to keepe that intention from him, it is too late to speake of it. For through the indiscretion of some of the good people it is divulged, & was knowne to him when I was last there and much trouble I had how to carry about it. It is easy to imagine what trouble his constant jealousy might create to mee. And this further which doth most of all take wth mee (which I humbly entreat you to keepe secret) I doe not perceive any forwardness, almost freedome in the other ministers of the concurrence (whom I much reverence for such as you describe them be) but I cannot thinke of beinge there if I might not hope to have their hearty closinge wth, & acceptance of, mee.

I am hitherto much unsatisfyed in removeinge & I have looked upon it as a pious ~~[illegible]~~ providence that I have had hitherto amongst many motions none very likely for mee to close with & I hope God will not suffer mee to be tempted with a faire & unquestionable ~~[illegible]~~ offer till he hath cleared it to mee that I should remove, and its my prayer he would prevent any thinge that is not of him, least my owne heart should deceive mee in the choice of my way if not cut out & made up before mee. — Sr you will excuse my length & tediousness wth you, I ~~[illegible]~~ hope you will pray for mee as you may know my case doth need. & I should be glad as soone as your more weighty businesses would permit to receive your thoughts in the whole matter. I give you many thankes for your letter & wth my hearty respects to you, I commit you & your labours to the blessinge of the Lord, in whom I desire to be found

Your affectionate Brother &
unworthy fellow = labourer.

Henry Newcome.

Gawsworth.
Sept: 27th
1656.

Reverend Brother

Although it is now twice 7 yeeres agoe since I saw your face, saving that a 11 yeers at my being in London I had ~~be~~ once the opportunity there to salute you, neverthe I pceive upon the reading of some of ~~my late~~ your late bookes, that I am in your remembrance; for that cause I was willing to signify to you by these presents, that you are in a like brotherly remembrance wth mee, & not in my thoughts ~~al~~ onely, but in my prayers also, that you, together wth all others of name & note amongst us, may doe good & no evil in the Churches of Xt all the dayes of your lives; & the rather, because I have the like awful, & dreadfull apprehension of some psons, who move in a sup: our orbe, as his late never sufficiently to bee lamented Maiesty declared himselfe (you know) to have had of his great Minister of State the E of Strafford, How that hee was a pson, whose great abilityes might make a Prince rather ~~asham~~ afraid, then ashamed to imploy him ~~in affaires of State~~. This feare touching that Noble Count & touching all other psons eminently qualifyed wth abilityes (whether Statesmen, or Church men) is to my seeming not irrational, or groundlesse, & this kind of feare is encreased in mee by the experience of the ~~great~~ evil as well as good, wch some psons of renowne have done to their generation both in our owne & forreine Churches, their transcendent abilities & reputation being equal advantages to doe the more hurt as the more good both to Church & State. The Lord so direct & prosp all your labours as that you may doe as much of the one & as little of the other as ~~your best~~ may bee.

The special occasion of ~~my~~ these present lines is the transmitting to you by the hand of my Brother [Mr Joshua Hotchkis skinner at the greene dragon in Budge-row] certaine paps, the scope & subiect whereof you wil pceive by the Title-page & the Contents prefixt. You may bee pleased to understand, that the ~~sc~~ summe, or substance of these 12, or 13 sheetes having bin throughly pused by Mr Woodbridge of Newbery (a pson of your acquaintance, I presume, as wel as mine) were from him returned unto mee wth many thanks & more approbation, then is fit for mee to relate to you & wth an earnest desire, that by the publishing thereof others might ptake of that benefit, wch himselfe did professe to have received by them. By this his desire & advice I was induced to review, enlarge them & by making them as practical as I could, to fit them for the presse & thereby for publiq use; & because your name is therein by occasion sometimes mentioned, but more especially because in the 12th Chapter & 19th Question I doe in the matter there handled declare my dissent from you together wth Mr Truman ~~as also from~~ wth some animadversion also upon a passage, or two ~~ou~~ in Mr Gibbons sermon of iustification, I have therfore & for several other reasons thought it my pt, before I doe offer them to the presse, or seeke the printing of them, to transmit them to your hand, humbly requesting your pusal of the same & thereupon to signify to mee your advice upon the whole, whether as to the printing, or not printing of them, & more especially your thoughts concerning the 12th Chapter, wherein your selfe, Mr Truman & Mr Gibbon are concernd. And I doe humbly request your answere so soone as your leisure wil pmit, wch my Brother in Budge-row can every weeke have the opportunity to convey to mee, & to whose hand you wil bee pleased to returne my papers, when you have pused them.

I am sensible, how much the name of any Authour doth conduce to the ~~sale of his booke~~ advantage of the Stationer in the sale of the booke undertaken to bee printed by him, & for want of this advantage I find in experience, how difficult it is for any Minister in my circumstances (an obscure country Minister) to procure ~~the printing~~ any Stationer to undertake the printing of any thing offred to them by any such pson, lest the copyes lying upon their hands unsold should prove to their losse. Upon wch account it is, that I could not procure the printing of the second pt of my Exercitation (of wch you know) concerning the nature of forgivenes of sin, nor a tract in 20 sheetes of pap concerning the Lords day, wch I wrote about 10, or 11 yeeres agoe, ~~&~~ & whether I shal procure the printing of about 19 sheetes of pap, wch I wrote the last yeere (they being sermons upon Isa: 26, 20, 21 most ptinent to the text & psent time & wch having bin pused both by a learned Conformist & Non-conformist of my acquaintance are wel approved of to bee made publiq) I doe not as yet certainly know. If you shal thinke it not amisse to trouble your selfe wth the ~~sca~~ pusing of the Contents of the sayd Sermons & Tract (sermon wise) touching the Lords day, they being in two sheetes of pap, my Brother upon the signification of your mind unto him in that behalfe wil put them into your hand. In my paps herewith transmitted to you styled (A sinners charge & discharge) you wil pceive, that I doe contradict some psons of great name & note both in New England & old. I confesse, I have done it unwillingly & yet I must make account, if ever these paps bee printed, by the publishing thereof to cast my reputation once againe over board, as you told mee at the printing of ~~my~~ the first pt of my Exercitation concerning forgivenes of sin. But if my unwilling service bee by the errours of many of my brethren become a very necessary peece of service (as I think it is & when I read such bookes as that of Mr Grew lately printed by your friend Mr Symmonds on Jer: 23, 6 I am abundantly confirmed in such my thoughts) why should I bee solicitous for my reputation, it having bin more then once already by mee cast ouer boord, I meane especially upon my compliance with the Act of Uniformity 11 yeeres agoe, for wch I haue not hitherto ~~found reason to repent~~ (consideratis considerandis omnibus, et singulis) found reason to repent, although for ought I know I can truly say, That I haue not got 20 shillings these 11 yeeres by the retaining of my ~~country~~ parsonage more then hath serued for publique payments, & for meate, drinke, physicke & rayment for my selfe & mine. I speake this, not as if I thought my selfe, or would haue any other to thinke, that I or any of mine ~~[illegible]~~ were in want of any of this worlds good (for wee want nothing in that kind) but lest you, or any one should ~~[illegible]~~ thinke, that the retaining of the profits of my obscure country cure ~~[illegible]~~ was in that houre of temptation an ouerswaying consideration with mee.

~~Having~~ I haue already sufficiently troubled you by these tedious lines, otherwise I would haue acquainted you with the late occasion, upon wch I was induced to write ~~[illegible]~~ the papers herewith sent to you, styled a Sinners charge & discharge & therefore I shall forbeare to exercise your patience with more words for this time, with my very affectionate & brotherly remembrances to you & my prayers to the Lord for you to direct & prosper your labours I commit you to God, in him resting

Your most assured louing friend
& brother
Thom: Hotchkis

Stanton
Aug: 28
1673.

If I haue misinterpreted any one text of Scripture, or spoken any ill or unbeseeming word of any ones persons, from whom I doe in my papers declare my dissent, I pray forbeare not to giue mee notice thereof.

To my reuerend brother Mr
Richard Baxter Minister
of Gods word at his house
over against New-South
hampton buildings
this bee

4

Worthy Sir

The same hindring him on reason I have
so long waited and kept delaying to
make you the intended voyage for London I
[illegible] now to send [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] to go by
sea but I would no longer delay to write
and send these lines I intended and with them
I purposed to have sent the dissertation but
now I have sent you [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] and
[illegible] [illegible] right [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but I have
[illegible] it [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] to
be [illegible] I thought I might [illegible] this
[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] (especially
in [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] brought
from Albertus) I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
of the [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]
of Des Cartes who knew nothing of the first elements
of philosophy. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]
in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] Des Cartes the Aristotle's [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] I would no longer [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] the
[illegible] [illegible] to be brought by the
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to
[illegible] the title of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible] to [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I desired [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]
brought them into a [illegible] I [illegible] a little time
might [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] by way of
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
68 and [illegible] [illegible] his [illegible] [illegible]
to work I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]
one day [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible]

x and that [illegible] I have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible]

x

[redacted]

you in the [illegible] I called to memory where [illegible]
and declaration in the [illegible] of your judgment [illegible]
out the most concerning point of justification
especially in your debate with [illegible]
[illegible] Mr [illegible], instantly (I should not have) I
digressed and having [illegible] but [illegible]
at hand I wrote [illegible] on that matter
for and yet will not think it more ~~strange~~
to meet with [illegible] from them in
such haste then I did that digression where
I reflected on it and the [illegible]
undervalue [illegible] in meditation now
then I, not considering [illegible]
[illegible] upon the declaration of your judgment
[illegible] and having so [illegible] digress-
ed I thought I might and was [illegible] to
impart the same to you and then

I supposed the distinction of a first and se-
cond justification was not approved [illegible] so I
like not the [illegible] notion of it and think it
a [illegible] to confound justificati-
on and sanctification yet a 1 and 2 justification
seemeth to be grounded on the scriptures and be-
ing [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]
and [illegible] and there is a justification of
[illegible] reconciliation, acceptance of the
person ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] being an [illegible]
in the promises and [illegible] declared
of children and [illegible] with [illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible] 2 there is a justifica-
tion of [illegible] absolution [illegible]
tion and sanctification) [illegible] to the [illegible]
tion of the [illegible] defiled in conscience
Again there is a justification of the ungodly
Rom 4. 5. also there is a justification of the be-
liever Rom 3. 26.

o (relating to our

3 It is one thing to speak of that whereby we
become and are made just and another thing
to speak of that whereby our justification is
made to appear and declared to be it is
one thing to speak of that which constituteth
and another thing to speak of that which man-
ifesteth our justification
4 There is a formal justification [illegible]
[illegible] and a [illegible] justification
from the [illegible] and effects
5 There is a justification of the person and a

69

Justification of the profession state and sincerity
of the person To [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] justification [illegible] justification of the pers[illegible]
and the [illegible]:
I do not (Sir) offer these [illegible] which being so [illegible]
[illegible] in the word and the latter [illegible]
[illegible] enough but the first two [illegible]
[illegible] seem [illegible] useful for [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] I have them [illegible]
is [illegible] brought) I remember not whether
[illegible] where I have read them if not in your [illegible]
[illegible] or elsewhere [illegible] I suppose they [illegible]
[illegible] though they do not [illegible]
all the difficulty in that point
Having said enough by way of apology for the
[illegible] digression let me [illegible] to my
purpose to send that [illegible]
the first [illegible] hand, [illegible] (Sir) I look on the
many [illegible] and excellent books ye have wr[illegible]
[illegible] ye have [illegible] to [illegible] the
[illegible] but the labors of others [illegible]
full of [illegible] to promise great things in that [illegible]
[illegible] or to [illegible] you to trouble [illegible]
[illegible] but if ye find ground to appro[illegible]
[illegible] that it may be helpful for clearing the
truth and useful to that [illegible] due to the
[illegible] might [illegible] with him to undertake
I would [illegible] from you a greater [illegible]
[illegible] though [illegible] is not desired
by [illegible] so much [illegible]
[illegible] his [illegible] [illegible]
full [illegible] but [illegible]
[illegible] the diligent [illegible]
[illegible] his work is before [illegible] hand [illegible]
[illegible] will not [illegible] doing [illegible]
is [illegible] no [illegible]
[illegible] mistake [illegible]
do [illegible] not [illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible] be you and [illegible]
[illegible] broken [illegible]
[illegible] need to [illegible]
by letters [illegible] pray for [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] may be found [illegible]
[illegible] with [illegible]
[illegible]
his works [illegible] your most affectionat[illegible]
M [illegible]

Sr I shall add to this my desire that [illegible]
to [illegible] your [illegible]
being [illegible] for [illegible] with the goodness
of [illegible] letters

O [illegible]

Drum[illegible]
9 Jan:
1673

Right reverend

7x.

Yours of the 12 of Julie (which came to my hand [illegible] 3) expressing more [illegible] then [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ (the from your charity more then expected then deserved) called for a more quick returne and acknowledgment but from the [illegible] I can truly apologize for this delay for on the [illegible] effect the receit of your much desi- red and refreshing letter I [illegible] what now I [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] so negligently a [illegible] that they who are not acquaint with my hand will not be able to read and in my first I understood my [illegible] my hand might be illegible to you but finding by [illegible] that there is not such difference in the character I have ventured to put you to the trouble to spell my scriblings for as I would be loth to communicate letters sent to me so I desire not any should read what I write to others [illegible] I expect ye will acquaint me whether [illegible] I need to run to another pen for I purpose (if the Lord will) not to be such a stranger to you tho it be little that I can say especially at such a distance yet that I may [illegible] and [illegible] a line from you for [illegible] him who lives so remote from the sweet society he once enjoyed ~~[illegible]~~ being my plea will [illegible] my importunity. A better communion of saints is little minded and the good old badge of disciples Joh 13 35 is out of date and where there hath been some fellowship and wished there had been less or none there being [illegible] among them who supposed they might [illegible] should be found and such [illegible] and misconstructions and from thence so many slanders and false reports, and hence so little confidence and trust that it [illegible] an spirituall life [illegible] desirable now is that [illegible] so many [illegible] in [illegible] that I had in the wilderness of [illegible] our [illegible] is [illegible] because it [illegible] all remedy (till the great [illegible] be [illegible] one (which may be shortly) [illegible] to [illegible] and improve it) he who now would offer his help must put his hand in a hornets nest I dare not [illegible] I cannot be silent I [illegible] not to [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] not [illegible] of [illegible] others I am afraid to bring water to quench the little sparke of zeal in this lukewarme generation and I doe [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] it is supposed to [illegible] [illegible] that I may now [illegible] [illegible] be left alone while [illegible] As to that which is the [illegible] of our great [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] and have been [illegible] on that [illegible]) a fresh [illegible] of it [illegible] but to whom should I offer it or any other [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] when [illegible] that they [illegible] the [illegible] 23 [illegible] [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] all differences [illegible] now mistakes [illegible] when [illegible] god [illegible] in [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] he will make a change [illegible] great [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the zeal [illegible] [illegible] he will [illegible] to us not according to the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] but for the [illegible] Luc 1. 16 17 [illegible] to turn the stubborn and [illegible] to the wisdom meekness and modera- tion of the [illegible].

23 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of our [illegible] from the [illegible] of the church and [illegible] the [illegible] when they [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] our hands yet [illegible] not [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] from the [illegible] — 23 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of

ye may hear from my ~~[illegible]~~ me [illegible] have [illegible] to say, which

I have [illegible] son to say

x notes to my independency [illegible] (god forbid) [illegible] to an [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] freedome [illegible]:

x

[illegible] I shall [illegible] to confirm my selfe to a return to your
[illegible] it much very great method there is such an harmony in
our studies and if from yours I could draw any ground of
hope shortly to see your [method. theol:] in print it
might be to good purpose for me to wait and yet that had
been my mercy to have lived so neere to you that a colla-
tion might have been made for preventing mistakes
and that we might not seem to differ where (on the matter)
we sweetly agree tho I [illegible] any affection could
have wished that might have been [illegible] will not be suspec-
ted by you But deare Sir since there is no place for
this I resolve to send with the beare this [illegible] for
[De concordia &c] tho I have but one copy [illegible]
in great hast from abstracts of [illegible] falling into my hands
(occasional additions making me neglect [illegible] drawing
on that confusion) so that it will be difficult from such
hotch potch (especially while the [illegible] about it
is not fresh) to make up a [illegible] [illegible]
then to let it run a hazard that it should be kept from
your view I can beare the saying of it [illegible]
of himselfe [If the Lord be pleased to whith he can send it back
and in a better dresse and if the Lord [illegible] let it [illegible] by
the way he may graciously accept of my desire to have
done service to his church Sir I cannot expect that when
it comes to your hands ye will have time for perusing
it or tho ye had that ye would so employ it and if I have
from you (if ye find ye may [illegible] for the printing of it)
to the printer will not (in considering the difficulties [illegible]
in yours I may apprehend it will not) do the [illegible]
[illegible] you make no more ado about it But I send it [illegible]
[illegible] that ye will so far [illegible] him who is so desirous
of your help as to take a [illegible] of some controversy
and interest points and to signify what displeaseth you
therein and may be my errors or mistakes
2 As to these ye have noted from the [illegible] I could not [illegible]
a [illegible] did I not resolve to send the tract that give no
satisfaction [illegible] would be expected from a line [illegible]
[illegible] so confident of our harmony in these [illegible]
I read your [illegible] book of [illegible]
head concerning the [illegible] efficacy of grace [illegible]
[illegible] had been agreed in that [illegible] my [illegible]
[illegible] me upon the account of [illegible] and [illegible]
from which [illegible] distresse in that [illegible]
have mistaken [illegible] meaning I intreat you blot out
that [illegible] and any other that [illegible] in your [illegible]
ing tho as to materiall alterations I dare not yet [illegible]
a liberty yet tho I may not affect [illegible] I do not [illegible]
[illegible] to affirme I may blot out not only
have not [illegible] but what would offend
[illegible] wherein ye agree with D. Twisse I could [illegible]
As to the 2 in which ye [illegible] D. Twisse and according [illegible]
the tract I show [illegible] but do not conceive that [illegible]
[illegible] to have much influence on the [illegible]
[illegible] commission to [illegible] that ye will be dissatisfied [illegible]
debate and I am not afraid [illegible] from the
my affection [illegible] ye shall know [illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible] D. Twisse all along
3 as to the [illegible] of faculties in man I remember [illegible]
[illegible] speaking of the dignity of the soul) I [illegible]
on such a notion But my [illegible] the understanding
will and memory and I suppose [illegible] to be [illegible]
of a distinct operative faculty (for I know and have [illegible]
that some do not (even [illegible]) distinguish the passion
the will) make it materiall and I find [illegible] to be [illegible]
to be [illegible] with the other [illegible] but I know ye have
not much stresse on the analogy and [illegible] tho [illegible]
and many [illegible] illustration I would be loth to [illegible]
with you about such a [illegible]
4 If ye be pleased to acquaint me with the [illegible] of your me-
thod which I much commend your [illegible]
might be [illegible] of your noble designe and [illegible]

would it be to [illegible] and the good fruits of [illegible]
so [illegible] my spirit and I have been
something that way but want of books and [illegible]
[illegible] my [illegible] have hitherto hindered me but [illegible]
at the time about [illegible] some [illegible] in the
forward) I lay down some grounds for [illegible] and [illegible]
long debates [illegible] and [illegible] Mr Ferguson [illegible]
[illegible] (as Mr Hill in the preface to Mr [illegible] [illegible]
in [illegible] affirmeth) [illegible] to deal [illegible] subtle
[illegible] that he might have the more advantage against
them, in [illegible] them as much as [illegible] to the consistency
to his own [illegible] that so he might the more easily con-
found them. I [illegible] no [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] but if the [illegible] more [illegible]
in stating controversies [illegible] more in [illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] to the
[illegible] more [illegible] to [illegible] and the greater
desire to find out the truth [illegible]
[illegible] many controversies might be brought [illegible]
and many [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] make the [illegible] doctrine look as
[illegible] and [illegible]
like and [illegible]
may serve for an apology for [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 71
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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Mr Al. Pitcarne

on Ddr.
ann:
1673.

For
the very reverend and
worthy divine Mr
Richard Baxter min=
ister of the gospel
[illegible] these

Reverend and deare Sr

I doe heartily thanke yw for yr paines in yr late worke, wch I am perswaded is more necessary then men are yet aware of. If it come to a second edition (as I beleive it will) if yw please to inlarge it, I am confident yw can scarce doe ye generation a bettr or more seasonable service. I hope yw have [illegible] neglect more & more ye crabbednesse, and waywardnesse of some good men, who are too quarellsome and impatient of contradiction. I heard yw preach at London a sermon about man-pleasinge if yw would publish it aftr ye othr two yt are out, I am perswaded yw might doe very well: for it is high time yt men did bettr understand ye sinfullnesse of yt sin. There is a poore woman in my parish who is prohibited ye sacrament by a dissolute husband; who threatens to leave her, and many othr wayes he takes to make her forbeare it, so that ye poore woman for peace sake doth sometimes comply wth him, yet wth much perplexity and reluctance of conscience. I doe intreate yw to write mee a few words wt I should advise her to doe. That case yw wrote of concerninge Salomon doth very much puzle mee, so that I cannot come to a cleare resolution in it. ye inconsistency of customary grosse sin wth a state of grace seems not only to bee a traditionall doctrine fro ye generality of ye most holy and experienced writers; but [illegible] consonant to scripture wch both in old Test: and New doth so frequently place repentance in ye turne fro sin, as yw know. I beleive he was undr ye strongest of tempt. yt ever man was undr as to some kinds of the; and how farre that may take of fro ye sinfullnesse of his deeds, I know not. I doe beleive besides, undr ye new testamt such grosse sinninge is lesse consistent wth grace then it was of old. Many ordinary Xtians live and dy wthout those foule blots yt ye eminentest there fell undr. I should be thankfull to yw for yr apprehensions about this mattr when yw can spare a little time. Mr Woodbridge is now in ye presse. Mr Eyres intimated to mee yt havinge given ye world an account of ye grounds of his beliefe in yt controversy he meant to meddle no furthr. Mr Hotchkis told mee ~~he~~ yw had some papers of his in answere to ye yonge Scottsman, hee desired to know wt yw resolved to doe about him. The Ld direct yw to imploy yr life in those workes wch may doe ye heads & hearts of men most good. yw did once write of an intention to put forth a family-directory; I should be sorry if yt purpose should fall to ye ground. Dearest Sr The God of all grace bee wth yw and blesse all yr labours for ye good of many a soule. I am

Dunhead. Dec. 3.

Yr unworthy brothr and fellow
servt Peter Ince.

I would write more frequently to yw
but for feare of injuringe yw & othrs.
They associated not longe since in Devonshire
Dr Kendall mr fford of Extr & Mr Hughes of Plimouth did ye dutyes of ye day.
Mr Grove desires to be kindly remembred to yw.

I pray yw let mee know wt yr neighbour Quakers doe.

72

Reuerend Sir

9 this booke of yours A call to the Vnconuerted hath been lately turned into french by Mr Stoupe not so much by his own inclination as by the encouragement of one of the ministers of Paris who hath purposely for yr bookes sake learned the English tongue and professed since he thought the reading of yr bookes was worth the payns he tooke in learning ye tongue. If you doe not understand ye french I will sett you here down the iudgement yt man make of you and of yr workes as Mr Stoupe hath it in the Aduis or aduertisement to the reader pag 2

He hath so well acquitted himselfe in this subject that one of the most illustrious men of our age maketh no difficulty to maintayne and say yt among ye bookes written both by ancient fathers and by modern authours he hath neuer seen one yt is more proper to worke upon soules and is more pressing the consciences to induce them to ye study of holinesse then some of the workes yt this faithfull servant of God hath published   To speake in particular of this This is ye occasion of ye publishing of it. Monsr Usserius Etc you may guesse ye rest speaking of ye Bishop of Armagh next he saith. he hath not turned yr ~~tow~~ two prefaces. for 2 reasons ye one because his aduise in truth containes ye substance of ye one the other because it was not found conuenient to premise so long a preface before so little a booke allthough it be very fine and pressing

I haue sett you down ye contents of the preface of ye translatour and in it the iudgement of ye minister of Paris named Mr Gaches whose son comming lately from Paris hath deliuered one booke for you and 73

~~one~~ another for me . and tells me yt ye booke is
exceeding well sold and well relished and
that knowing ye malady of our present age
in France, who are so nice about a new french
à la mode and wee our best ~~meen~~ men now a day
must study and cloth there bookes with else
they will not sell . being I say so ~~nr~~ nice
that way a great man in France a Protes
tant and Secretary to ye Academy of the
virtuosy Mr Conrard hath had the pol
lishing of yr book and in yt dresse mr
Stoop tels me it ~~he~~ is come out and yt he himselfe
is encouraged to take som of yr other bookes in
hand but he would be first be advised by you
wch next would be the fittest to undertake
for all that yt understand yr bookes say and it is
my thoughts yt albeit ye mayne drift of yr
bookes is fitted for all persons and countreys
yet for order and matter some things are
suited to ye English climate and since there is a
great difference betwixt preaching to a popular
auditory and ~~b~~ publishing to the world in
print they wisht you could for matter and
contexture sett out some thing to preach
to ye ungodly world for ye conversion of wch
Mr Gaches thinkes you are fitted and pittyes
them and you yt being so great a light you ~~shine~~ should
shine only in England and yt every single
person afore he can receive benefit by yr bookes
must afore he come to ye kernell be many
a month a craking ye stone. and yt were ys
bookes either in latin or french (now ye most
general tongue of Europe) you might make a
very great harvest they wisht you would
seriously consider you might if you please
benefit a million of Christians if you out
of yr bookes specially of ye Everlasting rest
namely of ye part III chap. 6 (Exhortations
to seriousnesse &c) and others were pleased
to make a short pitty systime ~~s~~ suited to
learned and unlearned as a trumpet of
Sion to all yt call themselves Christians

who are most satisfyed with ye bare name
for my part I have been allwaies of ye same
Judgement and now yt you see men in France
in good humour to relish and publish yr workes
you must as much as lay in you countenance
ye businesse I promise you all what is in me
to further yt design being of ye opinion yt
you have grace enough to convert by Gods help
and fancy and wit enough to allure those yt
have no grace to read you but you ~~&~~ want
a tongue to be read by ye profane world
and now yt such men are alive yt proffere
to cloth yr bookes in ye very habit (I meane
the neatnesse of language) yt ye world loves
I conceive you are to be subservient to that
good work They say of Chrysostome yt
he first won men by his eloquency ere he
could worke ye mayne in them I have
troubled you with a long letter ~~to~~ you
be pleased to pardon him who is yr

very great admi-
rer and humble
Servant

Jun 12
1669

L du Moulin

5

ffor my Reuer
ffriend
Mr Richard
Baxter

ʒ

Reverend Sr

when the rich token (yor learned, and choice book) you pleased t
on me, was handed to me by Mr Simmons, I was imediatly quitting
quarters, and removing to another place. I therefore entreated him (on
his promise for it) to returne you my most hearty thanks. Sithence I
obtained a settlement, by the procurement of Mr Ardin (under whom
I now am) with whom having discourse concerning you, and acquai
him with yor kindnesse and bounty towards me, he told me of his purp
uppon the same account, to write to you, and that if I intended so to
he would procure a convoy for my letter. which (Dear Sr) hath
errand to you, viz, to acknowledge my gratefull estimate of yor astonish
favor in casting such a thought uppon one, as little knowne to you soe
~~and~~ altogether unworthy yor notice. But since you are pleased to reckon
me in the number of yor Beneficiaries, I beseech you accept of my thank
acknowledgment which although, at first sent by another, yet with purp
to doe it my selfe which you may most justly challenge as a duty so nece
=rily required of me, that I could not omitt it without the guilt of odious
ingratitude. Sr. soe much doe I owe unto you for yor pious, learned labours
both from pulpit, and presse, that I sincerely acknowledge (though with
borrowed language, yet without an Hyperbole) Debitam tibi nunquam
referre gratiam potero: tamen hoc non desinam, ubiq; confiteri me referre
non posse. That the rich talents yor great Lord. and master hath entrusted
you with may be more and more improved to the best advantage of
glory to his name, edification to his Church, yor owne comfort here
and eternall felicity hereafter is heartily prayed for, by

Sterchley Decemb. 9o
—64.

yor most obliged
humble, and
thankfull servant.

Jonath: Lobb

Reverend Sir

I Beseech you that you will not bee offended, if I who am a Stranger to you shall bee so bold [illegible] as humbly to Beg a ffavour at your hands. Truely, but that my great Necessity doth [illegible] Almost enforce mee to it; I should bee Ashamed to trouble you with my following Request, [illegible] it will bee some hinderance to your Studyes, and precious Labours, for the ffruit and Benefit whereof, very many Thousands have abundant Cause, for ever to bee thankfull unto God. Sir I am very Sensible that your hands are very full of Needfull worke, and that you are so good a Husband of your time, that one Houre is exceeding precious to you, and greatly prized and Improoved by you. Oh that many Ministers of the Gospell, did soe Improove theire time, and Talents, as to bring soe much Glory unto God, and Comfort to his People, by theire Labours in many yeares, as you have done in a ffew dayes; then Undoubtedly they would Obteyne that which they heartily desire, and Seeke after; namely; to bee Honoured by the Saints of God on Earth, and Glorifyed by the God of Saints in Heaven. Sir my humble request to you, is in the behalfe, and for the Welfare of my Soule, which (with no small Discomfort doe I speake it) is very Defective in and Disinclined unto the Duty of Mourning, and Sorrowing, for my Sinning against the Lord. Oh that my unholy heart were Broken, for breaking of his Holy Lawes, and that my Ungratious Soule were more Grieved, for Grieving of his Gratious Spirit! that I may bee wrought, and brought, into such a Pious and Penitentiall Frame; I Earnestly entreat you, that you will bee pleased to Compose for mee some Briefe Soliloquy: Conteyning such Soule-Humbling Considerations, and Piercing, and Patheticall Expressions; as may bee a meanes to make Impressions upon my Stony Heart; and to make knowne unto mee the Nature of my Sinne and the Sinne of my Nature; a true sight whereof would Cause mee to Abhorre my selfe in dust and Ashes before the Lord; and to weep, and mourne, for those Wickednesses, and Abominations, both Originall, and Actuall; whereof I am Guilty, and wherewith I am Defiled and Polluted, and for which I deserve no lesse than Everlasting Misery. Sir I must Acknowledge that I have seene the Works of Whateley, Bayne, Bolton and of Many other Eminent Divines; who have Written very Excellent helps to Humiliation; and therefore my request may at the first seeme to you, as a Needles trouble; But (Alas) All the meanes that I can Use, will bee little enough to bring my hard heart, to the practise of this Great, and Necessary [illegible] Reverend Sir The Reason of my great Importunity with you, for to write some thing for my Furtherance this way; is this, namely; When I Read any thing of your Writing I find it more patheticall, and (blessed bee God) more powerfully to Worke upon my Spirit: And in truth, In all your Labours Extant, I Apprehend that Piercing Quicknes, and Spirituall Excellency, which I could never yet discerne in the Works of any others; Although I have Read most of the Serious, and Solid Divines, that ever wrote in England. Sir: Were you Sensible of my Condition, and of my Necessity of this ffavour, which I presume to beg of you, I should then bee Assured of your Readines to Answer my Desire. In hope of your Accomplishment thereof, I take Leave and shall ever Remaine

Tiddeswall in Derbyshire
August 24th 1657

Yours in Unfained Christian Love

Abraham Garington

(N° 216)

Reverend and deare Sr

2 I have receaved yrs and doe heartily thanke yu for it. I had partly done wt yu direct in ye womans case I proposed to yu, before I receaved yrs and shall execute wt yu advise beinge wt othr good men have alsoe directed mee to. ye poore woman is pin'd & worne much wth perplexity, and I was unwillinge to impose ye duty absolutely upon her till I had consulted bettr heads, then my owne. the man makes very faire to see, but yet continues strange wayes to detaine her, sometimes weepinge to her, and carryinge all faire but in ye businesse and hath threatned to famish himselfe if shee come. I have scarcely heard of such an odde way as ye divell hath taught him to restraine her. ffor ye 1st reason yu give of not printinge ye sermon of man-pleasinge in regard it did offend some, I cannot conceave it to be of any force, for wt doe yu or can yu write yt offends not? and could yu bee instrumentall for ye overthrow of yt comon & dangerous sin but in a few, it would bee worth ye hearinge of some chidinge. for ye 2d (i.e.) ye weaknesse I confesse I cannot so well answere it, and would bee loath to presse yu beyond yr little strength. but if God give yu strength though it be not transcribed in a weeke or 2 or 3, yet might it be done I hope good would come of it. Wee have bin in or association very earnest upon ye businesse of catechisinge, and account beinge called for at or last meetinge wt had bin done, some sd they could not get a family; but wee have not yet thought of yt way of goinge to them, wch shall bee suggested and presst ye next time wee meete. Every holy worke hath so much of difficulty yt unlesse God heighten mens spirits more agst opposition, little is like to be done. I am glad yt God puts yu upon somewt that may quicken ministers to looke aftr ye soules of men more laboriously, it is no more then needs. The London exhortation hath not much [illegible] of argument in it, and therefore you would doe well to helpe them [illegible] ye businesse of catechizinge. If ye Ld do yet againe add[illegible] to yr dayes let not ye family directory fall to ground. I am sorry yr weaknesse returnes upon yu, wch God who hath so often rescued yu from ye grave, can doe it againe. I confesse I wondr yt yu get survive so many labors and sorrowes. the Ld mercyfully remove yr griefes yet againe (if it be his holy will) and give a happy successe to all yr various labors for him. this shall be yt yt frequent and earnest prayr of

Dund. Jan. 7.

Yr much obliged and unworthy
brothr Peter Ince

Mr Grove desires to be kindly
remembred to yu. I desire yr exposition
yu take to be ye sence of those two places
yt are most urged for rulinge elders.
1 Cor. 12. 28. governmts 1 Tim. 5. 17. [illegible]
[illegible]

8r ~~118~~

To your large letter I cannot now reply; But there is another occasion of writing to you at
this time: in briefe thus: I doubt not you know the Congregationall men had a meeting at
Oxford wherein 2 or 3 things were resolved I heare one was to set up Associations agst
Associations; but ye other was (I am sure) to set up a designe against our university designe
to raise other Trustees & to maintaine lads in their way, I am informed frō good hands yt
they intend plainly to carry it on in ye way of a party, to take their lads out of the relation
of their owne congregations & yt if any lad desert ye congregationall way his exhibition
A godly man that saw their modell assured me so much
shall bee taken frō him; Now although such a businesse bee in se a good worke, yet as it
is circumstanced it is very bad 1 it is founded upon unequitable reflections upon us
without reason & against scripture. They sinfully asperse us raise false reports of us (which I am
to dissuade persons frō joyning with us
able to prove) indeavour slanderously to hinder us 2 That it will exceedingly heighten
and perpetuate our divisions 3 That it will occasion (I feare) ye breaking of them
by ye Magistrate who will not suffer ye nation to bee a [illegible] for parties &c
both: Now my desire to you is that whatever interest you have in any of them
you would improve it to prevent these sad effects. Some moderate congregationall men
have declared to mee their dislike of it: I assure you as in ye presence of God wee
have administred ye businesse now at both universities with so much impartiality, that
although wee have punctually enquired into ye parts & learning & piety of severall students
yet, for ye generality of them wee know not at all what they are in relation to differences about Church-government, wee are willing to venture that upon the providence
of God: Wee have diverse persons of excellent parts & piety recommended to us
I would desire this of you, yt you would indeavour as far as you can by your interest
& in what wayes you judge best, to prevent this unhappy occasion of a breach, and yt
you would engage as many as you can (yt you have interest in) especially of the
congregationall way to countenance our businesse, & Mr Foley in particular
& divers others of worth & moderation yt you ~~[illegible]~~ know &c: ~~[illegible]~~
that wee may not bee forced into a way of division, but carry on all things (which
god willing shall bee our care) so as most shall conduce to ye publick good
without any unworthy subordination of publick concernments to ye interests of a party
I leave it to you (when you have a little more fully informed your selfe of ye matter
of fact, although it is most unquestionably true) to consider whether it may not bee fit
to write a moving Paraenesis to ye Moderate congregationall men, to dissuade them
from concurring in dividing practises &c. I shall detaine you no longer now I forget
not ye businesse of providence But really I am so deeply plunged in this
businesse & some other affaires yt as yet I cannot mind it But I heare
I am glad to heare you think of it: At present I commend you to god & 78
of his grace &c and assure you yt I am & shall ever bee

Yours in all sincerity & affection

London Aug. 14. 1658

Ma: Poole

Their great grievance is yt there are in our Modell but a few Independents taken in
to Colour the businesse. The true & satisfying answer is this: That it was most
highly reasonable yt ye Trustees should beare a proportion to the Contributors
now ye Contributors then were & are likely to bee 10 to one Anti-congregationall men

ffor his much honoured friend Mr
Richard Baxter Minister
of ye Gospell at Kedderminster
these

811
worcester-shire

BAXT
LETT
fol. 79. of Baxter Letters in v

Deare Sr

4 I received your letter in answer to mine the last night and this of yours from Shrewsbury this morninge, and the messenger beinge desirous to visit his sicke father this night that he may reach Shrewsbury to morrow, puts mee into some straights of time so that I shalbe forced to be very briefe to you, and I must entreat you to excuse my not writeinge to my worthy freinds that wrot to mee togither wth you, and as far as I am able to satisfy you to satisfy them in the matter you write about. I have not now the opportunity of advisinge with any of my Brethren so that I am able to say litle, there was upon the motion of my remoovinge the beginninge of the yeare a deale of uncomfortable stirre, which was so much to my distaste, that I have beene glad to sit still of late and would gladly be forgotten, and had serious thoughts of takeinge up with what I met with here, rather than ever there should be any more words made of mee. And indeed I have begged heartyly if God would not lay mee aside, yt I should I hope be satisfied to worke in any corner of his vineyard, not conceiveinge myselfe really likely to be so usefull in a more publicke place. I for thinke I should be like to know my owne abilitys better than others, and I doe heartyly beleive my gratious freinds of Shrewsbury doe overvalue in their iudgments of mee. — yet I must confesse I am somewhat stirred by your letters, and this (seeminge to mee strange) call of the people that is proffered, the Lord direct mee what to say to you. — at present I am I suppose lookt upon as engaged till May: 25 to the place where I am, it may be Shrewsbury must be supplyed sooner, if so I looke upon it as a leadinge providence to my discharge. — If they can stay till then I cannot say I shall come I dare not, to them say I am willinge, yet this I will say to you. That if my Brethren here doe iudge that I may (all things considered) leave this people, and that mr Hildersham and mr Talents & the other my Brethren mr Heath & mr Bryan in Shrewsbury, doe really thinke it for the interest of Christ that I should come thither, and doe cordially desire it, I shal I hope (upon the cleare & generall call of the people further made out) waive all other considerations and give myselfe up to the Lords worke there. — Sr I hope you willbe wary to make this publicke to any, but use your owne wisdome to satisfy my freinds that wrot to mee, and yet that I should not be engaged nor entangled by what I say to you, if I should be ~~[illegible]~~ otherwise perswaded, because I have now neither time to advise wth others nor roome to weigh thinges wth myselfe. — Deare Sr I should I thinke have gladly taken this time to have visited Coll Hunt & my worthy freinds in Shrewsbury, that I might have had the opportunity of seeinge you & through mercy have had some communion wth you. but as I have hitherto beene hindred by the visitation of my children wth the small poxe, so now my wife is at her full accounts, ~~ind~~ and it would not be to her content for mee to leave here. I entreat you to present my hearty respects and wives to Coll Hunt & mris Hunt and to satisfy them of the reason I have not visited them. I should have written to them both, as also to one or more of those gentlemen that wrot to mee by this bearer, but you will excuse mee to them. I hope you will (as you see great cause for it) be earnest wth God for mee that what is of him may be ed concerninge mee. I give you hearty thankes for yo letters. It was very providentiall that the former should c as it did iust before this last. — excuse my impertinency & ha

I rest

Gawsworth.
Novemb: 28.
1656.

Your very unworthy Brother

Henry Newcome.

(N° 219)

Reverende Sr

5 We have perused yor Letters, wherein we perceive you have had information, that one Mr Barrow fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, preached amongst us the last Lords day was sennight, as standing for or place, but it was meerly by the act of a clarke here, upon some personall and peculiar respect to the man, and to the great discontent of the godly and well affected amongst us, who are all unanimous for Mr Baldwin, and if we obtaine him not, there is nothing appearing but faction and ruine. Mr Barrow, in regard of his youthfullnesse and other respects, is judged (though otherwise an able godly Minister) by judicious Christians, who know the state and condition of or Parish, a Minister unfit for us, and will not take at all with us. We beseech you therefore consider or distressed condition and suffer not one of the famousest Congregations and Parishes in the City and Kingdome to be divided and broken for want of Mr Baldwin. Whether Mr Barrow will accept if chosen, we know not: but this we know and are sure of, that he will not be chosen by us. Therefore we doe earnestly desire that Mr Barrows preaching amongst us without or consent may not be any obstacle to Mr Baldwins accepting or place: but we beseech you let the great service he may doe God in or publicke place, and the distressed condition we are like to be in, if we misse of him, prevaile with you to consent to his coming to us. Sr we in the behalfe of or selves and many others subscribe or selves

23 [illegible]. ~~Lond.~~
9ber 30. 1658.

Yor affectionate friends
and servants

W Gouge

Abraham Miller

This is the sence of the former Subscribers and

Drummond castel 19 May
1674

Very Reverend, & worthy
Sir.

6

Your goodnesse has so far condiscended now this second time as to notice me, who am by the distance of place, and obscurity of condition, & yet more by the unworthinesse of person out of the road of such regard; what can I return you save a bare and insignificant verball thanks; & that in a maner which may render them yet mor insignificant: But when I reflect upon the motive of your honorin me by this kind, and seasonable encouragment in that, which were I not of a base, low, & carnall mind, needed none from any mortall, I most raise my thoughts towards that source from whence you draw those charitable inclinations and blesse that infinite goodnesse which moves you to look at my hasardous condition with compassion, and pitty it so, as to give me rules for the shuning of what my condition in the world, necessity of company, & somwhat els might tempt me to.

Your first Excellent letter had in it such directions as obliges me either to renounce my reason, or endeavor to studie them so as to follow them. This (save in what I most accknowledge to be too charitable to me) so winds its self into my heart, and raises my affections by so powrfull arguments from sublunarie things, that if I did not say I had good by it, I should feel a reproof for my silence from the gratefull sense, I have of your charity. Yet I dare not say that the world has so prevalent charmes, In the prospect I have of it, as to make me very fond of its Idle pleasurs; Nor is ther any thing, that with any considerable successe, usurps so upon my reason as to make me feel a consent from it to what is contrarie to those rules I (by the Great and wonderfull mercy of God) do endeavor to conform my life to: Tho sense be strong, and somtimes (by surprises) hurries me out of the way: only that law in my members which warr against the law of my mind, breeds me a disquiet which, yet, I dare not say I wish to want because I observe the goodnesse of [illegible] all my fears dis

& even the most heavie of my afflictions turning al, by a wonder of Love, to my greater peace, quiet, and hapineſſe: & tho I underſtand it not then when it preſſeth me, yet I know he is faithfull, and good & wil not let me have tryell, beyond the ſtrenth he allows; & all things may be chearfully done in the ſtrenth of Christ which he willingly and freely offers upon too fair terms to be rejected. I have no hope nor fear ſave what I think is placed ſo as may have relation to his honor, in whom I hope, & whose fear, (I hope, nay I ſay boldly,) I feel in my heart, in ſome degree: the truthe is I ſome time ago judged it vanity to ſay I feared god, or that I felt my heart loving him (who first loved me ſo as to draw me, by a cord of wondrous love from what I was following blindly, to place my heart upon the only object worthy of a heart ruled by a rationall ſoul: the particulars of which were too tedious to relate this way tho they are not unworthy of remark upon the account of the mercy might be read in them:) but to ſay I love what I feel I do, and fear what I feel I fear, is not now a fault in my eyes, when ſaid upon a just ground, and from no wrong principle: To give you then an account of him you have ſo have noticed be pleased ſir to know that after, and about the time I wrote last when My most Dear freind Mr Drummond My coſen dyed I was under a melancholy which had too much of a deseaſe in it to ſuffer me to reflect too narrowly on my thoughts of that ſtroak: only this in generall, I bleſſe god I took it from his hand as a diſpenſation in which I belived (against what my reason wold have bein apt to have ſuggeſted to the contrarie) ther was love, and benefite intended to my ſoul. I had proposed much hapineſſe and good in his converse, & to lose him in 30 days was ſharp to me Yet (what ever it might work in my body & weaker parts) My ſoul ſaid it was from god and tho rationally I might have hoped much from his inſtructions yet I could not rationally expect them long to be with me, and that I wanted them ſo ſoon made me more earnest with god to beg him to instruct me out of his law & I find one may learne more upon ther knees in one devote prayer then in a thousand toyles and all the pains humanity is capable of

since that time I have even waited what god wil do with me no freind has
yet filled his room with me, nor do I want comfort enough however for
tho his letters came somtimes so seasonably that I could not shun to
remark a mercyfull providence in them, yet I find my bible conteans
what may more fully comfort: & one expression of our Lords or his
Apostels or disciples when it falls upon the heart and is intertained by humble meditation, ravishes the soul more then any thing. and those comforts are
most spirituall which are sucked this way; at least I feel them so.
lately I was speaking of sorrow, and feare, and saying when I reflect
upon my younger years, that is to say betwixt 17 and 20., I think the
sorrow I feel is so justly deep, that I am sorry it is no deeper: &
that amidest that same sorrow, Love and even joy has a considerable
part. Love is the motive, els the sorrow were low, and unworthy: but
(if one search it) joy is not only the result, but concomitant of it.
and now this your excellent letter has so refreshed this observation in
me, and so encouraged me in it, That so great and worthy a person
as Mr Baxter should speak my condition to me is my great comfort.
& pardon that I let the freind to whom I spoke of my self, see what
you were pleased to say to me. It is certain that if god (& what he
only admitts (as the necessary qualification of his own) into his presence)
holynesse do not appear most appetible, the choyce were blind, and unworthy of
him, that could be made: but when one upon consideration, and serious reflecti
chooses god for his all: and by his grace (for when this choyce is made wee
need not doubt but it is by his grace, & that it wil begett humility, the mea
of procuring greater measurs of grace) holynesse is embraced as the means to com
to god; then joy, and peace and (tho men the world and Divels should joyn
to oppose it) contentment wil lead the person that makes this blessed choyce
into a foretaste of heaven, even whilst frailty and misery is assaulting
him. Blessed be our God through Christ Jesus who has given us undenyable
proofs of the certainty of what wee belive, & hope for; and who has so join
our Duty, & hapienesse; that (let sense say what it wil) reason leads us to wha
wee are commanded, by the rules of the highest and sublimest pleasurs humany
is capable off, even here: let Drunkards or brutish persons match me the
pleasure of tranquility, or even health, which they usually want &c
But of these reflections, ther were no end, & my way of writing wrongs my

[illegible] of the noble sight of so glorious a project, & let me also beg your pardon for giving you so long the trouble of this divertisment, since every moment of your time is precious to the world. It is but a few days since I had yours with your excellent well contrived book. I have read some of it but it is only 2 days since it came so I am not quite through it having had some necessary divertisment what I have read it [illegible] obligation on me to pray that God who moved you to undertake so charitable a labor, and strenthened you to perfite it would blesse it to the end it was designed, and all your other labors also to his honor, the benifite of the souls of his people, and your own comfort. Let me most humbly, & earnestly yet beg that you may be pleased to allow me the charity of your prayers as being amongst the number of those who regard them more then any earthly treasure; & look upon your self as one to whome I am obliged (if my ability can reach no further) at least to own a sincere inclination to be

(No 221)

Worthy Sir

Sir
If you please to let me know that this reaches the [illegible] of London or if it come ther you will get [illegible] it will be great satisfaction [illegible] this time [illegible] [illegible] letters if very [illegible]

Your most obliged and most [illegible]
Servant
[illegible]

Reverd Sr

Mr Ashhurst sent me one of the funeral sermons at his
good Fathers discease, wch was preched by you, wch I did reade
wth much mixture of affection both of sorrow & joy. & it
doth awaken my heart to pray yt a rich blessing may follow
all your holy labors in the Lord. I there see yt you
doe not forget, but have a lively remembrance of or
poore Indians, & the Lords gospelizing work that
is on foote among ym, for wch good remembrance I doe
returne you my hearty thanks. the work is stil on
foote, praised be God. & they greatly want Bibles
we are making another impression, wth emendations. we
have done the new Test. & psalms, but canot get leave
to print the Old. testamt, wch the Indians doe earnestly
cry for, they see the good of it in their old Bibles
wch maketh them earnest for the whole Bible. my
request to your selfe is, yt you would please to stir
up the honorable corporation to it. here is means suffici-
ent as I suppose. it seemes to me to be a shame to us protestants
yt we should withhold fro them the Bible, wn they doe so
earnestly beg for it. I am deepe in years, & desire to
finish it afore I dy, because I feare it will hardly be done
after, & we have now lost about half a years time, only
for want of yt one word of theirs, fiat. I shall add no particular
information, because Mr Dudly can give you full information in all
things, he is one of or pub: Agents. both of ym worthy men, especially
Mr Dudly, whose great worth you will soone see, & be delighted
in his comunion. & bles. Reverd Sr I comend you to the Lord
desiring your prayers, & resting

Rox: this 30 of the 3. 82

your unworthy brother
in or Lord Jesus

John Eliot

for
the Reverend
Mr. Baxter

London

Hampton Court June 23.

Sr

I receyved yr letter, wch I would have answered sooner, if the Messenger that brought it had returned. I must confess I was a little surprized wth the beginning of it, as I was wth yr Name but when I read further, I ceased to be so. Sr I should be hartily sorrie & ashamed to be guilty of any thing like malignitie or un-charitablenesse, especially to one of yr condition, wth whom though I concurre not perhaps in poynt of Judgement in some particulars, yett I cannot but esteeme for yr personall worth & abilityes. And indeed yr expressions in yt letter are so civill & ingenuous, that I am obliged thereby the more to give you all the satisfaction I can. As I remember then when you came to me to the Closett & I told you I would furnish you wth a Trippett you answered me something to that purpose as you write, but whether the same numericall wordes, or but once, I cannot positively say for my owne memory: & therefore I beleeve yors. Only this I am sure of, that I said to you at my second speaking that some others of yr perswasion had not scrupled at it wch might suppose, (if you had not affirmed the contrary) that you had made me a former refusall. of wch giving me then no other reason (yt that it offensive not to you concluded you ~~were~~ more scrupulous then others were, & perhaps the manner of yr refusing it, (as it appeared to me) might make me thinke you were not very well pleased wth the motion. And this it is likely I might say either to my L. Chancellor or others, though sincerely I do not remember that I spoke to my L. Chancellor at all concerning it. But Sr since you give me now that modest reason for it (wch by the way is no just reason in it self, for a Trippett may be worne wthout a degree, though a hood cannot, & it is no shame at all to want these formalityes for him that wants not the substance) but Sr I say since you give that reason for yr refusall I beleeve you, & shall correct that mistake in my self, & endeavour to rectifie it in others if any upon this occasion have mis understood you. In the meane time I shall desire yr charitable opinion of my self, wch I shall be very willing to deserve upon any opportunity that is offered me to doe you service, being Sr yr

very humble servant

Jo: Earles.

fol. 86. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For my much honoured friend
Mr Richard Baxter

Be pleas'd to answer this at your first convenience
for I must speedily determine.

For my much honor'd frend
Mr Richard Baxter

These.

Hond Sr

9

I now must returne you my most hearty thanks f
ye solid counsill & grave advice you are pleased as also
so in your last letter to give me wch I trust in Almighty
grace and help I shall never prove wholly vaine & unprofi
all. If it should, my selfe would prove vastly rude indeed
yt not only in ye doctrine of our Saviour Christ, but al
in all precepts of philosophy & common life. In my la
I perceive I explain'd not my selfe enough to be understood
therefore I shall in this begin my matter lower and bring
up higher. When I first came down to Hitchin (which was witho
any thoughts much lesse hopes of gaine at least for a con
derable time my aime being to divert my mind by being
a little serviceable) I found my selfe in all respects frustra
which as many as I then conferr'd with heard me declare
I further told them I was determin'd to returne to London
The number of ye children not being above one halfe above
what I was made to expect was none of my discouragem
But in ye first place ye distraction of ye schoole interest
and in ye second ye temper and education of ye boys, which
had been if not all along certainly for a very considerable
time so extremely humour'd and embolden'd yt it was im-
possible to do any thing considerable among them, either
towards ye satisfaction of their friends or of my own
mind. Mr Drapers Usher, Goodwin, has, as himselfe fancyed
laid a profound & an infallible plot for a schoole for him
selfe, which was to marry with Mr Drapers sister
in Law, who had a considerable number of boyes from
London with all ye Town interest, Mrs Thebridge ke-
ing as no body here. In order to this he contrives to abu
Mrs Thebridge and my selfe by entring into a separate
covenant with her without any penalty at London
in my absence, which was done by Mrs Thebridge & Mr
Drapers Executors not only without my knowledge & con
trary to my agreement, but contrary to my directions
at the very time: this they did for their own interest
as they thought, but he with a designe to reenter &
to embroyle ye schoole & at last to breake
he d

87

Bee pleased to answer this at your first conveniencie for I must speedily determine.

When I saw this, although I thought it a very inferiour thing to
stand plucking and contending with such a one as he and yt
in so meane a maner (true indeed I laid not out my mo-
ney in Raisins and sugar plumbs as he did) yet I suspended
my resolution of departing a while, and resolved to do my
utmost to oppose him & Mr Drapier & to uphold Mr
Thelridge: though (I confesse) my maine designe was to consult my own
reputation and to stop the Parson and the Town from
feeing ye ringers at my departure: choosing rather
to desert ye place by choice than by constraint, as
it would have been judg'd, had I not taken a course
to let them see I was able to stand. From yt time to
this I have chearefully & contentedly rub'd on, though with
abundance of trouble, I not being able to bring the children to
any tolerable subjection to Mr Whately, who thereupon
is very much discouraged and has given me frequent
warnings to provide another. Nothing but great lenity will
hold this schoole together a weeke, and he is a little touchy
and unpleasant, but very industrious & capable. But at
Michaelmasse I shall bring in a middle man whome I intend for
my successour at my going off who has a great interest
in this Country and is well acquainted with ye employmt
and is very desirous of my place. And now I want your
advice how to dispose of my selfe next. I could have ye
Freeschoole at Huntingdon would I but signify my desire of it,
or raise a much better schoole than this nearer London,
or have ye private instruction of a Baronett of
this Country of about 17 yeares of age, now in ye
house with me. Any of these I could freely do with
your concurrence and advice or any thing else that
you should find convenient for me. But were I in capa-
city to dyet my selfe and to live a little like another
man I would chose lodging at an Apothecarys
house in London and spend all ye rest of my life in
the study of Physick, come of it what will. But
I am much concern'd yt I have been so great a
trouble and charge to you so long, without advancing
my selfe no more in some employment. As to my
[illegible] though I had severall considerable opportu

LETTERS

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ties and encouragements, yt leaſt I ſhould enſlave
my ſelfe, I ſhall not meddle yt way while I live
unleſſe my worldly circumstances were better,
or ſome miraculous thing ſhould happen, wh
I have no reaſon to expect. If I knew what
to adde farther I would. I thinke I have told
you ~~my~~ mind ſo farre as I know it my ſelf.
I begg my h. ſervice to mrs Baxter &
mrs Verm. & yor hearty prayers for

Yor Most Aff. & Obd
Servt.

Aug. 4. 1679.

M. P.

For

The Reverend Mr Barclay
at his house in
Highgate

With care

Aug. 4. 16

Vol.5
BAXTER
LETTERS

Honoured Sr.

50 I have not Sent back Yours, that I last
Received; Because I have not indeed, though I read it over
Carefully, and Apprehended both the Grand Difficultys, and
also, what I had to Reioyne. But I am Earnest in bring-
ing my Treatise to a Close this weeke; having Gone over the
Beginning, and Latter part of the Apocalypse again; as I
had done the middle part before; For which I humbly Blesse
~~pr~~ the Father of Lights, I have Received much Higher, and
Clearer Light, Even to my owne Admiration. And I assure
you Sr. with all Humility I have ~~[illegible]~~ more then mathe ~~[illegible]~~ mati-
Call ~~Assur~~ Assurance; I know, to any one, that hath
ing proceeded by the Steps, I have done. It cannot without
Immediate Revelation bee so Demonstrative, as this is to me:
But I see not the Harmony of Creation with so Clear an
Eye, as I doe this of Scripture Prophecy. I am still drawing
to a Conclusion, and I hope by Gods Goodnesse to a publi-
cation. So that the Earnestnesse of that hath Intercepted
my Adjusting due Answers to Yours. at Least to ~~your~~ Satis-
fie my owne thoughts. For I am not willing to Send what
I doe to your Selfe, Except you desire it; ~~For~~ I thinke it
Immodesty to presse upon your mind, so Setled in the main
Concernments of Xtianity, and all other Excellencys of
it, (Except these propheticall Studys) above others. And in-
these I cannot but Acknowledge, very weighty Considerations
propound you another way. I hope God will Reveale Even these
to you: And I doe much promise my Selfe, I shall give you
Satisfaction in the whole System, though not so in particulars.

89

I shall thenceforth (Except you desire it) Reserve my notes upon this your Last paper within my owne memory; I desire you would please to command your Servant to Call for yours after this weeke, assoon as you please; because I had rather returne it you by his hand; and by that Time I will have, as Fayr a Reioynder, as I can draw in my owne writing; that if you Require, shall be sent you by him together with it: or Remain with me, as you please. I humbly, and most Affectionately Commend you to Infinite protection:

Sr.

Your very Affectionate
Humble Servant Barclay.

Jun. 9th. 86.

Fol. 90 . of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For
Mr Baxter at the
[illegible] Shop near [illegible]
the [illegible] Bread[illegible] in
[illegible]

90

PENNY POST PAYD

B

These

For mr Baxter at the
patten Shop over against
the Kings Bench in
Southwarke

Sr

I hope since your passages concerning me & ye Church at
1 in your last prints (especialy in the postscript) you have by
or other been informed of your great mistakes in the point
of ye principles, & worship of that Church, & the assembly also
which I there preached to. And I shall add for your more spe
notice of matter of fact that, that Church which began to
exist in that form about ye year 71, were so far from not or
dering a psalm of praise to be sung to God that, they constantly
at ye Lords supper (which was once a month) practised it from ye
first week of their being inchurched, til their scattering by
ye late prosecution, & that the whole assembly used that (to me
not only lawful but most desireable) mode of praising God by
singing of psalms, as constantly as were our meetings for
nine years together before their dissolution. And as to the prin-
ciples of the members of that Church, I never knew one of the
after they were admitted inclined to ye quakers principles, nor
that had not their Children baptised in infancy. As to our ma
ner worship as you are pleased to call it, it consisted of reading
& expounding the scr, prayer, preaching, singing psalms, the
sacraments of the Lords supper & baptism, with as great harmon
as I know of any Church in ye nation; with the acknowledge
ment of our great unworthiness of so great mercies, & very great
& many infirmities adhering to us therein. These are matte
fact which all concerned in that Church, & assemb
the truth of, & as to what concerned the assembly
ders in this city, your greatest adversarys in tha
vicinage. What you will think your duty here
not, I shall desire a line from you for my in
If you think it unworthy of farther notice, I
that mind, but desire that both you & I may impartialy com
ply with ~~with~~ what becomes us in this matter.

Press-yard at Newgate
Novemb. 3d 1674

From your unworthy
brother
John Ffaldo

ffor yor worwend Mr
Robte Bowcher

[illegible] Dear Sr

2

The wounds of such an Adversary are
very Rebuked in Them, as to theyr main Design; I Take as from
God, and Desire to make a Humble, and a Holy use of Them, Even to Repen-
tance, and Recantation of Any Thing ~~I Have~~ now out of order in
my Heart, and Life; As I Know, I have very much to Bewaile.
But as to my principles, as I Fully ~~clear~~ ~~as~~ pointed ~~either~~ both against Liberti-
nism, or Popery, I could Desire in this Low State of the Body, to
have no Greater Assurance of, either my Judgment in Prophecy, or
Sincere Holyness of Heart, and Life than I have of them; I am very Glad You are
pleased to Let me Know, what You Pitch upon. And I most
Earnestly Beseech You, as in the Bowells of Jesus Christ, by a Chris-
tian Tenderness, ~~and~~ and Moderation towards me, to Rescue me from
Your Severe opinion, as to Your Two Exceptions. As to the First of
Popery; I Have Fully Declared against all Ecclesiastic Juris-
diction ~~pe~~ Except of Holding out the Word of God, which Every
Christian is to Know for Himselfe p. 17. of my Last Treatise on
Your Reply; much more against Foreign; and therefore, as I have
not Receivd Your Book against such Jurisd: from Mr Parke-
hurst; So I am sure upon Hand, I am Fully of the Sense of
it; and Shall be Glad to Receive Any Thing of Yours. I Hope too,
Sir, You make a Great Difference between a Humane Angell and
Governor and a Supreme; now It is of the Former in the Sense of a Seni-
or Governor, or Ruler I Spoke, and not of a Supreme Antichrist. Besides all
along pag. 35, 36. I Fully give Testimony against any Pri-
macy, and Say, It was Cursed by God to prepare the Antichristian
Seate of the Man of Sin. Yet I am still of that Judgment; That If
(instead of unity and order bin) It ~~may~~, or Could be Separated from the Idolatry, Tyranny over
Consciences &c. as It ~~may~~ never way, nor ever will, It would not
be What It is; and therefore I Confesse my Judgment is; Such
Supremacy Joyned with Idolatry is the ~~[illegible]~~ Specific Character of Popery
together with All other Abominations; and as such It's Describ'd [illegible]
from Daniel to the Apocalyps; Yet no One I believe [illegible], Can
be a Greater Enemy to any Kind of Philoproteusin; then
I Find my Self, and, ever Since I understood, have Found my
Self.

92

am I through the Same Grace any more Enclined to Libertinism; I can Humbly Call God and Man to witnesse; I never in any Preaching, or printing to my utmost Knowledg used any Expression, Tending that way, And if you Can Find any Such word, of your Letter mentions, or any Thing Tending that way, I will Freely Fall under your Heavyest Censure: I Think in that Short Conciliatory discourse concerning dr Crisp, you can Find no Such Thing, nor in Any Else I have written: I Speak wholey in your manner of discourse, and that Excellent writer concerning those points; Anthony Burgesse; So that If you please to draw up the whole paragraph of Any Thing I have written, or Spoken, Either in Favor of popery, or Libertinism, wherein It can Appear, Popery ~~and~~ or Libertinism must needes Carry the Ascendency, I will Freely Recant it: As to dr Crisp, I have never made use of any of his wayes of Expressing Himselfe; For His Spirit and his whole Booke is the onely Key to itselfe; and I must needs say, without the very Same Spirit and whole System of discours, ~~[illegible]~~ which I have not; I durst not use his manner of doctrine; Yet I must Confesse to you, I Think Them Such a Key to his mind, that I am much perswaded upon a Collation of All; Hee Sayd nothing but what you your selfe doe Acknowledg; Even a Full and perfect Satisfaction of Xt for the Sinns of all his Elect, that doe not depend on our Graces or dutyes, but Issues it selfe into them, and In this Righteousnesse onely, It is our Happynesse to be Found, and not in our owne; But the Fuller and Closer our Application to it, the more Fruitfull our Holynesse and Every Good worke; ~~And~~ without Holynesse no ~~person~~ Interest in Xt, but as It may Appear in after Converting, and Sanctifying Grace.

and Thus In all Things the word of G[illegible] is that which
Conforms us and prepares us to wait upon it in and for
I am very Assured, In these points I doe not, I cannot
Differ from You: I only Dissent in this; That I doe
~~Deeply~~ Deeply (pardon the Expression) Think, Dr
Crispys Sermons are Reconcileable, Even to Your
owne doctrine If they may but be Considered, from
Stem, as we Say to Stern, and his main design be
weighed: However, That is the only point, I differ in these things
from You in; and I hope, That is no Libertinism:
I beseech You therefore pursue a Flea no further,
nor make the Condition of Your Peace with me any
Recanting, what I have never Sayd, nor Thought;
For as to the point of Supremacy, I thought my-
self much more in danger to offend Hierarchists,
then You; And in the point of Libertinism, I am,
I hope in Your Judgment upon Any Thing, Either
written or Sayd most Free, Except Dr Crispys
name, of Esteem with me and His words which
I never used my Self, ~~[illegible]~~ excellent as Receivd to be Farr dis-
tant from Intended Libertinism are most Contrary
to it, be Libertinism; But however Till I use
Them, or preach his Notions, or write Them ~~[illegible]~~
or Say Any more of them, but that in my Judg-
ment ~~If~~ They are Taken, as They stand in his
whole Book, they are Reconcileable to a Holy Sense, & can be
no Libertinism though in this I were mistaken. Bee pleased to Becalm All
this in the Equilibrium of An End of Con-
troversy; And Embrace with Yours Former Favour

Sr Your most Faythfull Friend
and Servant in our Lord Jesus

This Instant
15. 91.

T Beverly

93

Whitehall 3 of ye clocke in ye

Mr Baxter.

(227)

227

Joa

B

This

To the Reverend his much
Honored Mr Baxter
in Charter House
Yard.

fol. 94. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Mr Baxter.

Whitehall 3: of ye: clocke in ye: Euen
this Thursday

3 This is to acquaint you that I mett my Ld Powis last night att ye: Treasury office who spoake again in yr: business I am promised to have it dispatched the first day my Ld Treasurer sitts to doe business wch it is thought will not be untill Monday or Tuesday next. I hope it will be ordered that two Justices of ye: Peace ~~to~~ shall take Surety for yr: behaviour & enter into a smale Recognizance of 40li: or 50li: or such a matter, as soon as ever I have ye: Warrant I will bring it away therefore sett yr: heart att rest as to that affair. If you knew my fidelity & ye: indefatigable care & paines I tooke for you every day this 6: weekes; I had taken itt kindly att yr: hands. If I had been present when yr: friend went to my Ld who well knowes my fidelity & over=much care to hasten yr business & ye: paines I tooke & ye: many Journeys I made, & it may be few men in London would have taken soe much paines for you as I did, but when I see you I shall tell you more of my minde my Ld hopes you will study how to be gratefull to his maty as I told you before, & as I have been yr: friend my Ld well knowes me this many yeares & he never knew you as he told ye: King soe I hope you will not abuse my kindnesses to you soe that I may not repent of ye: time I ~~was~~ imployed to obtain yr: Liberty & admitt my Ld he did it in kindnesse to you I may justly also say that alwayes I tooke it ~~as~~ & doe take it as a great kindnesse to me for my Lds never yet refused to doe me all ye: kindnesse in his service & it being ye: first thing I desired of my Ld & may be ye: last ~~[illegible]~~ I was told a story of a maryner who in a storm vowed that if he ~~escaped~~ Escaped ye: danger he would present a Taper to ye: Virgin Mary as big as ye: ~~main~~ maine mast but when ye: danger was over he that one of 6: in ye: pound might serve You may well Remember yt you were ~~att~~ doubtfull whether my Ld would engage in it or not att first & I am sure my Ld Chancellor in Equity & good conscience will allowe me what you were willing to give others to effect yr: business though it may be hard for me to Remember every step I trod & ye: money I expended & ye: time I wasted You have overvalued this yrselfe in sending without my knowledge to my Ld wch it may be, if not yr: better taken by him nor many besides but waving all this as I have been just to you soe I hope you will prove soe to me who am

Your reall friend
& servant
Da: Williams

94

You know you were affraid it would never doe

you told me yrselfe

that some offered to doe it for you for 100li

If I doe venables his business ~~I am to have~~ 100li though he endured a punishmt.

To mr Richard Baxter
att a Patent shop neare
the blackamoores heade
over against ye Kings
Bench Prison Gate wth
Care in

South Warke

PENY POST PAYD

(228)

4 Sr in hast Saturday 4. my: evening

I pray doe me ye kinde favour as to present my humble service to mr Baxter & tell him that I saw his warrant ready drawne it wants onely ~~may~~ signing wch can not be untill Tuesday or Wednesday morning & as soon as I can possibly have it I will bring it to mr Baxter & I had come to him before now if there had been any reall necessity; though I have Laboured all this while for I know not wt you were willing to give me yor bond for 100li for him to send to surprize my Ld without my knowledge was as I am told by many very ill don, others that came to him Baxter expected above 100li you brought me to him att first & my Ld will if needs be upon his honor say that he told ye King yt he never saw mr Baxter nor spake to him in his life nor never had Letter from him nor writt to him admitt my Ld might say that he doth it for mr Baxter's sake was it well don by him to make my Ld & I differ for my reall kindness to him, God Almighty knows ye paines I took for him I professed it soe yt my Ld was almost angry if he proves ungratefull I will never trust man againe & if my Ld were brought to justify this he must needs in honor & justice say that he did it for me that he well knew this 8 or 10 years & did me many favours & promised me many though this ye first I deserved since he came from the Tower & I had better have given 10li out of my pockett than have trouble my Ld unless mr Baxter reward me well & I was a foole I had not Bargained wth him att first it will reflect upon him but what ever he gives me I will acquaint ye King & my Ld with it I sent a penny post Letter to mr Baxter to acquaint [illegible] that my Ld was wth me in ye Treasury office Wednesday last know it I doe Venables business I am to have 100li but to tell you the Truth mr Baxter nor noe Ld in England can ~~make~~ give away my time & expences for nothing nor will I referr it to any Ld but ye Ld Chancellor who are just in Equity & good Conscience will decree me wt mr Baxter was willing to give others you know I told you I had much adoe to fixe it on my Ld to doe it & if I had not a more than ordinary kindness for him & you I had not medled with him. waveing all this as I have been honest to him soe I hope he will prove to me If he comes off like ~~like~~ an honest man I will doe yor business for nothing soe I remaine

Your faithfull friend

Da: Williams

I was not a stranger to my Ld though mr Baxter was

my Ld hopes mr Baxter will be gratefull to the King when yr warrant is ready I will come to you with it if he saith he lives upon charity I intend to partake ~~of it~~ wth him

acquaint mr Baxter with what you thinke fitt of this I mention'd
in my Letter to him the other night that story of ye mariner who
in Tempest & storme vowed to psent a Taper as bigg & as
Long as ye main mast to virgin mary but when he escaped
one of six in ye pound should serve ffor the use ye
Khelwick to him. lett him use like a gentleman
I am one of ye Prince of Wales servants
being one of the Clarkes of ye Signett there

PENY POST

To Mr ffrancis Smith
att ye blackamoors head
an Alehouse over against
ye Kings Bench Prison
in
South Warke

this must be delivered
this night

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LETTERS

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5

Revd Sir

Before the receipt of yors this morning I had been to waite upon my Lord Powys who did tell mee that Mr Ashurst had been wth him yesterday & that hee had paid ~~wt~~ him the residue of yor money — hee did engage mee to tell you that if you should give Williams one ffarthing more hee would never forgive you & that hee would never see yor face & that if Williams should give you the least further trouble hee would have him before the Lord Chiefe Justice & that hee would satisfy my Lord Chancellor if there should bee any occasion & that hee thought Williams had too much already, saying that hee did nothing betweene him & you but might have been done by the penny post — I am obliged to give the Bearer my sonne whom I have now good hopes of, by yor good councell of obedience to God & his ~~[illegible]~~ parents thanks. I cannot say any commendacons to you my selfe therefore I begg yor excuse & for my failer in that & other respects till the next time I rest in much hast

yor ffaithfull ffriend
& humble servant
Ri: Beresford

96

Linc Inne the 23th of dec 1686

x

ffor the Reverend
Mr Beale at Mr
Gunnes house in the
greenyard at the Crossed
ffriers in Hart street
neere St Olaves
church [illegible]
wth my servant [illegible]

(230)

After my harty commendations to yor selfe I would humbly crave
to give mee ye liberty to acknowledge how much I am beholding
to you for those good instructions and admonitions which
by ye assistance of god I have found in yor booke intituled the Ev-
lastingrest which booke though I was but lately to my hands yet
yet it hath made soe sincere an impression upon my spirits
6 I shall bee able to apply ye effects of it to my comforte for I find my
selfe much more willing to obay & more ready to bee conformable
to the good word of god then heretofore I have beene the
which hath given mee cause to blesse god & thanke you whoe
hartely doe desiering and praying to god yt hee would soe blesse
indeavors yt you may not only bee beneficiall in ye bringing in
of others but in ye building up of yor selfe in Christ —
Sir as I have much profited by yor good counsell soe I request
that you will continue yor advice to mee which hath & will be
soe beneficiall to mee: my desier is to know wt order men are
to keepe in ye outeward worshiping of god: my meaning is whether
I may lawfully heare such ministers yt are called independents
or any person being not ordained. I would desier you to give
one woorde or two in answer unto this for as soone as [illegible]
I am constrained to goe to heare such men yt I question whether
the blessing of god may goe along with wt they deliver [illegible]
as I can finde any authority to dispence ye word: for I have
mee heard mr Brag: Mr Griffeth Mr Loving Mr [illegible]
I suppose you know them all therefore I would desier you
that for ye future I may walke more circumspectly in this
affaire: thus desiering you to excuse my troubling of you I rest
yor felicity in all inward & outward indowments spirituall [illegible]
from all evill constant comfortable supplys of wants prosperity
& divine benedictions in all the turnes of ye course of this life

Yor much obliedged friend
John Greenhaugh

when you please to honor mee with a letter
you may direct it for mee at my Masters
Mr Will: Lucas March: in Cloak Lane
London

fol. 99. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

2:16
2
3:3

[illegible]

ffor his much Honour
ffrend Mr Richard Baxter
Minester att Kedermister
xij
3
Worcestershire

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the resolution of your doubt dependeth upon the knowledg of many circumstances, which some able minister at hand is liker to understand than one at so great a distance. all I can say is this. 1o. It must be considered whether the pastours of the Ch: & parish where you live be such as you may safely hold communion with. 2o. whether you know the preachers whom you now heare to be unordained, or only heare so. 3o. whether they were ordained by congregational presbiters (one at least being a pastour) or only by the people, or not at all. 4o. whether your Master give you liberty or not. Mr Bray I have not heard of. Mr J. S. unlesse he preach sounder doctrine than heretofore, I would not heare. Mr Griff: Mr Lon: & Mr Br: are godly orthodox men, & you may thanke God that you have such to heare, so be it you may doe it without a sinfull breach of order. I do believe that some if not all of them, are truly ordained, by preaching Presbiters, though not by a classis & association, & that it is regularity & not true authority that was wanting. And I believe that you are not bound, if an able man be in possession, to be particularly satisfied of his ordination but may suppose him ordained (without any losse or sin of yours), unlesse you have grounds of strong presumption of the contrary. were I in your case, I would ioine in ordinary hearing & all communion, with the parish Ch: in which I were by habitation fit for that relation, & would not ~~breake~~ breake the order of parishes, unlesse the pastor or Ch: were such as did prohibite, or I were compelled to sin in any act of communion (And in case your master give you liberty) But if the case be otherwise in the parish where I live, I would ioine with the next orthodox pastor yt were a profitable teacher, & had a well ordered Church, (if I had liberty) though to heare any other orthodox teacher occasionally I should be glad. But if I were denied that liberty, I would go to the pastor of the parish Ch: where I lived, & tel him my case, & (if he would not warrant me liberty) desire his consent to obey my Master, & I would do it (as the case now stands with you in London) whether he consented or not. & I would ioine with the best of those independent Churches (as Mr Griffiths I thinke) in constant communion, so be it they would admit me upon this profession at my entrance: (I my iudgment is more for parochial order, & associations of neighbour Churches, so be it such Ch: be reformed & have order & discipline. but I desire communion with that Ch: rather than another in obedience to my master, & to avoid greater inconveniencies than my breach of parish order comes to] but for you run from Ch: to Ch: as an unsetled hearer, & hold constant communion, as a member, with no: Church at all, I do not approve. Nor would I refuse any honest engagements at my Ch: entrance to a holy life, & obedience to the pastor, so my forementioned profession were admitted. this is the summe of my thoughts: But being an incompetent adviser at a distance, my chiefe counsell to you is, yt you take advice of some godly able Minister at hand, (as Mr Ash, Mr Calamy, Dr Reighnolds, Mr Bates or any such) I rest

your friend & Brother in our Lord
Ri. Baxter.

December the 14 1657

Deliver this to John
Greenbrough servant to
Mr Wm Enos Mar=
chant in Clooke lane
London

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LETTERS

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Longorton. Febr: 16th
— 87/8

7

Deare friend, I was much refreshd at ye newes wch my friend Mr Billing of Bewdley brought concerning yr continued life and abatement of yr late great distemper wch reports here gave out to be irrecoverable. I much enquire, though seldome trouble and charge you wth impertinent lers.

The minister of our parish is not yt Mr Carryer wch was was with me at Bridgenorth, but his youngest brother: yet I wish his conversation was as blameless as the ministery is; for he dealeing much in tradeing is drawne by his chapmen to frequent taverns and alehouses too much, though not to intemperance. He is my friend and secret abettor but appeares not at or meetings: yet not onely alloweth, but incourageth his wife and daughter (both religious women) to comply wth us, wch they doe constantly (and I doubt not devoutly. neither will he as I heare, suffer any jeast at ye Coffe-house agt me to passe without reproofe.

I did not show yr ler to Mr Ric: Carryer our minister, because of some expressions too sharpe (as I thought, agt him in ye same. But ye book viz: Sacrilegious desertion &c.) I sent to him, wth a ler humbly & earnestly desireing him seriously to read & consider ye mater containd, & to let me know his further thoughts; and whether the sharpnes of his conceptions agt dissenters was not somewhat allayd thereby. After three daies he sent it me againe (for I verily think he will not allow a book in his house agt conformitie to ye church of Engl:) wth a leafe turnd downe at page 18.19. and wth these words by ye messenger, that he would faine see it proved, yt by or preaching wee did more good then harme. The good lord manifest it, for his owne glory & ye vindication of his syncere servants. What his heart is I know not, but his great argumt is ye law, ye law of ye land wch dissenters breake: wch law, if it were disanulld by parlmt, as it is mitigated by his Maties declaration, it would stop his mouth, if not change his heart. But this is god's work alone, wch I pray may be more powerfull on his heart & mine alsoe. He hath lately a prebendship at Lincolne given him 40li p an. I envie it not: But I observe yt since his dignifying, he is more for conformity: one instance is, yt now in visitation of ye sick he plucks out a little com̄on prayer book and onely reads wt is there prscribed, tho formerly would pray without it, more fully and to ye apprehension more affectionately.

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my wife continueth healthfull, imployed at her wheele and her book & prayer constantly. she cant forget ye haveing yr Sts rest (I think every day in her hand: ye lord bring you & me & her, wth all yt long after it, to full enjoymt of what by faith wee have in hope above or present conceptions.

As from or first acquaintance I am still
Yrs beyond verball expressions
S: King

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FE 20

FE 20

To Reverend Mr Ric: Baxter
at his chamber in Charter=
house yard, these
p^{r}sent

London —

2

Reverend Sr.

On a perusall of yor Catholick Communion doubly defended,
I finde my selfe concernd in more places then One, for
I In yor Conjectures, you taking me for the Authour of Dr.
8 O's Vindication, wch is yor mistake; you say p:6. [That I
affirmed in my Letter to you the MS to be Dr Owens]
whereas I only suggested what was reported, but affirmed
nothing of it. Not that I mention this as if I was of the
same Opinion wth the Drs Vindicator, who esteemes the
MS to want that Accuracy of the Dr. for On a more
diligent Consideration of the 12 Arguments, I do see much
weight to be in em, and that yor Answere is so weake &
feeble as to serve but as a foyle to sett off the Drs Argumts.
wth the greater Lustre. I therefore onely note this to shew how
apt you are, first to mistake & then to publish yor Mistakes
to the World.

II In page 30 you tell the World [you offered me to stopp the
publication of yor Answere to the Dr.] and in yor Breviate
you said That tho my Letter came to you a weeke after
the Booke was printed the Bookseller said he had sold but
two & you purposed thankfully to accept of my Offer & (tho to
yor Cost) to have done yor best to stop the rest, & recall those two.]
This you say you offered to stop it, but I must tell you That
you say and Unsay. for in yor private Letter you tell me
[That you leave it wholly to the Bookseller, whose they
are being not rich enough to pay him for his Cost, else you
would stop them on the Conditions offerd] That is the
Bookseller must be paid the Charges of the Impression
but this you can't do therefore its not in yor power to
stop them, but if in yor power you woud stop 'em. Now
Sr when I reflect on this & more strictly compare yor
selfe wth yor selfe & call to minde how suddenly you
tooke it for granted that I had altered my minde because
the Messenger came not immediately for yor Answere I
am afraide you were not so resolute (as you woud be
thought) to try to stop them.

II In this 30th page you are fallen into the Old Error of
falsely accusing yor faithfull (tho Unworthy) Monitor to
the World. I in faithfullnesse write you a private Letter
& you tell me that you do not feignedly but from yor

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were sharpe at my Manner of Reproofe, but yet mistakeing me you accuse me to the World of about Twenty Untruths in matter of fact, & many of them grosse ones, this you do in yor Preface & least the World should not observe the Accusation you must repeate it againe thus. [Is it disingenuity in me to tell you of Twenty Untruths in yor private Letter, (and many Notorious) and Ingenuity in you to be offended for being told of them, rather than for writing them? this is to comply with the World, that taketh the Doctor only for the Sinner.] thus you.

But Sr Consider 1o. that I have shewne that the 20 Untruths you say are in my Letter, are but yor owne Mistakes, you first squeeze a sense out of my Words, wch was never intended & wch they'l not beare, & then tell me I said so, & then add this is an Untruth but is this faire? I beseech you in the feare of God consider you are not the Infallible one, be not therefore too Confident of yor imposed sense. But 2o. Is this the Christian Spirit, falsely to accuse a faithfull friend, & publish yor accusation to the World, If I had been guilty of Writing 20 Untruths in one sheete of paper, 'twas but in a private Letter & If I had offended you in private ought you not to have observed the Rule of our blessed Lord Math. 18. 15. &c. & not have published it. But do you not hereby make a publication of all that passed betweene Us necessary for the defence of yor affectionate friend, whom you have falsely & publickly accused contrary to the Rule of Christ.

IV. There is one thing more I must write you of, & the God & Father of our Lord Jesus would enable you impartially to weigh & rightly to improve it. It is this, In yor Letter to me, you making yor boast of yor great Sufferings you expresse yor selfe thus, [How many of you have suffered more than I." They have written
" neare 20 if not more Bookes agt me, & Morly, & Parker
" endevoured to make mee a Traytor, the Oxford Convocation
" have burned my holy Common Wealth.] thus you reckon among yor sufferings ye burning yor holy Common Wealth, but yet in yor Postscript to yor Catholick Communion doubly defended, you say that as for the rest of Petits, & others, standing Charges from one Booke, retracted so many yeares a

& accused by yor selfe, consenting to the Oxford Men that burnt it] Now Sr how can you reconcile yor selfe to yor selfe, in yor private Letter its [yor holy Commonwealth] & in yor publick postscript its [a Booke retracted many yeares agoe, & no more yors.] In yor Letter its [burnt to yor sorrow griefe trouble, its one great part of yor sufferings wch you insist on to evince that yor sufferings exceede that of yor Brethren. but here you looke on the Booke as a Delinquent, accused yor selfe & you consenting to its Condemnation & execution. But wherein do you suffer, when a Criminall by yor selfe accused, is to yor good liking cast & executed? Sr Sr consider its not good to trifle about Matters of this Importance, to have one sence of a thing for yor friend in private another sence of the same thing for the publick. those that do not know you so well as I do, will be apt to thinke, you deal not wth sincerity becomes Mr Baxter. Thus you see that notwith-standing the discouragemts you lay before me, I have once more ventured to expresse both my affection & faithfullnesse unto you.

V. Page 3. [You doubt not but you have proved to me that Parish Churches, that have good Ministers are particular Churches, and those Ministers true Pastors, & that any Persons holding the contrary, doth not disprove it.] I answere — 1o. You have not given mee the least colourable proofe, as I hope to evince in my Answere wch I am preparing & hope some time the next weeke to send you. 2o I have seene yor Objections Answered by yor selfe in some papers that are just ready for the presse, & I thinke wch in a few weekes will be published. the wch being so, I desire you will not be too confident of yor Conjectures nor presently publish every thing that comes into yor head, but take some Moments for consideration. The Reason why I answered you no sooner was because I would consider againe & againe what I write, for I love truth & could I see anything of strength in yor writings it would strangely influence me, And I professe that since you have entred on this controversie & I have perused & duly weighed yor writings I am abundantly confirmed in wt you call sinfull Separation. Sr I presume on you. I hope you have received my Answer to yor first Letter, I sent it you some weekes agoe. I desire you would explicate yor sence about the burning yor Comon Wealth & reconcile yor selfe to yor selfe. Be pleased to tell the Bearer when he shall waite for yor Answere.

These
For the Reverend Mr
Baxter at his House in
great Ruſſell Streete
in Bloomesbury

Sr

9

ever since I was wth you, I have laboured to my utmost, to promote
yt most excellent worke of Catechising & personal instructing of
whole ffamilies; & through Gods goodnesse have at last (though wth much
difficulty) prevailed wth many godly Ministers in our County of Sussex
to subscribe to yt worke. I drew up ye fforme in yr Agreement, but yt
would not passe wth some: then I importuned some of our greate &
leading men to draw up something containing ye worke in generall, as
to spend at least one day in ye weeke in yt businesse, & very many have
cheerfully subscribed it: the weeke after came out yr Reformed Pastor
for wch many of us doe blesse God, & are very thankfull to you: we hope
ye Lord will spare yr life to publish yr intended 2d part. I am loath to
trouble you wth much, knowing how precious time is to you: I could not but
let you knowe thus much, it being a worke yt hath more warmed my
heart (though but in expectatio of good thereby to poore ignorant soules)
then all my preaching ever did. We are here as yet but preparing our
people for ye worke by preaching ye necessity thereof, according to yr good
directios. Good Sr beg hard of God for ye good successe of this weighty worke
yt it may be caryed on wth much prudence, zeale & patience; thus
giving you many thankes for all yr expressions of love when I was
wth you, earnestly desiring our good God to spare yr life for further
use & advantage to his Church, I comend you & yr unwearyed labours
to Gods grace in Christ, in him resting

All ministers acknowledged it a duty to catechize
many did quickly promise to doe it when they
were at leisure; but divers did obiect against
ye subscribing ~~for~~ ye 8 weeks together; now
I have dispersed many of ye Reformed Pastors
I hope fewe will stand out
we give ye little books of Agreement, to all ye ffamilies
in our Parishes.

Buckstead
August: 25
1656

Pray, present my respects to yr
ffather & my kinde love
to mr Plimbly

Yr thankfull ffriend & most unworthy
ffellow labourer in ye worke of ye gospel

Stephen: Streete

I should be heartily glad to heare fro you
if you have ye leisure to write to me
you may direct it to Austin Rice
a bookseller at ye 3: hearts in Pauls Church yard

+

[illegible] my [illegible]

[illegible] this kind of knowledg being too wonderfull for such a worm as I am, when God hath look't on ye [illegible]
[illegible] Universitys, Wise & Learned in ye world.. I found ye sweet presence of God in ye midst of my poor Meditations, (& such broken
[illegible] Strong Corruptions, & Temptations) & ye accomplishmt of his good promise that he would not breake ye bruised reed, nor quench
In few days (scarse weeks) ye Ld gave me this following discovery, when I was far from expecting or asking [illegible]
mise 1. That our Ld + never told us (yt I know at least) yt none shall know ye time of his 2d Coming, within a Year or two
then affirmed none did know ye Day or Hour at that time. 2. The Holy ghost seems plainly to hint to me yt [illegible]
be sealed up untill ye time of ye End (wch I take to signify no few years before ye accomplishmt) so also yt a little [illegible]
60 should be revealed, & this by ye following words, Knowledg shall encrease (c.12.) But I shall make no further [illegible]

The Sacra Symphonia follows

0560 In Belshazzars 1st yr Danll hath ye Vision of ye 4 Monarchies (according to Helvic (yt mirror of Chronologie whom I follow)
& of a little horn out of ye 4th Beast yt trod down ye Saints for a time, times & half, a little before his Condemnation by ye [illegible]
0558. In His 3d Year came ye Vision of ye little horn out of ye Goat. literaly meant of Ant. Epiph. &c. (as most or all agree) but most
opinion pointing at ye great rage of ye Last Adversary of ye Ch. Militant, (which I think I have cleared sufficiently to be
Christ,) in wch sence I understand v. 19 (of ye 8th ch.) (to be compared with Isa. 26. 20. &c. c. 20. 1. &c. dan. 12. 1. 2.) And that [illegible]
Sanctuary to be at ye Resurrection of ye just when ye whole Ch. shall sinne no more, immediately before Gods Indignation sha[ll be accom-]
plished in ye Tryal & Condemnation of this 4th Beast. In short I take ye great question & answer (v. 13. 14) to reach [illegible]
present time of that Vision, untill ye aforesd End of ye world, when Zion shall Travail & bring forth at once (as Rachel [illegible] Isa. 66.7
death pangs in ye midst of a new born Prince of Israel, ye prophets seem for to allude) yt is, when ye first little horn shall [illegible]
ressor, immediately before +s 2d Coming, & make such a desolation in his treading down ye holy City of ye Gentile Church [illegible]
as Antioch. Epiph. acted in ye type, or ye Romans after ym. not fixing ye 2300 days or years at Antioch. or any other [illegible]
tors have attempted) but to Commence from this Vision. Now to 558 add 1742 & it makes 2300. wch expire [illegible]
0555 In Cyrus 3d yr (ye first of Darius ye Mede) came his Vision or Visions of 70 weeks, of ye K of ye North, of Michael &c. c. 10. 11
I am not solicitous who ye K of ye North is in ye latter, not doubting but it hath a direct prospect to ye rage & pride of ye
adversary of ye Ch. (as ~~by~~ ch. 12. 1, 2) & this to be immediately before the Resurrection of all ye dead Saints, & +s 2d Coming
ye yr of this Vision, unto ye aforesd time (when Antx shall have accomplished to scatter ye power of ye holy people) be
2290 yrs, (as ch. 12. 11.) & not 1290, as it is in our common Translations. (some Copies varying as my ffather hath [illegible]
nuscript of his wch I have by me.) (Now to 555 add 1735, (ye time when ye Sackcloth Prophecy of 1260 yrs [illegible]
it makes 2290. To Expire An. vulg. 1735.
0166. Ant. Epiph. prophanes ye Sanctuary, at what time Jud. Macab, (yt Michael in ye Type) arose to give deliverance in [illegible]
0102 The Sea bred Beast now Ascends (Ap. 13. 1.) beginning in ye Roman EAGLE wch C Marius lifted up thirty [illegible]
of Plin. l. 10. c. 4.) This was a Monarchie before Augustus or Julius Caesar. (Schup. Chr. ad Helv. p. 53. citing Luc. Flor. [illegible]
And if it had not arose before Augustus it had not fullfilled Danlls prophesy (in my opinion) wch was to stamp ye residue
feet (c. 7. 7.) which it did in ye conquest of Tygranes ye great K of Syria, wch K do had before swallowed up Mac[illegible]
& was, shooting out like sprouts from ye roots of Trees yt were lopped down. But what needs this confirmation? [illegible]
finite wisdom of our Ld + plainly hinted where we should begin this Beasts Epocha, (Math. 24, 28.) Now [illegible]
Year 42 prophetick Months (or 1176 yrs, as days in 168 weeks) & it ends An. vulg. 1073,
[illegible] vulg from our Ld Christs birth.
135 The Winepress of Gods wrath trod Without ye City. (Apoc. 14. last) Judaei extrema omnia conati, ad internecionem [illegible]
terra sua. exturbantur in perpetuum Schup. in Helv. p. 63. & Helvic. in a different Character notes Belli Judaic[illegible]
from this yr begin ye 1600 furlongs & they end An. vulg. 1736 the Year after ye Witnesses are slayn.
0475. Odoacer puts an end to ye Empire of ye West & reigns in Italy, & now ye Ch. flees into ye Wilderness for 1260 yrs.
1073. The Earth bred Beast now Ascends (Apoc. 13. 11) Now Antichrist ye great appears visible in ye Ch. of Rome (in P. G[illegible]
Little Horn out of ye 4th Beast, who is to slay ye Witnesses for 3 yrs & half, (Typed out by Ant. Epiph. & ye Romans [illegible]
rusalem) His Epocha is 666. Ending An. vulg. 1740. ver. 1742. There is He yt exalts himself above all Magis[illegible]
is called God) Primus Imperatorem Excommunicav. & potestatem Imperatoris constituendi sibi arrogavit (so Helvic)
1735 The Witness Sackcloth Prophecy expires. now & this aforesd Antix state of Rome slays ym, (viz. by a bloody persecution [illegible]
1736 The Jews Conversion, being ye immediate effect of Zions travelling pangs (Is. 66. 6, 7, 8.) now coming on ye Gentile Chur[illegible]
same yr after +s birth as Rachels were before.
1739. The Witnesses now stand upon their feet, inspired with new life, at this joyfull news, & this after 3 literal yrs & half from
persecution. Now they look up knowing yt their Redemption draweth nigh.

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1740. The first generall Resurrection of all ye dead Sts follows & Transfiguration of those who are alive; (wch is ye Witnesses [illegible]
up into heaven at ye voice of God (Apoc. 11. 12.), These Clouds are those Chambers where ye Sts hide ye selves for a little
till ye Indignation be overpast (Is. 26. 19 20. Dan. 12. 2) And now our Ld Christ will Judg & Execute ye Great Leviathan [illegible]
Deep, or ye Dragon in ye Sea. foretold of Pharaoh in ye letter Is. 27. but pointing at this time, This great [illegible]
is expressed by yt Earthquake (Apo. 11. 13.) & Joel. & other Prophets.
Our Ld Christ makes Jerusalems destruction ye great figure of his 2d coming to Judgmt throughout Mat 24 & 25
Divines of note are agreed herein. Now this Desolation fell out after + An. ver. 72 yrs & about a half. And in [illegible]
[illegible] 1742 however. Our Ld + lived here 33 yrs & half, and in so many yrs (of 52 weeks) are just 17[illegible]
if + hinted towards ye time of his 2d Coming by ye number of weeks he lived. About yt time from ye first Adam
Building, & An. 1777 (ye time of Danlls blessed Number brings up Ninus whom Justine counts ye 1st Tyrant & [illegible]
yrs after +, ye first Judgmt will be over, & ye Glory of ye New Jerus. fill ye Earth. Goliahs Armour wei[ghed]
pounds (at 32 sheckles or 16 ounces to ye pd) as ye Jews had Years of Oppression from Moses unto Antioch. Ep[illegible]
Sanctuary, (I mean in wch they were oppressed without having a Judg or Prince yt did or could deliver ym.) & the[illegible]
are 1742 weeks (wch I can not now demonstrate for brevity sake.) And about as many ~~Ounces~~ Sheckles it weighed as Years
tion to An. 1735 or 40. And exactly as many Ounces, as Years from ye time David slew him to ye great
Insolency of ye Roman Antx. when he shall slay ye Witnesses. at what time ye Branch out of ye root of D[illegible]
up & smite him dead. Turn ye Tables of Chronologie & let us look upwd fro +s birth, & compare it with [illegible]
About ye time Rome was burnt after +, ye 2d Temple was finished before +; (2) About ye same time P. Greg[illegible]
Earth bred Beast) Saul begins his reign. A King-Priest, & bloody persecutor of David, one whom ye Jews make [illegible]
Satan, as David of ye Kdom of +. (3) The same Year Moses was born before +, ye same yr after died [illegible]
appear. An. vulg 1772. ver. 1774. (4) And as many yrs as it was from Moses birth upwards (unto [illegible]
Jacob (the afflicted, then made Israel or a Triumphant Prince) WITH HIS HEAVENLY H[illegible]
Patriarchs to their Promised Land After their Father Jacobs Servitude expired, & [illegible]
[illegible]) are just as many Years, as from their glorious Stay to An. ver. 1742. [illegible]
17[illegible] before +, as I read ye real accomplishmt of it [illegible] there Typed out [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] of Sacred Story in Fe[illegible]
[illegible] at present Offered [illegible]
[illegible] of ye wonderfull Harmony [illegible]
[illegible] Number in ye Revelation [illegible]
[illegible] of ye World &c.

[illegible] entreat yt this paper may be amongst your reserved writings & not be transcribed by any, for [illegible] it may be prejudicial to my sd Book, which I purpose shortly (if God so please) to send into ye World, [illegible] my Name thereto (for severall reasons) & therefore I earnestly desire that may be concealed ~~[illegible]~~ in case any [illegible] be made of you, touching ye Author thereof. Sr I am extreamely loath to print it without Your Attestation which with great solicitude, (& in all becoming humility for so great presumption) I importune. I am sensi[illegible] [illegible] Learned Divines (amongst which Number Hond Sr You are chief in my esteeme) are so much taken up [illegible]dliness, yt they leave ye Study of these things to those who have too much leasure for such Meditations, [illegible] may justly fear a denyal if not a Censure for my boldness. But since I am made to hope ye best, & to wait [illegible] for an Answer (though in 6 or 7 lines, wch I earnestly entreat with what convenient speed may be) [illegible] but God may please to make you willing to Encourage this poor beginning of myn, since his Spt blows [illegible] in what manner seemeth best unto his infinite Wisdome; Sr If ye Ld shall convince you yt this is ye [illegible] of ye Times, or at least ye best you have yet met with, Or yt you have nothing to Object at presen[t] [illegible] to be ye mind of ye Holyghost &c. I doubt not but ye endeared Love & Zeale You have for ye Name Glo[ry] [illegible] our Ld Christ, in this evil day (wherein there are so many Rabshekahs, so many Scoffers & Revilers of [illegible] surmises, & saying where is Romes destruction? where is ye God of Jacob? where is ye Coming of Christ? &c [illegible] willing to give this as ample a Testimonial under yr hand as you may. I heartily wish I could shew [illegible] humbly presume however, this will be sufficient to vindicate You from being accounted accessary to whatever shall be de[illegible] Matter or Manner, if yr Attestation be given with this premise (as I desire therefore it may) viz. — [illegible] appear by this General Introduction Cor Symphonia Sacra) (wch I shall for yt reason After apart [illegible] rest,) ~~wch~~ being all yt You have seen or read of ye Book ———

I have desired ye like Honour of ~~Mr~~ Dr Owens subscription, & have sent him such a letter as this. If a few lines be [illegible] sent & directed to Mr Danll Collins Merchnt in Koningsberg it comes safe to his hands, in 14 days, & from him to me [illegible]

You Two are ye only persons to whom I have imparted these things, nor doth my wife know any thing thereof, & [illegible] keep it from all my Relations also for a while. Dr Sr I beseech you let not ye past Scene of my Affaires disswade you [illegible] ing me in this humble Request, for as God giveth wisdom to whom he pleaseth liberally & without upbraiding so also ~~[illegible]~~ I think ye Holyghost in yt Promise had a particular regard unto those yt are who want wisdom most, & who [illegible] of all Gods little ones, who is so importunate to have a share in a special manner in Your prayers (both for him & [illegible] him who is

Hond Sr. Your very unworthy frien[d]
[illegible]ly Obliged Servnt to C[illegible]
Go[illegible]

[illegible] long we shall be able to make you ye return of yr Books wch were delivered [illegible] dispose of, & of yt ~~[illegible]~~ money also wherewith You have so highly obliged us. [illegible] I shall say thereof at this time, more yn to assure you, we have a gratefull [illegible]nce of so great a favour.

[illegible] just room enough to write you ye relation of an unusual accident yt hath happend to me; about 2 or 3 months ago a blackness a[illegible] ~~little~~ the nayle of my little finger on my left hand, & growing ~~[illegible]~~ with my nayle soon came to an uniforme cloud of [illegible] [illegible]neath; I should not have taken such notice of it but yt it is as black as any Jett, & without any fibres or pieces coming [illegible] drawn with a pen, & in ye midst a White Starr as purely white as Ivory. I am certain it's no bruise nor doth ye nayle or finger [illegible] [illegible]ean. It is at this time about ye middle of my Nayle; What it may signify I am not solicitous, considering we are comma[nded] [illegible] ye Signs of Heaven & least of all those on ye Nayle. (My friends here look on it as very strange. The cloud is as big as ye figure [illegible] as this, but ye cloud is (as before sd) as black as Jett, & therefore seems Extraordinary

[illegible]y be pleased to accept of my wifes humble service wch I present you with [illegible] her stead (who knows not of my writing) together with her Cordial [illegible]ks for all Your many favours. She would be receive[illegible] [illegible]ve ye honour [illegible] a line or two from You, if that might be. —

To
the Reverend Mr Baxter
his much Hond ffrind
This presnt

[redacted]

1

My deare & highly honored Brother,

yrs of 8ber 12 I received not till 9ber 4: I do most hartily thank you
for moving for or poore Colledge. I can assure you it is the interest of god, that
there lyes at stake. for as you wel observe in ye Epistle to mr Glyn (for
wch & ye sermons & ye preface to mr Hickes I do much blesse god) the promo[ting]
of godly & discouraging of profane is a principal part of yt interest. this i[s]
that wch hath bin continued for these many yeares in Wadham, wch are [illegible]
hath opposed, & now having prevayled wth a majority of profane fellows doth
so discountenance those godly persons that [illegible] that unles the Parlt
helpe them, there is like to be no remedy. He lately openly professed to
a godly & learned student of ye house that he would rather have civill gentle-
men in his house, than those yt weare godly & ungratefull. By ungratefull he
meant such as would concur wth him in their votes; & upon a blind
obedience as it was in the prelaticall times though each elector be sworne
to elect sine omni favore amore [illegible] [illegible]. He thanked al the godly fellows so
against his oath All that is desired by ye fellows is a fairer hearing by godly & impartiall [illegible]
should I relate wt Dr O. did, it would appeare very strange. Pray if you
can by yr Parlt friends promote to gett a worke, I beseech you do it.
The old Visitors got an ordinance a few days before the Parlt [illegible]
for certain heads of houses & some gentlemen to be Visitors. It is desired that
[illegible] may be made an act, & not heads of houses be judges in their own
cases, but godly & impartiall Gentlemen. Pray if you do any thing send but
a word yt we may know to whom of yr friends to make or addresses & make
a relation wt the articles are; To say the students were uncapable wth other
such slanders, know wil not stand at hearing, neither was it offered before
their own judges at Oxon.

I thanke you for what you informe me of ye popish meetings, I have [illegible]
heard it of late: suppose you did petition the Parlt against popery, I am
confident if you began in yr county it would be followed by most countys
& I know those leading men in the house that would much rejoyce to
heare a motion from you & whether it might not be very proper for you
not onely in respect of that high esteem I know you have in ye harts of
many godly & leading men in the house whom you never saw, but also in
respect of ye calumnys cast by ye enemys on you & printed by mr Crandon &c
for wt you motion sed mr P. to inform of Dr P. I wil do wth him & others
wt I may, without any motion of yours. those words of Dr O. weare spoke at
London at mr Hillys table a Phisitian of or county that serves for Wiltshire. the
young man yt reported them was hopefull but infected by ye loose profane youth
of Wadham. See therefore what he wil now say I know not but he did
whom I would fully & frequently attest it. & I am confident, if you had
some friend to talke wth mr Hilly, he would acknowledge it; But I will shortly
give you a fuller account & how farr you may take notice of it, & how it will
be attested.

for that discourse of Rome it was Col. Bingham Governor of Jersy & Knight for Dor[set]
great wth L. P. Cromwell [illegible] he spoke to a godly man of my parish who will
attest it. if you make notice of it so farr in print as not to name the gentleman
or by any friend to discourse wth him so as not to name me, for I suppose he
will not deny it, & if he doth, the party is ready to whom he spoke it to atte[st]
it.

How I & my B. [illegible] put you on controversy, while in yr Generall [illegible] you, I
do not conceive. Oh deare Brother a booke of practicall divinity [illegible]
last controversall, how many gracious harts would it have edifyed [illegible]

if you ar on more controversy pray consider whether it weare not better succinctly to state the question
wth the arguments pro & con, than to repeat & answer every word as you did in ye last. I would not have ye
piece swell in such altercations; but if you ar for controversy you would give us that [illegible] now &c, truth in
[illegible] & ye [illegible] errors, wch you mentioned in print: We wonder why ye Confession is not yet out,
wherein you differ pray ad ye reasons. Shew how near you came in some to others, & wherein you differ to their argts
else we shal be sayd [illegible] in verba Magistri: I hope mr Burges late booke wil at last put forth yr Aphorisms
[illegible] he very much mistakes you & mr N. I weare not have to [illegible] wth him from what you have already
printed: though he likes not or [illegible] way, yet he might have spared those hard words of it. Oh that in these
mysterys we would speake wth les confidence, & more fear & humility: My poore wife presents her most gratefull
service to you & prayers to god for yr continuance amongst us, & begs yr prayers for her drawing near her time, yt
god would [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]: for mine & my peoples poore prayers the debt we ow you while you & we
are alive (I hope) we shal never cease to pay it to the throne of grace. I beg yr prayers for us & rest

yr very much obliged Brother
ffra: Rowlett.

9ber 6. 1654.

[illegible]

Mr Williams

Though your unexpected Letter surprizeth me, it is with no great admiration, I knew they would so well. Remember 1° That you profest when you offered yor helpe, ~~you told me~~ you lookt not for money. 2° That when I told you yt perhaps you would expect more for gratuity than I meant to give, & therfore urged you to tell me wt you expected before you begun, lest I displeased you after, I could not prevaile with you; but you still said you lookt not for money, but would leave gratuityes wholy to myselfe. 3° You oft say you expect wt I would have given another, whereas I never told you of any thing yt I would have given another. And if I had told you at wt rate I would have bought it, wch yt to him yt bought it not, but receivd it as the Kings gift. 4° I oft told you yt I had yt pretended they had begd my fine, I would have had money to get my discharge were refused by me above this twelvemonth. And their demand (refused) proves not wt I was willing to give. 5° You should not forget yt I oft told you yt it was to me of so small concerne whether I groane a little longer & die in this roome or another, yt I value not my life at fifty pound, being now [illegible], much less my liberty, or the saving of a remnant from the danger of my fines when I am dead. 6° My Ld of Powis saith you told him you designed not one penny for yor paines. 7° Whereas you take it ill yt any friend spake to my Ld of Powis without you, its an odde offence when I could never get you to tell me where you lodged yt I might send a letter to you. I know not how this will find you out. 8° Your talk of the seamans [illegible] falsly in making some promises of mine to you wch I am breaking. 9° When you say perhaps no other would have taken such paines, I told you how many offerd it for nothing. 10° As to your talke of six weekes labour, you showed me yor petitions for others, as if my business had come in but on the bye. And who was your labour with but the Ld of Powis till three daies agoe. 11° Your expectation of an 100l from Venables is nothing to me. 12° In short, two things resolve me once more to discharge you from medling in my business: Let it stand or fall. First yt you would make me beleeve yt I am not beholden for my discharge to the King or to my Lord of Powis, by expecting twice as much as I told you I would have bought it for. 2° That you threaten plainly a Chancery suit (wch may cost me more than the fine) by telling me wt my Lord Chancellor will allow you. I accused you not to my Lord of Powis but desired him to determine wt I should give you above your charges for fees # & to him I will referre it. But againe I desire you to do no more for me. And yet I knowne of any thing receivd from you. I sought not to you, but you to me.

Ri: Baxter Oct 27. 1686

~~[illegible]~~

And you first told me you doubted not to dispatch it in three daies, without any great fees or charges. And after yt you pretended but two or three daies more. And when I saw you began to entangle me in delayes, & advice to Petition many Lords, I required you to meddle for me no more. And when at yor request I permitted you to try once againe, it was with this condition yt you should try but once & with none but my Lord Powis, & yt you should do nothing more hereafter with any by fees or sollicitation without my consent. And this you said you showed my Ld of Powis

For Mr David Williams

3.

Much honoured & beloved Brethren in ye Lord.

3 Wee received your wellcome lines from ye hand of our faithfull & much honoured friend Colonell John Bridges. It much rejoiceth us to heare of your brotherly Association ye successe, & more, yt your hearts are enlarged with such desires for ye further compleating of this healinge worke, & yt you thus breath after ye union of ye saints. It doth not only rejoice us on your owne behalfe, & on ye behalfe of ye desolate land where you abide but alsoe on ye behalfe of ye Churches in generall: because wee seeme to discerne the gratious thoughts of God unto his people, in soundinge a retreate to their unbrotherly Contentions, by sendinge forth ye Spirit of Love & Peace, which wee know must build us up if ever wee be built: when God was pullinge downe & layinge wast he with-held this mercy, & let out upon his Churches a spirit of Contention bitternes & Division which hath gone on to demolish, & breake in peices & made our owne hands ye Executioners of those heavy Judgments which have laid us soe longe in shame & sorrow, & filled our enemies mouths with scorne. while this evill spirit yt made desolate did prevaile, division seemed amyable, & dividinge Principles seemed glorious truths; & all motions to reconciliation were unsavoury things, & rejected as a defection from Truth or Zeale, & as a carnall complyance with ye wayes of darknes: & even those yt were zealous for truth & holynes, were too many of ym cold to Peace & Unity, readinge those Scriptures which soe earnestly presse ym, as if they read ym not, nor observinge or layinge to heart ye strict Comands of ye Lord herein; as if there had beene noe such passages in our Bibles. But blessed be ye Lord yt beginneth mightily to awaken ye hearts of his servants, & cause ym to observe ye truths which they overlookt & at last to lay to heart ye duty soe much neglected! wee now heare from many Countyes of this Nation, ye voice of ye Spirit of Peace. our Brethren begin to get together, & consult of ye meanes of repairinge our breaches, & in many places are associated; & though ye worke be but begininge & mightily resisted by ye enemies of Holynes & Peace, yet are wee in great hopes yt these beginings doe promise more, & yt God hath not awakened us to this worke in vaine. And now by ye tidinges of your Concord, wee have received an increase of these our hopes & Consolations. Goe on Deare Brethren as one in ye Center of Unity, & prevaile in ye strength of ye great Reconciler: [illegible] ye way yt will prevaile at last; & however it be thought of by others, will certain comfortable to our selves in ye review; when dividinge wayes will be all disg & looke with another face yn now they doe. He yt is for Unity & love is likest his appellation, who is One & who is Love. Our hearts are with you & our Prayers shal be for you; yt you may abundantly reape ye fruites of Concord, in ye Conviction of gainsayers & ye further Confirmation & Edification of your owne. Your motion for Correspondency wee gladly entertaine, & shall rejoice in ye assistance of your advice & prayers, & willingly to yt end Comunicate our affairs. Wee are now upon a joy Agreement to bringe all ye ancient persons in our Parishes (who will not doe ye Congregation) to our houses on certaine dayes every weeke, by turnes, to be Catech or Instructed, as shall be most to their Edification: A worke yt requireth soe unwearied diligence selfe denyall, & holy skill, & wherein wee are like to meet resistance, & yet doth appeare to us of soe great necessity & use, yt wee [illegible] your prayers, for such qualifications & for successe. The state of your understand by ye information of Colonell Bridges; wee heartily pray

+

110

[illegible] more labourers amongst you, & could we contribute any thing to so good worke, we should willingly do it: But able Ministers fitt for ye worke with you too few, & many of ym soe weake of body, yt they are unfitt for travaile, & most of th re engaged to there godly people, & ye people soe impatient of a motion for their remove, yt ye worke will be very hard; but we hope to be faithfull in our endea whatever be ye successe. Brethren we want your prayers to God, yt we may be f ull & successfull in his worke, as alsoe yt brotherly correspondency which you m remaine

Your Brethren in ye faith of Christ

Richard Baxter Teacher of ye Church at Kederminster

Jarvis Bryan Teacher of ye Church at Old=Swinford

Henry Osland Teacher of ye Church at Bewdly

Andrew Tristram Teacher of ye Church at Clent

Thomas Baldwin Minister at Wolverly.

In ye name of ye Associated Ministers meeting at Kederminster.

LETTERS

fol. 111. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(238)

To the Reverend & much honoured
Brother Doctor Winter Pastor of
the Church at Dublin to be communicated
by him to the associated Churches in
Ireland

LETTERS
fol.112. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Good Mr Baxter

I hope, that you receiued a letter, wch I sent unto you about Michaelmas through the hands of Mr Underhill together with ten copyes of my printed Exercitation as a slender, but reall signification of my thankfull acknowledgment of your brotherly loue & paines in the perusal of my Manuscripts. Since that tyme I haue bestowed some 4 considerable labour (according as my leisure from other occasions would permit) about a second pt of my Exercitation, wch I did in some sort promise in the last chapter of my first pt. The truth is, that what hath bin lately published by Mr Gee son of Mr Grayle, & by Mr Warren (as I should suppose by the Argument of his booke, though I neuer read it) but especially by your selfe in your late Confession, doth make ~~[illegible]~~ the second intended pt of my Exercitation ~~[illegible]~~ in a great degree lesse usefull & necessary for the publiq, in so much that when I had perused your Confession I was almost at a stand & ready to desist from all farther labour about my second pt. But withall considering, that pchaps ~~[illegible]~~ many of ~~th~~ our Reverend Brethren, who doe well approue of, & many Xtians who haue great need of what was written in the first pt of my Exercitation, wil also not disrelish & may also haue need of what was intended in my second pt, I did therefore resolue to goe through with my purpose, wch hauing almost finished I haue emboldened my selfe (stil presuming upon your brotherly loue) herewith to send unto you & to request your perusall of the same together with your aduice, whether, or no to make ~~[illegible]~~ it publiq; for hauing sought & submitted to your aduice about the publishing, or not publishing of ~~the~~ former pt of my Exercitation (& I know not any cause hitherto why I should repent of the course I tooke in that behalfe) I am resolued under God to rest upon your aduice about this second pt, either concerning any needfull addition, or alteration to bee made in it, as also touching the publishing, or suppressing of it. You shal not need to returne my paps unto mee but let them rest with you til I see you: for intending some tyme this summer (as my manner is yeerly) to visit my aged father & mother at Whitchurch I purpose to see you in my way God willing, & as I think either towards the latter end of June, or some tyme in July. If you shal ~~[illegible]~~ iudge this 2d pt herewith sent unto you usefull for the publiq, I know, it wil bee necessary for mee to write it ouer againe, as for other reasons, so more especially, that I may insert all things (specially what you find in the three first leaues & in p: 36) in their prop places, & I am therefore resolued according to occasion to put myselfe to the labour of transcribing it. One reason, why I iudged it meete to put forth the first pt afore this 2d was, because ~~[illegible]~~ (& so much ~~[illegible]~~ signify to the Reader in my Introduction to this 2d pt) ~~[illegible]~~ I thought, that some of my reuerend brethren might possibly ~~[illegible]~~ stumble at some things in my first pt & might thereupon impt unto mee their obiections whether by word, or writing, whereupon I was resolued in my second pt either to retract any errour, ~~[illegible]~~ in my first pt, being thereof conuinced by their argumts, or otherwise to answere their obiections for the farther clearing of the truth as I then did & stil doe apprehend it. I haue not receiued any Animaduersions from any of my learned Brethren hitherto sauing from one eminent Minister in a neighbour county, whom I little dreamt of as one who hauing a great zeale ag: Antinomianisme should neuerthelesse zealously abette that way by asserting, that iustification is unconditional, that faith & repentance are effects of iustification, that threatnings, comts, ~~[illegible]~~ cautions are necessary for the perseuerance of the Sts in sanctification, not in iustification, that a pson iustifyed hath in Xt satisfied the law & is thereupon iudged by God not to bee faulty, with much to this purpose, for wch as I am somewhat angry, so I am much grieued, hee being a very zealous Minister & of great esteeme among the brethren, & one whom for that cause (& hee being a very able preacher) I doe truly honour & account much better then my selfe. The Animaduersions of the said brother hath occasioned mee to propose seueral obiections & answeres, wch you wil find in this second pt. After I saw your Confession I haue sometimes this winter perused Mr Burges his 2d pt of Justification, & I cannot forbeare to say to you, that I was very much grieued with myselfe & did not a little wonder to pceiue him so exceedingly (as I then did & stil doe think) unlike ~~[illegible]~~ himselfe (Eccl) unlike to that very learned & iudicious man Mr Anth: Burges, specially in what hee says ag: works as the condition of iustification continued (~~[illegible]~~ I had transcribed that selfe contradiction, wch you mention in your Epistle to your Confession, with much more, wch you wil find in the 2d pt herewith sent unto you) as also in what hee says for the imputation of Xts righteousnes in the literal, prop & formal acceptation thereof. In one whole chapter of this my second pt (as wch wil presently appeare to you by the Index in the close) I doe deale with Mr Burges for his (as I think) palpable mistakes, yea & selfe contradictions in his assigning the difference betwixt Remission of sin & iustification; but if ~~[illegible]~~ this 2d pt bee made publiq I think it wil bee my wisedome to suppresse his name as much as possibly may bee, hee being a man well worthy of great reuerence & esteeme for his learning & labours in the Church & one whom accordingly I doe from my heart prize & honour. The onely wise God direct us & giue us understanding in all things. In the close of my second pt I mentioned it as my intention to affixe a Sermon or two concerning the text [illegible] 5: 4, 9, wch according to my leisure I wil prepare, but because plaine & profitable sermons are so very common, that the [illegible] is ouerloaded with them, I am therefore not peremptorily resolued to publish [illegible] sermons, but am resolued rather to take your aduice therein as super totam materiam. & hope, that betwixt this & the time of my iourney into Shropshire I shal obtaine so much leisure as to prepare a sermon, or two concerning the sayd text, which I wil bring with mee at what time I purpose in my sayd iourney to see you. Hauing no more for present, & crauing excuse for my boldnes in troubling you with so much, I commit you to the Lord, in him resting

Stanton
May 8
1625

Yours most assured
as much obliged
Thom. Hotchkis

Reverend Sr

When I heard that God had visited you with sicknes (though I heare withall of the hopes of yor recovery), & withall that you were sollicitous to disclaime the guilt of my (little) sufferings; I was afraid lest you should thinke, that some enmity or uncharitablenes had by this meanes disaffected me towards you; And living so neere eternity as I do myselfe, I am the more deeply sensible, that it is my duty to take care, that whichsoever of us goeth first out of this world, we may part in love, without any rancour, & may see, that betweene us there be nothing unforgiven. And to that end I first professe to you that as farre as I know my selfe, it is so on my owne part; & that I unfeignedly desire yor true felicity. And next I thinke it my duty to endeavor that it may be so on yor part: To which end I thinke it most conducible to offer you this short Apologie, that you may not misunderstand me: Three accusations I suppose you have in yor mind against me: The first is that I am not of yor judgment for subscribing, declaring & thus conforming to the Lawes. To wch I will not now answer according to the matter in controversie; (that would be unseasonable & voluminous), but only say 1o That he who doth all that the Law commandeth him, is conformable to the Law: The Law commandeth me not to take a Pastorall Charge, & therfore not to subscribe & declare: 2o An ordinary Charity may easily discerne, that it is only Ignorance, if I erre here, that is the cause of it: Profit cannot be the cause; when I never received to my remembrance one farthing for Preaching, since I was silenced by the Law (And I never had need, mind nor opportunity heretofore to lay up much money for time to come; & I never received a farthing from any patrimony of my owne) And in such a case (though I never wanted) it cannot be thought desireable to me to be deprived of all waies of maintenance by my calling: The height of my ambition hath bin to have leave to labor without any sallary upon my owne charge (And I need not tell you, that Church preferments might have bin had by us as well as others): And if you thinke it is reputation or popular applause that moveth me; 1o Why should not reputation with the greatest & most honorable, & so numerous a party as yours is, be thought as great a motive to me: 2o Why did it never fall to my lot since I was a Preacher to be in favor with the prevailing & most advanced side: 3o Why have I bene crost & lost so many of all sides these thirty yeares almost, by such doctrine as I knew that did mislike: 4o Why do I lose that party still, wch I am thought to flatter at so deare a rate, by conforming so farre as I do, & writing so much against their contrary judgment: Why did the Rd Bp that first denyed me leave to preach, so openly tell both the King & Bps, that [no man had written better for conformity than I had done. And sure you must thinke that I have very high & honourable thoughts of those poore people, & very despicable thoughts of all on the upper side, if you thinke that I had rather have their favor without any gaine by them, than to have the favor of so many great & honourable persons, with liberty, maintenance & publike honor. But what need I cast these arguments before you: It is so mad, so wicked & abominable a thing, for a man, a Christian, a Minister of Christ, who believeth & preacheth a God & a life to come, to preferre his reputation with a party of men, yea of an undertrodden party, before the liberty of his ministery, the benefit of his hearers, the peace of his conscience, the favour of God, & the saving of his soule, that he is fitter for Bedlam than humane converse, that is guilty of it! And till you see the rest of my life to signifie such sottish madnes, & such atheisticall wickednes, I dare not judge you so uncharitable, as to impute such a horrid, yet secret & unproved guilt, to me or any in my case. Nothing then but Ignorance can be justly charged on me if I erre; And do you beare with none in the Ministry who conforme, that are as ignorant as I! O that they had all more knowledge, conscience, skill & fitnes for their worke, then I and all that now are silenced, on condition that we were put to beg or bread at all yor doores! But 3o I must tell you, that to conforme would be in me, [deliberately under my hand & by a publike ministeriall declaration, to Lie, & to be a ~~hundred~~ times more than perjured; ~~Or~~ to declare or sweare that I will not at any time endeavor in my place & calling the reformation of such a disciplined Church. I lay no charge on any others, who doth indeed believe, that there is not a word contained in the three subscribed bookes, wch is not to be consented to; nor any thing in the Governmt wch it is lawfull for the King & Parliament to alter: It is no Lie for them to say so, that think so: But only I say It would be a Lie in me. And yet I believe, that no Covent can bind any man to any act of sedition, or rebellion or other sin; nor discharge him from obeying his lawfull governors in lawfull things; nor am I bound to any thing by the Vow & Covenant, but what I had bin bound to if I had never taken it. (And many a thousand I have kept from taking it). And now when I tell you that Conforming would be so horrid a Crime in me (I say only in me) me thinks you should rather judge me intollerable in the ministry if I would do it. The 2d charge is preaching in my house to many. And what is it here that may not be endured.

Sr

Mr Swayne reminded me of some words wch fell from me at Coventry in ye time of our arguings about generall redemption, namely yt I would never contend so much for it were it not for ye things it opens and leads unto; what those things are he desired me as from you yt I would sett downe in writing. I am willing to doe it, but I thinke it necessary that you first know what I understand ye redemption of all men by Christ to be, yt so you may ye easier discerne ye things it leads unto according to yt understanding and stating of it; wch are things fitt for all to know, contend and strive after wth all earnestnes even after they knowe he hath dyed for their sins. That is yt redeeming of them all wch Christ wrought not in men through blood and grace but out of them in ye world by his blood alone, offered and given (not to them by sprinkling) but to his father for them by shedding, to satisfie his iustice for them all two wayes, namely by way of ransome of them all from ye first death wherein they should have beene abolished in and wth Adam in ye day of his offence according to gods threat. 2 Gen: 17. and by way of propitiation for all their after sins sinfulnes corruption and guilt during ye time of his striving wth them by grace towards healing and recovering to spirituall life, Christs image and eternall salvation

This I take to be yt wch we call generall redemption: And in this manner hath Christ redeemed every one in ye world: for he gave himselfe a ransome ~~[illegible]~~ for all men namely from yt first death before his testification thereof upon ye crosse; wch testifying of his giving himselfe was in due time after ye giving or undertaking to give himselfe as ye apostle sheweth 1. Tim: 2. 6. but his giving or undertaking to give himselfe a ransome was before ye testification thereof namely from ye day of Adams fall as appeares both by ye promise of him in yt day 3. Gen: 15. and by ye assertion thereof 13. Revel: 8. And if any question yt to be ye time let them shew when and what other time it was yt he gave himselfe a ransome before ye testification thereof upon the crosse: And as he was by his blood a ransome for all men from ye first death in Adam so also was he by yt blood a propitiation for all their sins after they being ransomed ~~[illegible]~~ and coming forth from Adam should daily be committing and grow guilty of: 3. Rom. 25. 2. John 2. 2. ib. 4. 10.

By his blood thus given and shed for all men whatsoever, he did not fully redeeme ye world nor yet any one in it, no not ye elect themselves, but only reconciled ye world wth every person thereof from their irreconcileable condition without blood, and brought them so farre toward full reconciling as blood alone could bring them namely under ye power of god not to impute their sins to them, and under his dealings and treatings of grace wth them toward an inward reconciling of their hearts unto him. 2 Cor. 5. 18. 19. 20. 1 Col. 20. And by his blood thus given he did but begin only ye reconciling and redemption of men wch if ever it be perfected is to be perfected by his workings of and renewings in spirit and grace, and by ye interceding of blood for ye pardon of their sins daily all ye while of such workings and renewings.

By his blood alone thus given for them, he hath brought them all but under free grace and free gift of light helpe workings influence and pardon toward perfecting their redemption in holines and ye spirituall life and image of Christ, but hath intayled or intitled ye perfecting of their redemption to no particular man for ye price or value of his blood: Looke what ye offence of one Adam brought unto all men, unto or toward their condemnation, namely iudgement destroying ye spirituall life they had in Adam, and corrupting therby all ye remaining powers of nature wth sinfulnes and depravation, wch iudgement and not ye offence it selfe is unto condemnation making them guilty and lyable thereto without healing by grace of yt iudgement of sinfull nature; iust such a like thing saith ye apostle 5. Rom: 18. hath ye righteousnes or deed of one man ye other Adam brought unto all men unto or toward their iustification of life or bringing thereunto, namely ye free gift of light helpe gracious workings in them tending to lead and bring them to iustification of life, to wch it will bring them unles they turne from it: If we take ye words either in ye originall or as they are translated, they doe both wayes shew yt ye offence or first sin of Adam did not of it selfe immediately or for it selfe bring condemnation to light upon any of Adams posterity, but as ye originall hath it, something to them all yt is unto or tending to their eternall condemnation; wch thing was brought in iudgement or a stroke of iudgement yt god strucke upon ye nature of Adam at his offence [illegible]

depraving and corrupting of it and by yt sinfull corruption making it damnable and lyable to condemnation
upon ye deriving thereof to his natures lyable to condemnation: And they also both wayes shew yt ye righteousn
death of christ brought not immediately of it selfe or for it selfe iustification of life unto any one, but as ye originall
hath it something to them all, this unto or tending to bring them all to iustification of life, wch hath our translation
as ye free gift of grace light helpe and gracious workings coming to them all from god thereunto;

By his blood alone thus given by way of ransome from ye first death of abolishment in Adam, and of propitiation
for their dayly renued sins and sinfulnes he hath redeemed all men not from all their captivity they were in
at his covenanting or undertaking to shed it for them, but from being prisoners in the pitt wherein there was
no water, no hope for them without blood, to become all of them prisoners of hope, not to become immediately
no prisoners but prisoners of hope, and not prisoners of infallible hope, but of hope through turning to the
strong hold without turning whereunto they should never be fully delivered of all captivity for all his payment of
blood for them and their hope perish: 9 Zech: 11-12:

By his blood alone thus given for all men by way of ransome and propitiation he bought and redeemed
them all being fallen into damnable corruption sinfulnes and spirituall death under ye light helpe workings and govern-
ment of his and his fathers grace toward eternall salvation, not yt any one should be of right and title pardoned
and saved eternally for this redemption of them by blood alone, nor yt it to condemne any of them in all ye world
meerly for ye corruption and sinfulnes and guilt yt he ransomed them in from ye first death of insensible abo-
lishment in Adam, but that he having ransomed and redeemed them in sinfull damnable nature from ye first death
wherein they should have beene extinguished, they might also be recovered and saved through him and his grace out of that
sinfull damnable corruption; for god sent not his son into ye world to dye for it in their sinfull damnable nature
to this end to condemne ye world or any of them meerly for yt sinfull nature he ransomed them to be borne and
live in, (that were indeed to dye for them to condemne them) but yt through him, ye light helpe and remainder
of his grace and blood they might be healed delivered and saved out of yt damnable sinfulnes and guilt he ransomed
them in, unto holines cleansing and life: 3 John. 17. And thus saith christ, 12 John 46. 47. 48. was ye end of his coming
or dying, not to iudge or condemne ye world namely for their sinfulnes darknes and ignorance of god they were fallen into
at his coming or undertaking to come and dye for them, but yt he might inlighten them and call them to believe on him
for light, and might save them by his light and grace if they receive and abide not out of ye darknes ignorance and
sinfulnes they were in at his coming to dye for them; And saith he if any man be not inlightned healed and saved by
me out of his darknes sinfulnes and guilt, it is because he believes not my words yt call him to me for light healing and
saving, And when he doth thus reiect me my light and grace and not receive my words calling him to me for light and saving grace
though I doe not condemne and iudge him for ye damnable sins and sinfulnes I ransomed him in, yet he hath one yt iudgeth him
ye word yt I speake namely yt proclaims light helpe and grace in me for him. this shall iudge and condemne him not as one
yt was ransomed to be borne in sin, but as one yt being shewne light and hearing his words and call to him for his
inlightning and healing and recovering him out of darknes and sin, would not looke after him for his light healing and saving out of sin
but chose rather to lye and dye in his darknes and sinfulnes then to be healed recovered and saved out of it by him 2

For his giving his blood a ransome for all men from ye first death in or with Adam, it was also necessary (being
he would not repayre nature in Adam to its former perfection but left it still corrupted to be derived sinfull
to all his posterity) that he should also give it for all their dayly renued sins and sinfulnes as a propitiation, to make
god able to be propitious and favourable to them all both in pardoning and in giving any or all grace to
them towards eternall salvation, or else his ransoming of those for whom he did not give it as a propitiation
would have beene a ransome of them from an insensible abolishment in Adam to an inevitable necessity of
eternall torments in hell without remedy, to ye great derogation of christ.

But yet in giving himselfe a propitiation or propitiatory satisfaction for all mens sins, for ye inabling
his father and himselfe to be propitious, to pardon and shew and give grace to them all as sinners still, he did
not give his blood to be an obligation upon god or an obligatory satisfaction for any one particular
mans sins in all ye world, to purchase of god a nominall title to pardon and all grace to him for ye
price or value thereof, whereby to binde god in iustice to give such a one pardon and all grace and salvation
The scriptures no where hold forth his satisfaction to be obligatory on god to any one but only propitiatory
calling it a propitiation; they shew indeed yt god hath gotten to himselfe salvation by his owne right arme
by christ, to have gotten a power to himselfe of grace and salvation for every man. 63 Esay. 5. but not yt he hath
gotten salvation intitled or made due to any man;

He could not give an obligatory satisfaction by his blood to purchase a particular title to all pardon and
salvation to any man, or to bind god in iustice to give pardon and all grace to him, neither in regard of his
father nor in regard of himselfe, nor in regard of men: (1) For by an obligatory satisfaction in ye particular
names of persons, he should have taken away and destroyed all ye freenes of his fathers grace, workings, gifts to

all whom he saves, and made them to be all due and of debt and not of freeness to them, and should have taken away and drowned ye glory of his freeness of grace in his workings doings givings to men now, wch he so much stands for and glories in; saying even now since ye death of Christ 9. Rom: 15.18. yt he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, yt is, in keeping them from hardning against ye light and workings of grace he begins in them and his having them to him for all salvation; this properly is ye mercy he will shew to them because ye contradistinct member to having mercy on them, is to harden them against his helping and striving grace, or to forbeare shewing his mercy in keeping them from hardning; And saying also 5. Rom 18. yt as he was free in his grace in giving Christ to dye for men, so by ye righteousness or death of one man Christ Jesus ye free gift or grace comes now still to all men toward justification of life.

Again ye father needed not to have ye satisfaction of blood given to him as an obliging price in ye name of any particular persons as if he might refuse to give grace and pardon and full salvation to any one, unless it were intitled particularly to some for ye blood and he bound to give it to them; for he cannot but continue giving all grace and pardon freely without bond or obligation hereto, to all those whom he hath from eternity had a more speciall eye and intention unto wch purpose to continue giving it to them, now yt he hath power or rather liberty from his justice to continue giving it to them; he needed only to have ye restraint of his justice yt bound him from and so made him unable to give them all grace and pardon without blood first taken off from him by blood, yt so he might without impeachment of justice doe it, but not to have a new bond or tye of justice put upon him by yt blood to doe it.

Again ye father loves not blood so as to sell heaven and heavenly grace and holiness as a particular right unto any man for ye value of yt blood; god findes no sweetness in blood as a thing of pleasantness and value to himselfe, though he findes a sweete savour in it in way of pacification of his justice and wrath: he values blood but at ye value whereat it is valuable, though it be ye blood of his sonne, and yt is at ye value of a satisfaction for sins guilt debts and at ye value of others bloods for whom it is shed, and Christs blood being thus only valuable god tooke it as a satisfaction of full worth and value for ye sins debts and bloods of all ye world, because ye blood of him who was not only an Adam but also worth all ye world; but he tooke it not as a valuable price for heaven or heavenly grace, for when it was offered to him on ye cross he rated it no better then as a satisfaction for sins debts and blood of others and not as a price for heavenly grace, spilling it upon ye ground;

2. In regard of himselfe Christ could not give his blood as an obligatory satisfaction for particular men to intitle them particularly to all heavenly grace and pardon: For ye father was to give him for his coming and dying in mans nature a farr greater and fuller and better thing and recompence then a nominall title to all grace and salvation to particular persons: namely to have life in himselfe as ye father hath life in himselfe, and power to quicken whom he will as ye father quickens whom he will, and authority and power to execute judgment or government over all ye world, and yt because he is ye son of man, 5. John. 21. 26. 27. and to have a power and name above all names in heaven and earth because of his abasing himselfe to death. 2. Philip. 8. 9. 10. 11 and to have power over all flesh and ye government and kingdome of grace and ye power of giving eternall life to all yt it is given unto, and glory in ye manhood wth ye father himselfe in his owne throne, and yt because he glorified ye father on earth and fulfilled ye fathers worke wch he gave him to doe, wch was dying for ye world, 17. John. 2. 4. 5. By this gift and recompence yt his father was to give him for dying in mans nature as ye fathers worke appointed him, he had power given him to quicken pardon and save not only some certaine persons, but even all whome he would; And how could he now binde ye father in some certaine particular mens names to give them salvation when ye father was to give him for his dying yt wch was a hundred times more fuller and better and more glorious, then ye particular title for some persons, even a power of all government and a power to bring in unto himselfe, pardon heale, quicken, save whomsoever he will.

Besides in obliging ye father in any mens names he should have obliged himselfe also in right to them by ye same title in their names; and so should have taken away and destroyed ye freeness of his owne grace and gracious doings for them wch he affordeth to them now, and should have made himselfe also a debtor of yt grace and power to them wch god was to give him for coming to be the son of man and dye for ye world.

Againe being yt Christ in dying for man came not to doe his owne will but ye will of him that sent him, nor his
owne worke but ye worke wch ye father gave him to doe, nor yet came of himselfe or of his direction motion or
apointment primarily, but was primarily mooved apointed sent and given of his father to dye, he could not
dye to oblige god by his death and satisfaction to particular persons in ye right of salvation to them, unless he
who apointed and sent him to dye would have himselfe obliged thereby in ye name of particular persons to doe
yt for them wch he could doe farre more to his owne glory without such obligation:

In regard of men Christ could not give his blood as an obligatory satisfaction for them, intitling them to all grace
and pardon; for then he cannot give them sense of pardon of sin before establishment in grace but he must
needs open a doore of liberty to them to adventure to sin against him with [illegible] especially for some great
advantage to ye flesh both wch make against his glory, either to open a liberty to any to sin against him
or to be unable to give any sense of pardon to a poore trembling sinner (though he hath promised
it) before he be established in grace:

Other reasons I could name wch Christs blood given for ye redeeming of all men must needs be given
as a propitiation, to make god have a fulnes of satisfaction alwayes ready by him, whereby to be
able to satisfie his iustice and pacifie his wrath for every man whilst he proffers to strive with them
by his grace and spirit toward his bringing them to knowledge of his wayes and by knowledge to faith and
by faith to himselfe for purging, healing, renuing in heavenly grace, continuall pardoning and saving in
eternall life: ffor otherwise he could not have forgivenes with him, as it is affirmed 130 psal 4
yt he may be feared, but only forgivenes belonging of right to some wch may be challenged for it; neither
could he have a power of healing and recovering all by grace for want of a propitiation whereby to
be satisfying his iustice while he is dealing with them to heale and recover them, but his arme of power
of this propitiation must needs be short in regard of many that he cannot save them, and god
must be said in regard of such, not only yt he will not save them but yt he cannot save them for want
of power or liberty thereto from his iustice: But this shall suffice for ye shewing what I understand
to be generall redemption wth some grounds and reasons of my understanding it thus.

Having thus stated it, for ye fuller clearing of it I desire to premise some few things fitt to be
taken notice of, ~~[illegible]~~ and considered of wch will serve to ye more easy shewing the things it leads unto;
wch are 1. ye condition man is in by nature, was in, at Christs undertaking to dye for them, namely as
under ye execution of death to be immediately inflicted yt day for ye offence it selfe, so also by ye stroke of
iudgement already inflicted, fallen into spirituall death corruption sinfulnes of nature, wch while continuing
in him will howerly renue guilt upon him unto condemnation and make him unfitt for heaven;
2ly ye necessity hereupon of Christs interposing yt day, if he would save or continue them alive to dye
as a ransome for them from yt dayes threatned death: 3ly ye condition he still left all men in their
roote in, after his undertaking to dye as their ransome, namely in their spirituall death sinfulnes
and corruption of nature to partake thereof by birth from posterity to posterity: 4ly the necessity
hereupon of his giving his blood as to be a ransome from ye present execution of ye day, so also to be
either an obligatory satisfaction or a propitiatory one at least, for ye pardon of all their sinfull
and future sinns, that he might be able to save them fully whereby god might be either bound or at least able wth iustice to pardon all their
daily continued sinfulnes and renued sins and guilt till he should either heale them or cast them of:
5ly the proper and full salvation yt men remaining in this their spirituall dead sinfull and guilty condition
after satisfaction thus made for them by blood, doe still need and the necessity thereof yt they may live eternaly; wch cannot
be pardon of their sins only from time to time, nor yet ye imputation only of all Christs righteousnes and benefits
to them thereby, nor yet faith hereunto setting a man only upon mans workes and services for god and Christ
but ye washing and recovering out of yt sinfulnes corruption and spirituall deadnes yt they are fallen into, and their
birth of water or washing grace and of spirit or spirituall life and their renuing into ye image of ye heavenly one
together wth continuall pardon to ye end; without wch birth both in washing and in ye heavenly image no man
can be eternaly saved by pardon, as appeares 1 corinth. 15. 49. 50. 3. John 3. 5. These three things
make up the internall salvation for men for everlasting glory, whether they gett them by faith on
Christ for them, in wch way they yt live to understanding must gett them; or without faith by god for them

Reverend & much Honᵈ Sr

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I returne you this second thankes for your Booke of the millennium. the Subject is of great weight and fitt for the deepest thoughts of all Xtians 7 especially of one soe neere another world as I am but as the dullness of my understanding stopt mee from assenting even to those two arguments on wᶜʰ you cast your glove for an answer in another Booke: soe it occasioneth many doubts about this treatise though your plainness and weight of the matter makes the reading of it very pleasant to mee: wᶜʰ provoketh mee to address my selfe to you as a really humble desirer of your further help, not knowing of any one from whom I may soe hopefully expect it: I crave your answer to these following Questions.

1 Doth the Revelation mention one thousand yeares only or two.

2ᵒ If but one, doth not that begin upon the fall of Babilon. I have striven hard to believe that Pagan Rome was not Babilon, and yᵉ text will not give mee leave.

3ᵒ Why say you yᵗ Christs Kingdom beginneth at yᵉ thousand yeares when soe
hath ~~he~~ hee not government by Lawes, and judiciall execution long before
many texts tell us of his Kingdom existent long before, yea a Kingdom among us and within us.

4ᵒ Doe not the Spirits of the perfected just with the angels now constitute the Jerusalem above, and is not that this Kingdom of Christ and doth hee not now reign

5ᵒ Shall these blessed Soules come lower for a thousand yeares and dwell either with Devills, or where the Devills now dwell in the aire; if they come thither with Christ at Judgment shall they dwell there soe long. and is it not worse a place than where they are.

6ᵒ Seeing the heavens yᵗ now are must be burnt is not the aire the lower part of that heaven (or part at least) and shall Christ and the new Jerusalem dwell in that consuming fire.

7ᵒ I cannot possibly find what time you allot to yᵉ conflagration of heaven whether it shall continue burning all the 1000 yeares or be quickly dispatched at first.

8ᵒ Nor yet what time or measure you sett to yᵉ conflagration of the earth doth it burne all at once or by gradation as Dʳ Cressener thinks beginning at Rome and soe going on. and is it all the 1000 yeares proceeding to its dispatch: if soe 1ᵒ. Its a wonder yᵗ this long fire consumeth not Gog and Magog. 2ᵒ: And if the inhabitants fly from it as at Ætna whither doe they carry their goods, and where find they roome, both the Saints and Sinners.

9ᵒ Is it the new earth all the while it is burning.

10ᵒ If it be burnt at once at yᵉ beginning where are yᵉ Surviving Saints yᵗ while.

11ᵒ Is there two new Jerusalems or but one: one you place in the aire. and there is the beloved City on earth wᶜʰ Gog and Magog assault, is not that a new Jerusalem: (or is there three, if that now above yᵉ aire be one before Christs descent.

12ᵒ You avoid many difficulties by holding but one Resurrection. but what then becomes of the bodies of all the wicked yᵗ die during yᵉ 1000 yeares, doe Soul and body goe to hell together unburied, or doe only their Soules suffer and their bodies never rise:

13ᵒ Is there one conflagration or two. yᵉ Scripture speaketh but of one: And then what becomes of the new earth at yᵉ end of the thousand yeares are not Gogg and magogg burnt last.

14ᵒ Is the beloved City on earth in one place (and where) or over yᵉ whole earth.

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15 Is not ye numbers yt cover ye earth as ye sand of the Sea with Gog and Magogg in
:sistant with the description of the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, an
with the times of restitution when ye groaning creation shall be delivere
from ye Bondage of corruption into a Paradise state; even ye creatures that
unwillingly suffer.

16 Why say you yt bruites shall be annihilated, yt are said to be subdued in hope.

17 Doe ye Surviving Saints on earth see the Kingdome in the aire? if not how say you
must be there for appearance? when in heaven now and for ever ye Citizens
appear to one another.

18 Is it a better state to be embodyed in ye aire then to ~~be~~ be as ye Saints shall be
ye 1000 years? and is not yt the going of the Spirit to god yt gave it? if it be better
why are Souls brought from it? if worse why returne they to it after the
thousand years?

19 Is it not plain force to make Pauls words yt seeme to make all ye change
be presently upon ye Sound of the trumpet, to import many hundred year
delay of the taking up of the Surviving Saints. both Paul and Peter seeme
to think otherwise.

20 And I understand not the force of your answer to this fetch'd from ye distan
of the death of them that dyed 1700 years agoe; for they were not to ris
till ye coming of Christ, and then they rise as speedily as the rest.

21 If ye Judiciary Sentence be (as you say) only at ye beginning and ending of ye 1000 year
are all ye wicked unsentenced & uncondemned yt dye during ye rest of ye 1000 years? &
Sentence passeth on their bodies at last.

22 How is there a great impassible gulfe betweene Dives & Lazarus if they dwell in ye aire
together

23 If (as you say p. 3) none of ye Saints be perfected one with out ye other, are ye Sain
on earth all ye 1000 years from their birth to their death as perfect as those in ye air
or are none ~~above~~ perfect till ye thousand years end?

24 Is it called a new earth only morally for righteousness sake (when Gog and Mag
reigne) or materially alsoe, as altered and refined by ye fire, and if soe how is it
new before ye fire have done

25 Is the nations bringing their glory into ye new Jerusalem noe more than their acknow
:ledging it to come thence?

26 What is ye healing of the nations by the leaves of the tree of life, if they be before
perfectly healed. or reprobates yt will not be healed.

27 How shall I prove yt ye delivering up ye kingdome to ye father yt god may be all in
all, doth end all ye kingdom of Christ (as man and as Mediatour) it endeth his restorin
healing governmt as a physician yt hath cured all his hospitall ceaseth to be there Phy
:sician for further cure: And as a Generall att ye end of a warre is no more a mi
:tant Generall: But as a reward of his Success, one may be the Lord of those yt hee
hath conquered and reduced: it is ye will of Christ yt those yt are given him may be
with him where he is, to behold ye glory given to him. this speaketh him to be the
mediatour of fruition, when hee ceaseth to be ye Mediatour of acquisition. how prov
you yt Christs humane nature shall be glorifyed but a thousand yeares, or yt wee shall se
glory given him but 1000 yeares. shall not ye church for ever be ye body of Christ and hee
the head?

28 I thought yt gods being all in all after ye delivery had meant yt ye ffather who judg
noe man as innocents by ye Law of perfection, but hath committed all judgment to ye Son
as Mediatour by a Regiment of grace to restore them to innocency and bring them to
perfection, should now when ye restoration is finished governe them againe as inno
:cent or perfect without any further cure by the mediatour god may be all in all
while Christ is mediator of fruition; is hee not all in all while yet ye whole creation
manifesteth his glory as a resplendent medium? "

29 I doe with dread read your description of god being all in all and of our state before
after ye millennium. my dread is the tempting tendency of it because of my reverenc
of

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of your Iudgmt. The strongest temptation yt ever assaulted mee, was to question
whether all Spirits bee not God. or one universall Spirit emaning from God as light
from ye Sun, and yt matter only is divisible and individuateth numericall differences.
and soe whether matter bee not as the body of this universall Soul, and soe the world as
Soul and body bee not God I find Dr Henry Moor (whom I think you follow) mantaine yt
Christ is the eternall Spirit of an eternall body (which wee eat in ye Sacramt) and John
Turner of St Thomas hospitall his Colleague calls this Spirit and body the Son and the
holy ghost, and yet creatures, but Dr Moor omits ye name of creatures, but seemeth rather
to bee for emanation: But both seeme to take ye Trinity to bee, 1°: The prime spring of being
ye Father. 2°: An eternall universall Spirit, the Son. 3°: Eternall purest matter like
light ye holy Ghost: You say yt ye whole Intellectuall nature in Christ might
bee reconciled to God with ye whole inferiour creation (wch having served ye glory of the
Creatour by Jesus Christ they fly back into their former state of nothing in themselves, but
indeed are returned into ye Divine immensity and Angels and men bee united to God for ever.
and p: 18.18 yt high expression can fitt noe state but of God all in all even as hee was before
ye foundation of the world all in all, and to which state our Lords words see much referre
when all ye Saints are thus one with God in Christ then is hee all in all as before ye world
began. noe doubt by the world you meane all worlds: and you well call it (nothing in
themselves) for before ye world was, there was nothing but God: ~~all~~ and soe to bee all in
all is to bee all in nothing for ἐν πᾶσιν being plurall in sense signifyeth some crea-
tures existent and not God alone. I find Peter Sterry and some other great witts use
much ye opinion of an universall Soul, and yt ye same eternall word yt was united to ye
humane nature of Christ as a top branch did as one Soul animate ye whole materiall
creation: But I imagine yt they rather thought with Aristotle yt ye world was eternall
than yt from all eternity till 6000 yeares agoe and less there was noe being but God,
nor will bee againe after ye Millennium, when there was noe creature there was noe-
thing but ye Creator. If our Souls were from eternity either they were God himselfe,
or they were soe many created Spirits then made to bee after put into bodyes: I will not
trouble you with arguing against this either as held by ye Pythagoreans, or by them yt suspend
millions of Spirits from ye bodyes wch from eternity they were created for. and if Souls
lose their individuation and created existance and returne into ye being of God, as
candles extinct into ye illuminated aire or Sun, then they are as truly God now as they
were God from eternity: And is God a Sinner, or doth hee torment himselfe? And it is the
whole created intellectuall nature yt you ~~meane~~ mention: as if all ye damned & Devills
alsoe should become God, as they were before ye world was: or all Angels at ye least, and so
all being ~~have~~ save God: If you think yt God will cause new worlds hereafter, and cease to bee
all in all, by your principles you must rather say hee will againe become himselfe
new worlds. No doubt but God is indivisible and but one: And are all Soules so. ‖
I cannot understand how God is now less All in All than hee was before ye world was made
there is noe more an all for him to bee All in. and hee is as neere to bodyes as to Spirits
and to every creature as it is to it Selfe immediatione et Suppositi et virtutis for
hee is immense and ~~omnipotent~~ omnipresent. ‖ And I deny not a sort of unition of
all Entity to God as the prime pregnāt Ens. even of all naturall beings (not ex-
cepting Devills) to ye God of nature. for in him wee live and move and have
~~our~~ being; and wee are his offspring. But as I cannot think yt God is partible, and that
wee are parts of the Deity, ~~neither can I think~~ no not partes intelligibiles etiamsi
indivisa, and soe yt Creation is an increase of Deity, soe neither can I think yt our union
wth God or wth Christ is like the Hypostaticall union of the Divine & humane nature
in Christ, and maketh us one person (no more than one Substance) wth ye Father, Son
& holy Spirit. I think yt there is an union of Dependence & contiguity in all ye creati-
on as from and of and to ye Creator, as lines from ye Center, & effects from one
cause, though yet ye said effects bee neither in Specie vel numero ye same wth the
cause or one another (commonly): as a crab and a sweet apple grow on one tree, &
divers trees and plants on one garden, land and earth, and yt contiguous to the
same aire &c, but when there is noe created entity, there is noe Unition to the
Deity of that which is not. ‖ The word in esse indeed may be improperly used of such
as wee say yt future effects are in their causes and call that virtualiter in esse; but
this is but to speak ineptly through want of words for a future effect is noe effect; and the
cause is noe cause formaliter till it effect, it is but an inept denomination a materia
posita, or a virtute materiae: but denominatio propria est a forma: soe yt the union

[illegible] of nothing with god can signifie noe more than yt there is nothing but god. Indeed if we
hold the eternity of the world wee may say that it is an eternall effect of an eternall cause and th
only mutations are temporall; And that the eternall spirituall virtus may be of as an eternall
eternall cause of universall substance and motion. but this will lead towards their opinion that take the wo
to be god as consisting of ye universall spirituall virtus, and universall matter; though it will not
-ny the creation of divers successive worlds as made by meere alteration.
I speake all this about your notion with ye feare of prophanation lest I heare, who is this yt darkneth co
-cil by words without knowledge And say (as Subtile Cajatan) in sola ignorantia quietem invenit intellec
and in an implicite faith. — But having beene oft assaulted with an argumt too hard for mee, gi
tell you what answer I have given in divers bookes that I may beg your better answer. 1
Their argumt is Ens perfectissimum est Deus: Universalitas (seu totalitas) entitatis existentis
est Ens perfectissimum: Ergo Universalitas entitatis existentis est Deus. — Minorem prob
Quia esse pars est esse quid imperfectum: Totum enim plus habet entitatis quam pars: si mund
est ens et aliquid entitatis aliquid habet: at entitas dei, et entitas mundi, sunt entitati
plus quam Dei solius. the son and ye father have more entity than ye son alone. 11 To this I ha
oft said. 1o: That ab ignotis non est disputandum contra notissima. 2o (though Dr Subtilis
contradict it) perhaps even ens non dicitur univoce de deo et creaturis, and therefore ye analogi
-call entity of the creature is noe addition to ye entity wch is Divine. 3o: They reply
yt analogicall entity is quid reale or else ye whole creation is nothing, but a Chimera al
see yt wch is nothing, can doe nothing, and suffer nothing I say. That though ye Schools say
nihil est in deo praeter deum, et deus non habet accidentia, & they distinguish emanation &
creation, and Creation & Traduction by Generation &c yet I humbly offer to further inquiry.
1o Whether emanation & creation ejusdem be not consistent: And God doe not create by Emanation this
word signifying, not the meere extension of his own Substance (wch is still Immense) but a Volunta
(or arbitrary) efflux of operative virtue, and whether yt may not be a creative operation, the
pregnant Ens, volendo. causing causing new Entity ex nihilo: (And whether Arbitrarynes in this con
-sist not with a necessitas ex perfectione) as I have essayed oft (in Meth: Theologiae et alibi) to prove
creation and traduction by Generation consist, God as ye pregnant ens primum communicating tha
emaning virtue wch shall produce ye Soul both in genere Substantiae et in specie when it is received du
by that seminal virtues and further by them carried towards the effect (as ye Sun sends forth all ye beams tha
on a burning glass by wch it lighteth candles, without wch it could not be done) Soo may not God by a Creativ
Emanation (divine virtutis) first produce created Substance (out of nothing) and by the due various recep
-on and reagency of Spirited Substance, diversify things by alterations & variegations: yea or by prima
Emanation create variety of Spirits and Seminall vertues yt yet are not himselfe. 2o: And why may
not be held yt deus habet accidentia: are not relations accidents. and though ye Thomists hold yt it is
creature yt is related to god, and not god to ye creature, yet Albertinus and others confute that. and who
think yt creator, Dominus, rector, amator, are not as true Relations, as creatura, proprium, subditus. But
because they will say, yt relation hath noe reall entity distinct from yt quid absolutum, I say further, what
absurdity followeth if we think yt ye whole world is a reall accident of God; and soo noe part, and yet noe
addition of entity. Yea though Logicians distinguish accidents from parts whether e.g. a mans haire may
not be called pars accidentalis (though ye Question is but de nomine:) and what if a man could voluntarily
make it grow and cut it of at his pleasure. it cannot be said yt homo & coma or crines have more entity
than homo alone. because ye entity of ye haire is soe of the man as yt it is an inherent accident of himselfe
and homo comprehendeth such kinde of accidents. and soe ye world is noe such addition to divine entity (though
it be not a meere nothing) as can prove God to be pars universalitatis

30 I cannot reconcile your [finall and most utter cessation of action and being utterly consumed) wth tormenting
punishmt of ye beast and others. but I suppose you meane yt they are tormented but during ye 1000 years after
after dead. and I doubt your putting ye Saints after ye 1000 yeares into ye State as before ye world, is but there doub
31- too (or being goods) ——— 31 — How doth this Stand wth all those texts yt tell us yt Xts Kingdome
is an everlasting kingdom — and he reigneth for ever, and yt it is life eternall to know him, and they live, be
-cause hee liveth, and shall see his glory, and die no more &c all these doubts make me ask you. ——

32 Is your opinion any safer to mee, or more honourable to god and Saints than to hold — 1 — That ye great Sab
-batisme shall be more than a thousand yeares even everlasting — 2o: That ye conflagration and taking up
ye Saints at Xts coming (wee shall be all changed in a moment) shall be done with speed — 3o — Though Judgment
be in ye aire ye new Jerusalem perfected shall be in heaven — 4o — That Xts Kingdom of acquisition
or recovery was by various gradations exercised on earth, all power being given him, and all Judgmt
committed to him, and ye finall Sentence only at ye day of Judgmt & ye execution to everlasting. —
5o — That Xt shall for ever be ye head of ye Church, and have a Kingdom of glory for his Kingdom of recovery &
shall be by yt glory a mediator of our glory, who behold it — 6ly — That ye new earth shall be in a state
of restitution and better as an earthly paradise possessed by a new Generation yt god will provide and
have communion wth ye celestiall Kingdome & be partly governed by them & this for more than 1000 yrs.
7o — That ye delivering up ye Kingdome to ye father as God all in all, is but ye ending of Christs Medicinall and
millitary acquisitive Governt, having reduced all ye rebellious world to god who henceforth will rule
them as recovered without a militant and medicinall regiment.

33 Were I constrained to believe a cessation of Souls individuation (wch I doe not believe) I would rather be
-lieve their confusion in one created Soule yt hath partible bodys, than into ye meer Deity to be god or nothing.
but wee have great evidence of continued individuation.

34 I have many great doubts to propose to you about ye calling of the Jewes, but I will not now mention yt because
your catechisme passeth by yt matter. & I dare offer you no more least I defeat my hopes of your favourable &
speed answer of this wch I intreat you to send to him yt is hasting to ye unseen world hath present need of resolution

Dear Sr

I look at myself as much engaged to you not only for the book & catechisme you sent but especially for your care about my queries. And I humbly & heartily thank that reverend person for his condescending pains. I am ~~thoroughly~~ fully satisfyed as to the latter querie, it being so very consonant to what I apprehended. Only there are such additionall propositions besides the main querie as I should not have thought of which are very welcome to mee. But as to the answer to the former querie, I am not so clear, either mistaking what's written; or which is most probable, because I wrote in haste least I should come too late ere Mr B's incurable distemper had translated him hence. And therefore I have thought meet more fully to set down what I conceive about this matter, & if you can procure this favour for mee from Mr B. to shew mee where I mistake, I shall take it as a very great kindnesse. You are not wholly ignorant that upon his majesty's licensing us to preach, my lot fell to succeed one, who had had one of his majesty's Castles, & the Bp's house, had been a collonel, a parliament man, one of the Councill of State, a justice of peace (and would justifie himself when I told him how unsuitable those secular employments were esteemed & proved by Nonconformists ~~to~~ to the ministeriall office) but being stript of all upon the Kings return was the most violent opposer of hearing the conformists that ever I knew. This hath left so great an impression upon his relations & some few others that they spend their zeal too much in censuring such Nonconformists as dissent in this particular. my work hath been something to moderate their censures, at least. And because the charity of those that are thus opinionated is so extreamly narrow that they will allow no latitude as to such qualifications as concern a minister's life, I have thought meet to wave all such matters in discoursing with them. And therefore when they assault mee with their horned argument, That either they are ministers of Christ or of Anti[christ] I tell them that I judge it lawfull in cases of necessity & when wee can do no better to hear persons that have ability to discourse to our edification although they were no ministers at all. nay although they were no Christians. Else why do ministers read & cite heathen authors; and Paul himself, Aratus, Menander & others. And if a man should be notoriously no Christian or live so scandalously as that by the rules of discipline hee is to be avoided, yet as its no breach of discipline to eat with one that is excommunicated when its not done out of free choice but in performance of some necessary duty; so neither is it a breach of discipline to hear such when an apparent necessity calleth us to it. I tell them also that by our Saviour inveighing against the Scribes & Pharisees at such a dreadfull rate, & yet not condemning the people for hearing them in such necessity as was ordinarily upon them, its apparent that the highest undervaluing men whose work it is to expound the Scriptures ~~is~~ is not inconsistent with occasionall hearing of such men. And although Dr Ham: denyeth them to be teachers (as do some Separatists on the contrary extream) yet its so common for this doctor to have no mercy on the Scripture when hee tortureth it to make it speak for Church-of-Englandisme, as Stillingfleet in his Irenicon hath notably shewed by his monstrous interpretation of [illegible] Acts [illegible] & Mr B. in preface to disp: about church government by his interp: of James 5.14 & by the very reading of his interp: of 2 Tim: 2.4 may appear. that I thinke his singular interpretation contrary to the interpretation of all others of any note for learning that ever I met with, is little to be heeded. Especially it being so easy a matter both from Matt: 23. & many another place to prove they were teachers although they might not be true teachers. And as I remember Diodate speaketh of them as irregularly intruded into the place of teachers through the defect of priests. I tell them also of those that Paul complaineth of Philip: the 1. who yet were preachers though I cannot say in a strict sense that they were ministers. And one would thinke that they might be heard in some cases although they usually do more hurt than good, by what our Saviour speaketh about their making proselytes. Unlesse the meaning be this, that in drawing persons to Judaisme their main designe was to draw them to pharisaisme, where it took fully they were worse than before, because so directly principled against Christ. But being they must draw them to Judaisme in order to this, the work might often stay there, & so do good. Somewhat like the Jesuites drawing the heathens to Christianity & withall it may be to the height of popery; whither if their work proceed, they make them more fierce opposers of the truth than while heathens. I always tell persons in discourse about this matter that both our Saviour & Paul intimate that there is a vast difference between ~~the~~ such men & those that are duely qualifyed. And that therefore people are to hear them with the greatest caution. Matt. 23.1.2. And not to chuse to do it when all circumstances considered they can do better. But yet methinks its better that persons that cannot or will [not] read the Scriptures in a known tongue nor make use of better helps; hear the Scriptures by a drunken reader, than keep the Sabbath altogether as Sabbath [illegible]; when magistrates not constraine them to do better. And I thought I had Mr B's consent as to the main of what I have now written partly ~~by~~ by what I observed [illegible] Ecclesiasticall cases q. 8. where wee have these words. A man that professeth not faith & godlyness

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(such an one I took him to be who is mentioned a little after as certainly unfitly) is not to be taken for a minister nor heard as such. This I thought did imply that he might be heard in some cases, although not as such. And answer to Danvers p.322. he putteth him to prove, that it is a sin to hear a popish priest read gods word, or any good book though it were a protestants or one of the ancient fathers; or to hear him speak the truest doctrine though in a country where it can no other way be heard or learned. I desire to know as speedyly as you can how far I mistake in this matter, either Mr B's meaning, or the truth. I have no temptations from the world that I know of to engage me to this opinion, but have had much rather to the contrary as I could easyly make appear. Only now of late there hath been some stir about recusants. But yet although I have not been at Church on any Lords day that I know of for above two years, it lying out of the road of my work; & never at my parish Church at all; it being not expected that I know of; yet I hear of none that have concerned themselves with my absence, when as others that have gone frequently have yet met with trouble. And by what I have written you may also see that though I have been censured as over admiring Mr B. which no man more than himself hath forbidden me & others to doe, yet it is not R.B. but the R. of B. I mean by whose apprehensions all that commandeth respect from

Yor unfeignedly affectionate

Tho: Hill.

my real respects to Mrs Chester & yor son

Tho: Danvers told me of a letter by Mr Bennet but I have not met with it.

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Sir

I did some time since send you a booke written in
my defence by one who cals himselfe Theop: Churchman
who plaieth the wag with Dr Heylin more than it
would have become Mr Hickman to doe. the Dr is soe
angry with it that he threatneth to father it on the
next Mr Barlow & make him his adversary. it is no
matter what so peevish a writer doth but I'me pret
ly confident he'l not acquit himselfe tho a great man
hath said that the cause is betrayed & why soe? be
cause universal redemption is asserted in the way of
Dr Davenant the fathers, the Scriptures. Mr Stubbs
hath now shewen himselfe to be Mr Stubbs, & suf
ficiently bespattered you none at the university doe
expect you should returne any answer to so inconsi
derable an adversary. it would argue too much of
distrust of your writings to rescue them from such
petty trifling opposition. but I dare not give you my
counsele at this distance. for what shews no need of
at Oxon may bee requisite for other places. I ~~und~~
understand from some of our ingeniosos that your
holy Commonwealth had like to have comitted a peece
of murder on Mr Harrington for he thought he
had found you quoting Herodotus to prove the
rudenesse of the Roman Soldiers & hereupon did
fall into such a laughter that caused a colliquium
out of which the Physitians scarcely recovered him
& some in Oxon would not beleeve but you had
so mistaken your selfe till I had shewed them
the passage you quoted out of Herodotus. I intend about
a month hence to set about the Parables. if you
have noted any thing that may be helpefull
yt way I shall bee glad to ~~see~~ see it

no more at present but that Dr Ward is chosen
president of Trinity. & that I am Sir

~~Octo~~ Sept 24th
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Yrs to serve you
Hen: Hickman

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Reverend Sr

40 What your letter expresseth concerning Mr Hills desire that his daughter my Sister Clark might buy that land which was somtimes his, which out of your great respect to her, you are also pleased to joine in, I & my wife are very ready to yield to. Her piety & true love to my wife above all the rest of her kindred may justly challenge a greater courtesy, & although, I cannot but say her Father hath been very unkinde to us, yet whilst I stand in so much need of forgivenes of greater offences, I may not but forgive such lesser discourtesies, especially seeing (as I understand by my Sisters letters) God is doing infinitely more for him by more gracious workings upon his Spirit, by blessing your happy help to him, but Sr seeing your self joine in the request you fully conclude me, who should be very sorry to deny you any thing in my power, to whom both my self and the Church of God owe soe much for your holy & unwearied labours in his work & service. I humbly blesse God for the continuance of your life & health, & as he shall please to help me shall be his remembrancer in the behalf of your self, & in you of his Church, that your body (which your books tell us is but weake & crasie) may be upheld in such a measure of health & strength, & your spirit yet more inriched wth grace & abilities, that you may still serve your generation according to the will of God before you fall asleep in him. I perceive you have work enough on every hand. & that the Mrs of Northamptonshire may be ready to help you to more, but your experience hath let you know that God increaseth our strength as he doth our work, nor yet doe I thinke it will be overgreat, though you will have to doe wth a restlesse, wrangling, scornfull [illegible] Adversary. Sr wth my own & wifes very high respects presented. I crave your prayers, and shall be desirous to approve my self

Sr

your affectionate Brother
in our Saviour

Anthony Tuckney

Cambridg Septemb. 8. 1658

[illegible] you in advising me and acquainting me [illegible] his dayly blessing on [illegible] you yet more serviceable to his Church [illegible] the [illegible] you may blesse you & bless
[illegible] you [illegible] you may [illegible] this is [illegible] the [illegible] of him & [illegible] my [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

LETTERS

fol 121. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Ffinchley Mar: 16: 1657

Worthy Sir

If you shall vouchsafe an answer direct it to Mr [illegible] Newtons shopp at [illegible] at the [illegible] in [illegible] by whom [illegible]

It being a received saying that where the matter is serious & the auditory, or him to whom our address is made, is [illegible]; there all prefaces are needlesse. I shall without any apology tell you my errand & wait patiently for your answer. God hath by a remarkable providence removed me from Westminster library where I once was the keeper as I told you, to the Parish of Ffinchley in Middlesex within 7 miles of London. I will not trouble you so farre as to tell you the manner: only thus: I was purely passive in it; being by the Patron & [illegible] whose face I had never seen, sent to, the twenty [illegible] the next Sabboth. I was [illegible] of [illegible] had [illegible] at probation, the Parish without any opposition [illegible] their [illegible] in my behalfe [illegible] generally [illegible] their [illegible] I have [illegible] this 3 monthes [illegible] your worthy [illegible] amongst whom my [illegible] is [illegible] of your [illegible] lively [illegible] by going 3 dayes in a weeke to [illegible] I [illegible] as much [illegible] Their way of calling is such as will scarcely admitt of the performance of family duty & the due observance of the Lords day. They are [illegible] ignorant selfe-willed people. I have about 100 [illegible] of whom I have not one [illegible] & [illegible] my care [illegible] that they shall be taught [illegible] be taught any thing but to steale & pilfer. Sir I thanke you for your [illegible] Galwaine [illegible] able to put it in practice [illegible] I hope I shall shew it by endeavouring [illegible] at present [illegible] As for visiting from house to house I have allwayes [illegible] I will divide amongst them [illegible] in [illegible] my body [illegible] very weake. I earnestly desire you would give me your judgement concerning the baptizing the infants of all that shall desire it because you seeme to be against it in your call to the unconverted pag: 112 [illegible] them if they will but [illegible] baptisme [illegible] right to baptisme [illegible] I would [illegible] but [illegible] I have but few families [illegible] Education I know not why I might not baptize it. I hope if I be in an errour you will not let me goe [illegible] any [illegible] they shall come to 12 or 14 yeares of age to [illegible] owne their Baptismall vow I am very confident you never did or will dislike [illegible] Sir I [illegible] not any advantage [illegible] being to be baptized [illegible] I have you usually alone in my [illegible] & can take better [illegible] As for the Sacrament of the Lords Supper [illegible] 3 monthes [illegible] I am not bound to [illegible] I doubt not but you have seene [illegible] [illegible] I am [illegible] being [illegible] They are generally very [illegible] I might [illegible] Sir I did not know [illegible] I hope I shall never disoblige you by [illegible] my Education [illegible] you are my ffather [illegible] the Library [illegible] not only my selfe but Sir Thomas [illegible] in London [illegible] of England, [illegible] [illegible] 29 of 7ber [illegible] I hope you will [illegible]

[illegible]

Reverend Sr

Although I never had the happinesse to see your face, yet you are
82 so well knowne to me, as well by ye character given of you
by many Good men, who knew you, as also by those eminently
usefull peices of yours on different subjects whereby you have
enriched ye church of God, & given evident demonstration of yor
great abilityes, choice spirit & readinesse to improove all ye talents
in ye service & for ye glory of him who hath intrusted them
wth you, yt I need not beg of you, but may assure myselfe
yt you will embrace an opportunity of communicating what
you have recd, none having given a larger testimony of this
kinde then yorselfe. This Gentleman Mr Ellis hath had (as I have
very well knowne) an ardent & longing desire for some yeares to know ye
pson, whom he hath (as most Good men in this nation) knowne in
yor workes, & he hath a desire to lay himselfe & his thoughts
& state, open to you, as one able to judge thereof, as also
to beg yor councell & direction for his future comfortable living
as a xtian, & for his usefull & serviceable living as a minister
of God. Sr he is one whom I knew some yeares since in
ye University, at wch time he knew not God, & neglected ye
opportunity wch God there put into his hands for his improovemt,
since his removeall from thence, God hath powerfully dealt
wth him, & I am very pswaded the man hath been under
great troubles of heart, & ye work of God hath gon on
to some good degree of pfection in him, I have observed
in him a broken frame, he is full of contrition, & I hope
God hath done him much good, & will doe good by him.
I will not trouble you wth a narrative of those ~~things~~ passa-
ges by wch I have taken a scantling of his condicon. I
onely beg of you yt you will freely (according to yor
wonted Goodnes) treat wth him, & give him leave to have
accesse to you, yt he may receive comfort at yor hands
& yt by yor meanes (if God see good) he may himselfe
be built up in or comon holy faith & may also be made
a wise master ~~builder~~ builder. This is all onely I
beg at ye hands of God a blessing upon yor unwearyed
labours in the worke of ye Lord, & yor pardon for
being troubled, by yor unknowne & unworthy (though
affectionate) friend & servt

Caxton in Cambridgeshire
May ye 19th, 1659

Robert West.

LETTERS

fol 123. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Mr Withers in Pountney lane
March ye 3d.

Honord Sir

I wrote indeed in more words concerning a place of employment then concerning
3dly yr advice as to my condition in point of conscience. But truly ye latter was
first & most in my designe, & ye other after it, and as a means to help me
to ye continuation of that tranquillity wch I trusted through ye mercy of God by yr
advice to find. And till my inward peace be better setled then as yet it is
I doe not desire to undertake ye setled employment of a Minister, that of a
Schoolmaster having been my calling these 12 yeares, & left off only
upon Trouble of conscience. As to yr requisites, If I were sure that
my heart were truly upright in God, ye world could not hinder mee by
any afflictions fro being a joyfull man. But though I have thought that I
have made it ye chief designe of my life for some yeares to save my
soule by avoyding all knowne evill & doing all knowne good, and above all
adhearing to God as ~~my~~ chief happiness and Xt my way to that happiness, yet
my walking hath been so interwoven all along with slips & falls, some of
one kind, some of another, that at length being fallen into a sinn of a
gross nature, my peace is so disturbed, that though I have retired my self
to seeke God wth ye more vacancy by meditation & prayer, though I have
used ye advice both of able Divines for my soule, & physitians for my body,
yet can I not to this day obtaine yt tranquillity of mind as to walk cheerfully,
but am perpetually assaulted wth ugly Temptations agt my faith, my
hope, my endeavors of a sincere life, and though I feele an upholding hand,
yet I recover so seldome any joy, that I am often ready to give over and
faint. Yet would I not part with my hopes for all that this world can
pretend to offer, if I know mine own heart. So that whether by my feare or hope
you may see I do believe a life to come in good earnest, & should I trust if
I had opportunity, pursue ye interests of it with all seriousness. Formality
& heartlessness I am & have been ~~but~~ too guilty of, but hope it is not pre=
=dominant, because I strive often agt it, & sometimes feele a lively affectionatenes
though ~~not~~ much seldomer then I wish. A Godly Xtian I must be supposed to
love as such if knowne to bee so upon ye same hopes yt I have of my loving Xt himself. Yet I acknow=
=ledg as to particular persons, I see allmost all men, & myself amongst ye
so apt to overvalue ye less materiall points, that I have been mistaken
[illegible] too much in judging
& censuring for none, such as (I now hope) are very hearty & sincere ones.
I see in my own heart & practice a great proneness to be forward &
Zealous for opinions, whiles I have (and so much ye sooner) overlooked
ye practicall part. In summe There are those whose great zeale to particular
holiness less necessary truths make them indulge themselves in ye neglect of yt hearty love
& impartiall practice of fundamentall duties wch is necessary, & there are
others whose zeale to holiness & fundamentall duties have made them
overlooke some considerable truths, though not absolutely necessary. And
these latter I looke upon as farr ye better Xtians; and I pray God I may
be more & more joyned both in affection & conversation to all such, how differing
soever in judgment fro mee. Yet this much I must needs say

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That what is not necessary to others because not known to be true, are necessary to me not to be contradicted by word or practice, because sincerity in ye least matters is necessary. If you meane therefore by not withdrawing my self from ye Communion of godly Xtians, a living in all ye offices of Xtian love & peace, a countenancing & assisting them in ye promotion of true piety agst all Atheism, infidelity, looseness & profaneness, I heartily embrace it, but if you should take it necessary for me yt doe thinke Episcopall government now when it may be had, to joyne in such acts or exercises of authoritative discipline as to me are Episcopall, that I conceive would be a contradiction to my principles. Yet as in such ~~things~~ acts I could not joyne, so would I not discountenance, nor intermeddle to disturbe by word or deed, but shew my good esteeme of those ~~[illegible]~~ by my loving converse from whom I dissented. And therefore I should be very willing to take advice how to behave my self inoffensively. For though I must be ingenuous to say by holding Episcopacy, to believe those only in Ecclesiasticall constitution regularly ordeined who are Episcopally ordeined, yet god forbidd I should say their churches are so quite out of Xt, their ministeriall acts ineffectuall to ye salvation of ye people. He that in other things walkes uprightly though he be ordeined ye Presbyterian way, I should love & respect, yet would I rather choose (for ye avoyding of scruples) fix my habitation where there is a Minister Episcopally ordeined ceteris paribus. ~~[illegible]~~

But as to these & some other particulars, if it shall please God to make you an instrument of my inward peace, I shall be very willing to receive & give further satisfaction. In ye meane time I humbly crave yor hearty prayers to God in my behalf, & beseech him to direct me to some hearty sincere servant of his, by whose meanes I may be setled & comforted first inwardly, & then, if it please him, outwardly. I am very glad to heare yor country is so well furnisht. The 6li a yeare, if I had a house, would content me very well for ye present, till I had received & given farther satisfaction. But when shall I expect that, till you know me better. I beseech God to facilitate & hasten my acquaintance with you (if it be for his glory & my eternall welfare) as much as may be. When it shall please him that I come to speake with you, I intend to bring ye hands of some persons wch may better satisfy you, or if I doe not, to give you very good reasons why I doe not. In ye meane I thanke you for yor letter & rest

Yor truly loving Brother Will: Hicks.

Salop Wedn Febr. 12. 1689/90

Reverend Sr,

4 I received your welcom letter, and am glad I disposed of your charitie according to your mind, and shall be ready to serve you in that, or in any thing else to my power.

As to the notorious lye yt goes through ye Court & Town, as you say, yt I am a Papist Priest or Jesuit, & yt 2 Trunks of mine filled with Priestly Ornamts were found in a Papists house, & yt Mrs Hunt had cast me off, take this Account.

About ye years 1678 or 79, when Oates discovered ye Plot, some blind people reported here, yt I was a Jesuit &c, but that was soon hissed out. But in ye beginning of 81, when for some months I was in France again wth yong Mr H., the report was renewed again, but upon my return vanished.

In June 85, in Monmouths invasion, when my wife dyed suddainly here, & I coming to bury her, was confined about 10 daies here & then sent to Chester castle, I had 2 or 3 hours allowed me to dispose of my things, & in yt hurry threw them as well as I could. Among the rest I had a Desk, with drawers in ye backpart, & a place before them of ye bigness of the larger sort of paper, to hold papers, writings, & account books; and what other things in yt hast I might throw into it, I know not.

In yt winter, ano 85, being at London, Mr Richd Price wrote to me, yt ye report of my being a Priest or Jesuit was hotter then ever, without giving me ye reason of it, & yt the had shown Mr Newport, Mr Hunt &c ye falsness of it.

In May, 87, I went down to stay at Salop, & heard a strong report of it, but could not find out ye Particulars or Author of it; but in Octobr following, a watchmaker told a story of it before many, who acquainted me with it. I had left that desk with other things at Mr Price's, who about Mich: 85. seized on one of his Tenants (a Papist) goods for rent, who being a Prisoner in one of ye Serjeants houses, after some time sent his rent, & requir'd his goods, and my desk through carelesness was sent amgt his goods. The key being wanting, it was opened by a Smith, and a watchmaker a sory fellow, & allied to Papists if not one himself, & who saith he was oft at Mass in Lancashire, was at ye opening of it; and said, he saw a very rich embroidered pair of slippers lined with red velvet, & such as Priests used when they said Mass; & ye Names of divers Persons admitted by me into ye Jesuits Society, for which I took of some, 2 or 3 pounds or more; & a Thing with Crosses & Images on it, such as they wear about their shoulders when they say Mass.

Hereupon I had him before ye Mayor (one Mr Salter), where he impudently justified what he had said. Thereupon I caused a pair of slippers to be produced, wch ye Serjeant (who also saw ye things opened, & when he saw whose they were presently sent them back to Mr Price) said were those yt were in ye Desk; and they were onely plain hansom slippers made of a neat stuff, & lined with red leather, which when many of ye neighbours then saw, they were convinced of his lying.

Then I produced a book wherein I wrote my Pupils Names in ye Colledg, wth yr admissions & accounts, wch he had said was ye Jesuits. But as for ye 3d thing, I knew not what might give any shadow for it, having before I knew ye particulars, taken things out of ye desk. The Serjeant being asked, said, he saw a white cloth with images on it, & skolloped at one end, & knew not whether it was woollen or linnen, and could not tell what it was. But upon enquiry yt night, I found I had given Mrs Price (as I oft used such odd things as they came to my hand) a piece of damask skolloped at ye bottom, wch (as all damask hath) had figures on it, & is somwhat woolly, & belong'd to a bed of my wives lined wth damask; the rest of ye bed so skolloped being sold to a yong woman in Town & is yet to be seen; but this piece of it being mislaid, it seems had been thrown into my desk. This was shewn ye next day to ye Mayor, & ye Serjeant own'd it to be ye thing he saw in my desk; and Mr Price also was able to attest to ye falsness of all that ye watchmaker had said. The Mayor offred me to bind him to ye good behaviour, but ye man being poor I desired he might only be reprov'd & threatned &c.

The vile man for all yt, I heard, clamour'd after that, yet I forbore to trouble him, because the Mayors Serjeant threatned any yt should report such things, & ye Mayor in a meeting of divers of ye chief Gent of ye Countrey laid the Truth before ym & satisfied them, and told me ye fellow had told divers lyes concerning ye carriage of things before him, & considerable persons advised me to despise ye fellows talk which no body regarded. Yet ye report that Priests habits were found in my desk & yt I was a Priest was gladly catched & spread abroad into all parts, and as gladly entertain'd by many; but I thought it had been quite dead before this time.

I have, Sr, thus fully mention'd for clearing ye thing to good Persons, but not to be told to such as willingly defame me, but desire yt those 2 Persons (of whom you say one is a faithfull Shrewsbury frind) would threaten those yt report such things, but they desist find out some yt say I am a Priest or Jesuit &c with good witness of ye words they speak & ye time when, yt I may advise of ye best course to stop this report effectually, and make some (if there be need) Examples. For tho I desire ye Apostles Spirit, who said, being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer; being reviled, we entreat; yet somtimes he vindicated himself, & pleaded he was a Roman; and herein I desire your assisting for ye stopping ye mouths of some that they may be ashamed.

It is ye custom of many, at least in these parts, yt are enraged at our preaching, to accuse us yt we are Jesuits, & me especially, one reason of wch may be because I have 2 or 3 times in France. In ye year 86, a Gent told me, yt one P. brother to a known Popish Lord, persuading a Gentlewoman to turn Papist, told her, that I, (mentioning my name &c) was turn'd one, and why should not she.

And

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And at ye same time, an Eminent Physician yt knows me well, told me yt being at a Papist Gents house they told him I was a Priest & had preach'd before ye King; who in a drolling way replied (for he thought it deserv'd no better an answer) yt no doubt I was a Priest if I had preach'd before ye King; & if so, I was no Contemptible person among them.

And to add one thing more, if you be not quite tired, In Aug. 87, when I, & Mr Bryan, & Dr Jackson &c prsent our modest Address to ye King at Salop, some of ye high sort, reported we were at Mass & kneeled there with the King; thô its notoriously known, we were only put in a great bow window to wait for ye Kings coming by, & when ye Mass began, curtains were drawn before us, & divers Gent. fled to us for refuge. Yet as I was told by an eminent Parliamt man (thô neither of ye Hs) George Wild (as they call him) this last Spring or Sumer, had ye confidence to say in ye House of Comons, yt ye N.C. Minrs of Shrewsbury, had been or kneeled at Mass with ye King at Salop. So ye short of it is, yt all of us must go for Papists with some who cast iniquity upon us & in wrath hate us.

fol. 125. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

I am troubled, Sr, at the new impression of Dr Crisps books, wth yt pompous shew of Names before it, and at ye ill consequences yt are like to follow it. Whether there be a need of your writing agt it now, I do not know, since you have formerly done it so fully, especially agt Mr Crandon, as also Mr Burges, Rutherford & others. But if you do, you will not I hope, widen but lessen ye differences all yt may be, & take heed of putting many of our best divines, nay & ye Articles & Homilies of this Church amgt them. Many of ye differences mention'd by divers, are about Metaphysical Notions, & new hypotheses in Divinity, wherein Eminent persons differ, yet hold the same thing. That Errour was plain & not so large wn Islebius first broached it ano 1537, as Osiander tells us; And Dr Crisp, tho he overlash & speak confusedly concerning Christ & grace, seems not to design to oppose God & holiness, or Subvert Christianity. A great fault hath been for above 20 years, to incline to neglect Christ under pretence of exalting Reason & Goodness; And if wth grief we have born with many things in this, we ought to bear wth somthing also yt inclines to ye other extreme. You are agt imposing ~~large~~ large Confessions of faith, & raising needless disputes –, You will practise yt now; And if you shall write, (if out of Zeal for ye Churches good I may throw in my advice) Pray write as little as may be, & onely reject ye greatest errours, & set out free grace as fully as may be, & where there is need, refer to your former writings, & exasperate your adversaries as little as may be. & Pardon ye freedom from

Your unfeigned frend & Servt in our Lord, F. T.

The Papers shewn you by Sr E. H. were occasiond by the discours I had wth some frends when in Town, as most plain & convincing, yt Presbyterian Ordination had been allowed, & may be allowed according to ye Bps principles, & therfore ought to be allowed now. The rest was added one to suggest a few things agt such as should despise ye Judgmt & practise of those before them. I pray you do me ye favour to point me to those chief argts in your treatise of Episcopacy (wch I have by me) that may make them stronger. And be pleased to let me know, what was proposed about those yt had Presbyterian Ordination in ye Comprehension endeavourd by Bp Wilkins &c and in what year that was. Some will not build ye Church if they could; Some would, but on many accounts cannot. but our Lord Jesus both can & will, but in his own time & way. Let us rejoice in him.

Reverent, & most worthy Sir

5 Having this opportunity now of your being at London, where it may bee you are not so much taken up in your most publick, as you have bin in your retired businesse, though I should thinke otherwise with most others; I have thought good (with your favour & pardon) to sende a few lines to you, with my humble presentment of those most hearty thanks I owe you for your courteous letter long since, & much more especially for your ingenuous telling of mee what folkes report of mee, who am indeed sure considerable enough, for any so forward to speake evill of; I confesse it little troubles mee, but it is rather some complacency to mee (being used to it in this rude place) if I can bee but really any way better than people judge of mee, who have indeed very good reason to judge but meanely of my selfe. I wish to the Lord, I may bee able to convince them all and give you no occasion to repent, you did not beleeve them. Truly Sir, to speake freely to you, I thinke my life is something too retired, & not openly bad, yet shall I desire of you to doe mee that favour the next time you see that grave minister Mr Faireclough (who I heare is joyned in consultation with you about some publick church-concernments) to aske of him farther about mee who had occasion lately both to bee one of my Examiners & to know more of mee being last summer here with his sonne (my next neighbour-minister) in the country. Sir; It is time now to returne you some answer as to your letter. I did not doe it sooner meerely out of respect & loathnes to trouble you; For your advice or counsell in generall, it was very good, & much to my minde, if I could doe it at an easier rate; but besides my weaknesse, & unfitnes for it, I must confesse I finde not my spirit very eager, as to the ministers large power, & as to circumstantialls of discipline, wherein I would yield to any thing in prudence, so long as the body might bee set up, and our consciences not in bondage by them. I am perswaded the ordinary sort of us ministers were very unapt & unweildy, to have government in our hands; yet I could wish, that certaine prudent & of the most fit men, in all places, of severall divisions, were chosen, & authoritatively empowered to call the malicious, & scandalous before them, & sharpely to rebuke them, to shame such, and then if they continue obstinate, though the meanest minister ex officio declared them then to bee avoided, it might bee looked uppon as no such troublesome or grievous matter. But as for this bare formall suspension from the sacrament alone, without ~~other~~ relation to other parts of church-communion, I have not yet any minde to it. My reasons are 1. Because wee finde this not, in the primitive patterne of discipline, to wit in Christs institution Mat. 18.17. If hee will not heare the church, it followes streight let him bee as an heathen & publicane. There is no middle thing betweene admonition & excommunication. I must confesse Erastus hath spoken shrewdly to this text. 2. Because Church censure I thinke is a binding or retaining the sins of those that are censured (Mat: 18. Mat: 16.19. Jo. 20.21.) and that is, in my reason, by casting them out of the church (not debarring from an ordinance) in the sense wee maintaine Extra quam non est salus, aut remissio. I confesse here too I have bin shewen that the Hebrewes use the termes of binding & loosing doctrinally, to wit, such or such a thing was bound by such a Rabbi, & such a Rabbi loosed it. 3. Because the scripture seemes to mee to speake in generall still, Avoid them withdraw from them, keepe not company with such &c wch may bee meant of common familiarity or of excommunication, Either of wch stands not with bare suspension. 4. Because this foments our needles scruples & divisions, breeding a superstitious conceit of this ordinance, and lookes like bowing at the name of Jesus, and not at the name of Christ, & of the father, & holy spirit. 5. Because while the ministers right here, excluding the profane from the sacrament without requiring the church to avoid them otherwise, they doe but make the sacrament & suspension both, to bee contemned, wrong church-discipline, & doe no good by it. Worthy Sir, I should take it for a very great favour (which I beg from you) if you would bestow one quarter of an houre or more to state, & distinguish for mee, this suspension, in the sense you like, & dislike it. There is a suspension they call negative, that is a Non-admission of all such (godly or not) as refuse their Elders examination; this I doubt doth doe much hurt, and I conceive is rather to bee refused (as a specious [illegible] expedient towards order) than to bee maintained. 2. There is a suspension they call Positive, and Juridicall, to wit from the sacrament alone (some say actuall remaining onely) as a censure orderly proceeded in, distinct from excommunication wch is from all parts of church-communion. And this is that device of man, I am ready to oppose, untill I am informed better, how to allow it. There is 3ly, a suspension, taking the word most properly (shall I call it Pastorall suspension?) the minister with-holding only his owne act as to this, & all communion hee can, while a person is under tryall, & so in suspense, whether his right bee good, or not, to wit as a member. and such a kind of suspension your worcestershire agreement speakes of, but me thinkes too fearefully, & not broad enough for such authority. Now this kind of way of suspension, seemes to carry a prudence convenientry) and something in it, I cannot say what, that seemes to bee handsome, yet am I not convinced, there is any necessity for it, but that it must bee taken gratis, if it bee yielded. For while a person is under tryall & you are in doubt whether hee is to bee excommunicated, 1. You cannot act in faith to turne him away, whereas you say you cannot act in faith to admit him. 2. You are therefore to encline rather on charityes side. 3. While his right is but in question, it must bee a wrong in question to deny him it; & what medium is there betweene, not giving, & denying? I cannot tell, unles advising him as most prudent to forbeare, & let him take it. 4. The only difficult case I know, here to argue some suspension, is this; Suppose a man comes newly

realing out of a scandalous sinne, say you, Excommunicated hee may not bee, wee dont know him to bee obstinate & impenitent, & it it seemes harsh to admit him; To this I answer, If the minister know hereof (for else the case is no case to him) ~~hee may privately~~ hee may goe privately to him, admonish him & advise him to prepare himselfe more solemnly, & in prudence forbeare the ordinance at this time for such & such reasons; If hee heare him, the matter is salved; If hee does not, then may hee demand of him to professe his repentance for that knowne fact; If hee does, hee may bee admitted, if hee does not, hee is ipso facto obstinate, & impenitent, & so De iure excommunicate, And then I know no reason why the minister might not (in such an extraordinary case wch is seldome like ~~[illegible]~~ to bee) pronounce him one to bee avoided, by words of scripture, as well as declare him to bee such by action, in refusing to give the sacrament to him. For one that is actually drunk hee is for the present, as one unintelligent, besides that the constable only & the stocks in such a case is a fit remedy ~~might [illegible]~~ &c. Excellent Sir, Besides this, there is something more deeply considerable unto mee in what you have put in agt Mr Blake, in your Apology, concerning the extent or comprehensivenes of the covenant; In your booke of Infant-baptisme (p:224. mihi: Edit:3) you seeme most highly to commend Mr Blakes way of opening the covenant taking in, all professors (though Reprobates) under it, with more then ordinary consent agreeing with him; & yet now you oppose him in that notion particularly, restraining the covenant so to the regenerate that you make none else to bee really church-members, but aequivocally only. I hope Mr Blake by gods grace ~~may~~ will bee able to answer you, what I cannot, for I iudge his way only (if it may bee safely embraced) is reconciling, sweete, moderate, ~~[illegible]~~ free, ~~[illegible]~~, ingenuous, & yours, let mee speake it with all lowly reverence to your selfe something unlike that more universall spirit that breathes otherwhere in your writings. Truly I am afraid hereby you should give a wound into the sides of peace, & with the blood thereof, stop up that veyne of scripture wch hee (& your selfe) ~~was~~ opening to us, to this end. &c. 1. It is manifest that the whole nation of the Jewes, were gods peculiar people in covenant with him, I thinke not aequivocally only. 2. It is plaine that the Gentiles are engrafted into the olive of the Jewes Ro:11.24. that their externall covenant relation, wch covenant must bee the covenant of grace, for else it could bee no preiudice for any of them to bee broken of, nor priviledge for any of us to bee engrafted in, & it must bee as to the externall administration, for else neither could any of them bee broken of nor any of us engrafted in. 3. It appeares that the Promise, or covenant of grace in the externall administration belongs to all that the Lord our god shall call (to those that are afarre of, that is, the Gentiles & their children, when the Lord should call any of their parents, as it did for the present to the Jewes & theirs.) Act. 2.39. 4. The called, no doubt are many more then the elect, Many are called but few chosen; The called are such (as Mr Blake observes it) that are brought in covenant, The chosen such as are brought up to the termes of it; Now it is to bee considered the called containe the chosen. As there is an Outward, & Effectuall vocation, yet that outward is Reall, So there is an outward being in covenant, & Effectuall (as wee speake for distinction sake) yet that outward is reall, & not aequivocall only. 5. The scripture puts a reall difference betweene the nation of the Jewes as being in covenant Ro:3.1.&9.4. & others that were alienated from the commonwealth of Israell, without hope, without god in the world. Eph:2.12. but if none but the Regenerate bee in covenant, there is no such difference externally betweene a Jew & Gentile, Christian & heathen, but aequivocally & nominally only; in wch manner methinkes the scripture should not bee made to speake so abundantly. 6. This generall priviledge, as to obligation of ordinances appeares strongly from Gen:17.10. This is my covenant yee shall keepe betweene mee & you, Every manchild among you shall bee circumcised; Here I note, that the waiting upon gods ordinances, & the keeping the covenant it selfe, in the outward administration, And surely there is so much plaine force for this ~~[illegible]~~ was in the instance of circumcision, in this place, & in the fift of Judges, & in the Macchabees, where is said that zealous priest Mattathias went about & circumcised the children by force (their parents being lapsed I take it to idolatry) that an answer cannot bee undertaken agt it, & the comprehensivenes of the covenant, is the ground thereof. 7. Sir you affirme in the place fore-quoted that doubtles this large externall interest in the covenant even to the Reprobate, is a fruite of Xts death, & yet is it no aequivocall only; that is, such a priviledge, wch will become a lye & dissimulation for them to assume, and can that bee a fruite of Christs death? 8. If no unregenerate Christian bee in covenant, but aequivocally, then must not such a one bring his child to Baptisme, nor partake himselfe of Christian communion, but it is a meere mockery of Christ (as some seeme to mee here to speake harshly) to avoid wch, hee must renounce his profession, never come to the supper, nor the other ordinances, but only as an heathen & infidell. 9. Then those that are disciples of Christ & intelligent (for such was Judas) must not bee taught to doe all things Christ hath commanded Mat:28.20. 10. The scripture speakes of dealing falsely in covenant, breaking covenant, & not being stedfast in it, but if the regenerate only bee in covenant, there can bee no such thing really, but ~~aequivocally~~ nominally only. Lastly Christ said expressly to the twelve, Doe this, Drinke yee all of it, that was a command, & yet one of them was unregenerate; from whence it followes that receiving the sacrament is the duty of a disciple though unregenerate & let but that bee owned, it will goe farre. I must confesse I iudge this instance of Judas may bee urged most forcibly as to the Receivers part, wherein lyes the bottome of all; And here there is this only to bee answered (being matter of fact) that though Judas

sate downe with the twelue, hee went out Jo:13. but that supper seemes apparent to bee before the feast of
the passeouer, by v.1. & v.29. (likewise Jo:13.27. compared with Lu:22.3.) & that transition Jo:14.31. Arise, let
vs goe hence. Now to the purpose the maine question will bee askt heere, is, What is that priuiledge
or priuiledges, that makes a reall difference betweene those that are vnregenerate in couenant, and
the heathen? I answer, All that wch comes vnder the externall administration of the couenant, wth
rights especially in the ordinances, together with those titles of Christians, Beleeuers, Disciples, &c by
callings &c wch are titles of right, & not nominall only. 2. I haue bin apt to thinke heere of
late, the promise of the first grace may bee a maine thing heere. Those that are out of couenant
are without hope, alienated from the life of god, those that are within couenant, are vnder the pro-
mise of the first grace vppon their waiting on the meanes Is:42.18. Is:55.3. Mat.7.7. &c. This is my co-
uenant saith god. Heb:8. I will make with the house of Israell (that may bee, with all ingrafted in-
to that house) I will put my law in their hearts (that is, I will giue them the first grace) wch promise
seemes plainely made both a branch of the couenant, & to belong to the house of Israell, & them only.
now indeede I haue hitherto taken the house of Israell heere for the Elect only, heathen or Christian,
distinguishing this couenant from the externall gospell-couenant, altogether, But it may bee other-
wise, it may bee there is no neede of any such matter; The couenant of grace, is One; where of
there is an inward administration in the grace & Spirit, this was euer the same with the Jewes and
vs, And an outward administration in the ordinances, in wch respect it is called a new couenant to vs
their ceremonyes being abolished; In regard of this externall administration, the vnregenerate Jewes
as well as the regenerate were in couenant, to wit in the vse of ordinances, waiting for ~~[illegible]~~ the internall
administration of that grace & Spirit, wch therein, was promised to them. So is it with vs Christians.
Only wee are to account of this promise of the first grace, as an indefinite, Peraduenture promise (a
better terme I haue not) making it to belong to all (shall I say collectiuely, not distributiuely?) in couenant,
to encourage them in the vse of the meanes, & them peculiarly in opposition to the world, yet to bee
free neuerthelesse in the hands of god to giue out the grace to whome hee pleases; For thus god speakes
to the Jewes Deut:30.6. I will circumcise thy heart, & the heart of thy seede, that is the first grace
intailed to them in couenant, to them only, and all of them indefinitely; All ~~[illegible]~~, without excepti-
on of any, that are externally ~~in couenant~~ professors, and set vppon the meanes, in hope of this promise
though fullfilled but to some of them, that it may appeare, god does not giue his grace for the vse of meanes,
but in the vse of them, & that from the couenant, without Pelagianisme &c. Vppon this foundation
it must bee maintained that a dogmaticall faith entitles to ~~[illegible]~~ church-membership, & all the ordi-
nances; You oppose Mr Blake herein as to baptisme & proue that a sauing faith is required of the bap-
tized, & those that enter couenant, but so is a sauing faith required of those that pray, that heare the word
or doe any duty acceptable vnto god; Faith is required in those that haue it not, that it may bee wrought
as that it may bee acted, in those that haue it. You vrge, A profession is required, that must bee sincere,
if wee haue not a sauing faith, wee cannot professe it, otherwise it is a lye &c waiuing heere your authorityes, Mr
Blake hath laid ~~[illegible]~~ the axe to the roote, affirming that a faith accepting the doctrine of Christ (that is
dogmaticall) as to the Receiuer, and a profession thereof (as the Eunuch I beleeue that Christ is the son of god)
to the Admitter, is sufficient to the initiall sacrament, & there is the same reason for the other. Now this ~~[illegible]~~
may bee so true, that both in Scripture, as in reason, faith perhaps is nothing else but that, euen in places of grea-
test concernment (some besides papists, make faith an assent only) As for that intricate proposition of the gospell to the nati-
ons, Hee that beleeues & is baptized shall bee saued, may possibly bee thus meant (as Ro:10.9.) to wit, hee that beleeues, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ hee that embraces this doctrine of Christ proposed, shall bee saued, hee is thereby brought into a way
of saluation, saued initially (Act.2.26. with 40.) or shall bee saued, prouided hee also obserues those things
~~[illegible]~~ Christ hath commanded, as it followes Mat. vlt. In this sense it may bee too (I speake nothing heere asser-
tiuely) St Paul, & James may reconcile; The one pleades agt Jew & gentile that men must beleeue that they
might bee iustified, Ro:3. Gal:2.16. A faith embracing the gospell of Christ, iustifyes (wee may say) initially,
brings vs vnder hope, into a new & liuing way: And the other addes to this faith, good workes also (to wit
when wee beleeue & are baptized, wee must bee taught to obserue all things Christ hath commanded vs) that
wee may bee iustified consummately, & effectually, so as to bee finally saued; I know I am vppon some
brinke of danger heere, & so stand still, but truly I am apt to thinke the Scripture ordinarily takes
faith & beleeuing, as it takes Beleeuers, Disciples, Christians. I am sure St James speaking in this maine
point, distinguishes plainely of faith & workes, & makes faith such a thing as the diuells may haue, that
is, places the nature of it in an assent, yet that assent, that same faith being in man, ioyned with workes,
is such as will saue him. Can faith saue him? Ja:2.14.19. that is, without workes it cannot, wch yet
with workes (hee meanes) it can. But to returne, supposing a sauing faith to bee a reliance at most, or acceptance
as you, distinguisht from dogmaticall; You stand much on the order of words, Hee that beleeueth & is bap-
tized; To wch I answer. 1. If this order prescribes the rule, ~~alone~~ according to wch alone baptisme must bee
administred, & this beleeuing you will haue a sauing faith, A minister cannot baptize any person, seeing hee can-
not know whether hee hath this sauing faith according to the rule, & if hee does not act in faith it is sin.
2. Then many were baptized of the apostles not according to rule Jo:6.66. with Jo:4.1. 3. Then must such as are
baptized before sauing faith bee baptized againe after, for its former baptisme had not its essentialls accordi

vulde; 4 Then can no weake Christian in doubt of his state ever receive either sacrament, for hee doubts, & cannot chuse but doubt whether hee hath saving faith, & so long for his owne part according to your grounds, hee cannot act in faith in partaking thereof, for if hee partaketh & doubteth hee is damned if hee partake; this I judge cannot bee answered, take it in his course, & to a touched conscience is very grievous. ¶ As for the words of Phillip, if thou beleevest with all thy heart; Mr Blake saies the Eunuchs answer in forme is that, that is that Christ is the son of god (to wit if thou assent to it not onely with thy mouth, but with thy heart, or really or indeed) but suppose this a saving faith, wee may thinke to bee contented so long as the apostle did not expresse himselfe so farre, as if hee did not beleeve with all his heart, hee might not bee baptized; For my part I conceive there is a difference betweene things that come under the law of nature which are such in themselves, that may bee found out by reason, where the precept is not cleare, And matters of Rites & ceremony, which are neither good nor bad in themselves, & not a jot otherwise, then the institution; Herein a probable consequence is not enough (as if thou hast a saving faith thou maiest, Ergo if thou falls short of a saving faith thou maiest not) Tis wee that are in possession, wee have a command for baptisme, the sacraments are instituted for the visible church, the apostles received all that embraced the doctrine of Christ, turned away none wee know, and those that will forbid us, must shew us exception kept, no lesse will serve the turne heere, where there is no law there is no transgression, & wee shall hardly value any humane argument, with the quiet of our people. ¶ Pardon mee my words if they run too rudely, I have but one thing more; The way you goe in narrowing the covenant, doth necessarily enforce to distinguish betweene what gives right as to a mans owne part, unto ~~church membership~~ & the sacraments, & what gives right to bee admitted; now besides that these are Relata (giving & receiving) & posito aut sublato uno ponitur & tollitur alterum, this doctrine willfully runs uppon the rock of this sad consideration, that the minister must stand commanded to expose ~~this~~ their ordinance to those that are forbidden to receive them. ¶ I have done, onely with 3 or 4 requests to you; 1. To desire your pardon that I have made bold to deliver some of my thoughts to you at this length. 2. To entreate you candidly to construe them, looking on somethings only proposed, not asserted; 3. To beseech you not to thinke it too great pains before you throw away this paper, to looke it over twice, seeing it cost mee more paines but to write it over once. 4 My onely petition is, that you would returne mee your present thoughts uppon the first particular of suspension (if it bee but in a scrolle of paper) in what sense or state it is you like ~~it, or~~ dislike it; And as for other particulars, I expect to put you to no trouble. Sir this young gentleman that brings you this paper, is of the Inns of court, a scholler, [redacted] & my freind [redacted], to whome you may bee pleased to speake as freely to as my selfe; And so with all the good wishes that I have, to commend you to the lord for your health, support, & continuance, so long as the master needeth you; I rest.

Froome Decemb. 7. 1654.

Your most highly honouring though unworthy
brother & servant in the ministry.
John Humfrey.

[redacted]

6

Deare Sr

I writt very lately, since I recd yr wellcome lines, I hope you have recd it. & I shall very gratefully recd. yr answr when it comes. In meane time I now write for 2 causes. one to send my few thoughts acc. to my promise about ye point I mentioned. I pray take all in good part as from a true respect to you. & the truth. & pardon what is defective. The other is to answr ye desire of mr Baxter (a man whose name grea[t] & worth I exceedingly honor in the Lord) about the monster. wch, truly, when I writt (it being a postscript) I minded not till after my letter was gone out of my hand. lett him understand, the thing is exceeding true & certen (agt all gainsayings of men yt desire to blind truth) The monster was borne in my time whiles I was in N. Engl. at Boston two miles from Roxbury where I lived, mrs Dier (a great fomentrix of those horrid opinions being the mother) when it was borne, there being none pſent but some women of her owne stamp, it was husht up & suddenly buried. but ~~mr winthrop~~ it being whispered by ye [illegible] women in private to some others (as many together of ye [illegible] all [illegible] in such a strange business) it came to mr winthrop [illegible] dand. & he wth mr Cotton. mr wilson. & 40 persons more went to ye place of buryall. & comanded to digg it up to veiwe it, & they saw it, a most hideous creat. a woman. a fish, & a bird, & a beast all woven together. ~~it~~ no head, but in ye neck 2 great eye holes. the nose wth the eares and upward on ye forehead (or topp of ye neck) 3 hornes. the belly behind & back before. on wch [illegible] pricks like as on a thornback. fingers on [illegible] parts. hands & feet like a duck. &c. those credible persons (men you knew of great integrity) & the rest of the witnesses declared this fully to my self. & 1000s of others. yt it was famously knowen, as any thing yt ever was seen or done in ye land. & uncontradictable in those places, soon after the Opinionists gone./ some [illegible] having the same to call it into question (some yeares since,) I writt to mr wilson pastor to give them satisfaction, yt the thing wth many hands subscribed, by bold assertions. he accordingly might cease to traduce the truth. he writt me a full letter declaring what I have here writt, to the full, & much more. & gatt the hands of divers eminent men. & the godly pastors of the churches to confirme it. This letter I kept by me long. but amongst many papers. its lost. I have searched & can not find it. I am apt to conceive I might lend it to some. & they forgett to restore it, & I to call for it. but its gone. yet I assure you, faithfully such a confirmation I had./. being in hast I can not proceed

wth my true affection to ye Reverend man & yr selfe. & prayers to the father of all mercy to look downe upon us: these sad times, & support us under all these feares. I rest yr affectionate friend & brother

May. 19. 60

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ffor (251)

The Reverend my very
good friend, Mr Brookes
minister of ye Gospll
at his house in New
fishstreet hill
under ye Starr

London

Dub

3/1

Reverend Sr.

7

I should have, ~~by~~ since the last I received from you, sought out some convenience of sendinge to you, longe ere this, to have expressed my thankefulnes to you for your paines for mee, and undeserved respects unto mee: Had I not beene sensible of the much busynes that otherwise continually lys upon you (and wherein God is pleased eminently to make use of you,) whereby I was induced rather hitherto to let it passe, then to trouble you wth what, in the midst of so much busynes, might either be counted a complement, or unnecessary. But havinge the oportunity of this gentlewoman who lives in this towne, and is goinge to Bristoll, I made bold to trouble you wth these few lines, and I desire to returne you hearty thankes for your former favours; In the matter of my removall I did (accordinge to your advice in the generall) act upon the advice of my Brethren, who were wholly for Manchester, and I thought myselfe a little hardly used by some worthy freinds in Shrewsbury that when I did so againe & againe urge a reference, whereby I should have taken myselfe wholly concluded, this was utterly refused by them, and yet I was not spared when I gave my owne determination, but reproached for it. But I will not trouble you wth this busynes any more, though when it was iust past, if I had had opportunity, I oft thought of acquaintinge you wth the whole proceedinge in the conclusion of the thinge, as a matter I thought I owed to you for your satisfaction. The necessity of this congregation I finde to be no whit lesse then it was represented to mee, and such as my greatest feare now is, least I may not be able to goe through wth the burthen of it. The Lord hath lately weakened us, in takeinge away a very eminent minister. Mr Meeke, in the very midst of his dayes, who was at the chappell adiacent to our towne, and that place is still unprovided. I desire your remembrance of us herein. and that God would set on foot and carry some worke of conversion here. which I bless God for it, I have beene much encouraged to hope he will since my cominge hither. — Sr. If I might not be too troublesome to you, I could much desire your thoughts in a few lines, concerninge Usury. It is a thinge that was ordinarily enumerated amongst grosse sins, by our best divines heretofore both in their prayers & sermons, and not in the least pleaded for for the first 1500 yeares after christ. It's now generally practised, and nothinge said of it. whether satan may not carry on a dangerous designe against the soules of men in this thinge, he hath gotten the matter so placed, and the truth in the thinge, by the controversy about it, is made very obscure. The ministry it is observed, are generally practisers of it (if they be in a condition for it.) & the grossest usury that is, is hereby encouraged, by their silence of it in generall, & exemplary practise of it in what way soever it is. I am necessarily put on to declare myselfe in the thinge, and I have heard of some serious men, that on their death beds have beene much troubled, that by the temptation of ~~[illegible]~~ other ministeres silence & practise, (least they should seeme to reflect upon them) they have beene hindered from declaringe the whole councell of God as to this thinge. I question not but you have had in your generall readinge & studdys some resolutions about it. And I beleive God might have much honour from it if you would make your determination of the whole case publicke. That men might know what usury is, and what the sin of it is, and how farre they were bound and what way they might safelyest avoid it, & all appearance of it. If our forefathers were too violent utterly to condemne it, I beleive we shallbe found in the other extreame much more in that wee are altogether silent about it. I dare lay ~~[illegible]~~ no stresse on my owne iudgement in this motion I make to you, yet I desire you will seriously consider it, whether there may not be a great opportunity of your honouringe God in this thinge, which if I did not iudge to be more then ordinary, I should not have thus farre troubled you Sr. I should in the interim be very thankefull to you, if you would in a few lines impart your thoughts to mee about the case. what usury is: & whether any be lawfull; and if any what usury that is: Sr: If I ~~[illegible]~~ usurpe too much upon you I crave your pardon. But if your leisure

would permit this gentlewoman will (God willinge) call upon you in her returne, and might bringe mee a line or two from you. I will trouble you no further at present. but committinge you and your dayly successfull labours to the blessinge of God, ~~[illegible]~~ for the great good of his church. I rest:

Manchester. Feb. 25. 165

Your unworthyest Brother
Henry Newcome

worthy Sr

I received yours with an harty commendation of ye worke for which I thanke you. I go on but pedetentim, for I desire to proceed very advisedly. I have an officiall attestation from ye Doctours of ye university. I meet with ~~many~~ discouragements but I blesse god they quicken mee & I have great incouragements also. I hope within a month to have it upon ye wheele. The reason why I bring in your proposall as I do, is this, because ye great businesse yt I aime at is ~~this~~ to endeavour to establish in ye Church a learned Ministery & such as are likely to bee στῦλοι ϗ ἑδραιώματα τῆς ἀληθείας (for some apply these words to Timothy) You know profane men say It is true we have many good preachers now but we want those deepe schollers wee had formerly. Now my desire is to roll away this reproach that wee may tradere lampada to those yt shall shine more gloriously. And indeed ye reason why I rather regard this then ye ordinary necessities of ye Church ~~is~~ is because there is more care taken for that already, for what are ~~the~~ all colledges for but for sending such men to ye end? It is ye ἔργον λίαν ὠφέλιμον as I may say which I feare we shall most need ~~[illegible]~~. although ye other I would not have neglected. And to have one forme for all ~~[illegible]~~ Counties I humbly conceive will not bee necessary, it may bee not convenient, for as much as different Circumstances may diversify ye interests & it may bee better yt things bee carried on with some variety. As now suppose you & ye bordering Counties have a principall eye to Ireland & Wales &c you may make my extraordinary way an appendix as I make your ordinary way here. And I find yt very many are much moved with this extraordinary way which are little taken with ye ordinary. ffor ye modell I here send you two more. If you or any else will have them let mee know it & I shall, if you desire it take care of them as of my owne ~~you for each one~~ yet you see thirty shillings must bee payd at first, yt yt bee sent to mee I shall pay it to ye doers of ye worke. Indeed I write to you because I promised ye carryer of it on yt I would endeavour to promote it & I thinke you will judge it to bee a worke yt deserves incouragement. I pray you let mee have your Answer. You may keepe ye Copies onely send mee ye names of those yt will have them, ~~as~~ ~~No~~ but I must leave off. As my prayers are to god for you so I desire yours for mee & rest

Your assured loving brother

M. Poole

London March 5. 1657

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My reverend and dearly beloved brother,

9 I am heartily sorry for your weaknesse: yet the Lord may prolong your pilgrimage for the settlement of this distracted church. You shall have the heartiest prayers of mee your unknowne but highly prizing servant. I am glad that among many discouragements you felt a little refreshing from my unworthy lines which issued not onely from my selfe, but from a Reverend Dr my neighbour also, who is pestered with the Anabaptists. What former Tomes hath done to help them (I think) I have seene, and what hath bene done against him by Mr Marshal; yet I thank you for your medium (Infants visible church membership). They will cast it off, because they want professed faith, unlesse you can shew that upon parents profession theare be a command of God to baptize them as theare was for circumcision. They will add, that if they be visible church members what need they be baptized for outward and visible membership. I shall in a word tell you how I have proceeded with some coincidency upon yours. Thus I have argued.

Covenant beleevers ought not to be deprived of the engraffing sacraments of baptisme
But Infants of beleevers are covenant beleevers: ergo

Maior
Because theare is noe other way of outward engraffing but baptisme Ro:6.

minor
The Infants of Jewes weare covenant beleevers, but they receiued the signe of circumcision as the seale of righteousnesse of faith Ro:4:11
and God sealeth not to a blanke
ergo the Infants of Christians much more, who have a priviledge above them to be Holy
1 Cor: 7: though one of the parents be an unbeleever.

Againe, I argue thus

They yt weare once made church members can not be dismembred but by yt authority wch put them in

But the Infants of beleevers weare once made church members: ergo

Q: By whom? By God in the church of the Jews; & yet wee need noe new commandment except it can be shewed whence he (who calleth things yt are not as if they weare Ro: 4) hath rescinded the grant.

Lastly, I argue thus

As the Jews weare rooted out, or cutt off, so the Gentiles weare graffed in Ro: 11:

But they weare cut off roote and branch: ergo

Thus raptim, verbo sapienti. But I reserve wt I sent to be presse, hoping to have full satisfaction. If not from you, from none I thinke, such high prayse doe I sett upon your labours [illegible] strength.

For yt of the Mediatours [illegible], and ye subiection to it, I pray God you may live to finish it, and I to read it. but I pray take heed of [illegible] how quick and nimble ~~it~~ soever you be. The first Instance against your Aphorismes was some severe speach of my old, learned, and godly frend Mr Walker. I love him entirely, but I doe not, can not Iurare in eius verba or in modo loquendi against heavenly Mr Wotton, and my deare Mr Chibbald yt [illegible] God.

I am sorry you are so rejected wth one of your true friends. I could grudge at the party: because he in print ~~hath~~ something as unusual as most of yours. As to yt your Aphorismes seeme to let passe some uncertaintys about Death, and yt of the Curses of the Lawe inflicted upon Christ theare is little wonder you goe alone: ~~the~~ Annotatives of the bible this parliament upon Iam:

age almost as farre as you: and so long as
you make ~~the~~ obedience of Faith to be the
condition of the covenant I see not w^{t} hurt
followes in your doctrine of Justification. It
may be there is a little misty in distinguish-
ing Justification, and Forgivenesse, but
y^{t} covenant doth y^{t} [illegible] make.
As for Faith, I think y^{t} you have tooke the
only way against Antinomianisme: and
if y^{t} one word weare added A Fiduciall
receiving Christ our Lord as a wife doth
an husband by the covenant of God, I think
it weare clearer.
I pray feare not to perfect your work about
universal redemption. Let Intemperate divines
goe theire way, but leave not yours. Rivet and
Spanhem I make much of, but have not seene
y^{t} against Amyrald whom I can not so much
but if his worke be vendible. But if they have
put ye name Hypotheticall upon the Bremensis
I must professe they printed me in this. Let
it be noe disparagement to the Synod of Dort
and I say as I think, y^{t} Crocius, and Martinius
weare the flower of y^{t} garland. I think I have
all theire works. Crocy his Paterna miseratio,
Fraterna redemptio, Superna vocatio, doe
very well please me, or any doctrine w^{ch}
cleares my understanding, and ravisheth my
heart to have comun wth the God of truth, and
goodnesse. For this I love most of your
Aphorismes, but above all y^{t} Everlasting rest.
I lend them to all divines about me. They
are still returned wth approbation by some
for booke, except ~~[illegible]~~ one, who suddenly brought
them wth (I understand them not); and by
another who said you weare not cleare in
difference betwixt Protestants and Papists in point
of Justification. But I told him he slept, or
he had read Dr Hammond, and Dr Taylor

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I have thus wearied you to little purpose, but
onely to let you know how willingly I hold my
Interest in you: and how heartily I pray for
youre life to cheere Christs cause better then yor
candor. I perceive it is wth you, as wth mee, Itch
in disputings, and as I decline it, and chose
my peace rather then my tonge. But let
not you discourage I pray: I yet abate
heate in words yt opponents may feele
strength of arguments rather then violence
against persons. Thus I am a foole, yet a
Commissioner Brother, to give better counsell
in this then I can take. Howsoever I am youres
faithfully Robert Abbott

Exton this 21th of July
1650.

You mention in youre last booke Mr G. Abbott of the
Sabbath against Broad, and Mr Palmer, and
Mr Cawdry. I shall not be quiet till I have gotten it.
For let me tell you I am the onely man about
us yt stand up stoutly for the Lords day, no
lesse fiercely then I could wish. I have been but
7 yeares in this wicked ~~at~~ countrey. I was
23 yeares at Cranbrook in Kent, ~~&~~ and was
weaned from thence by 1000 of my holy
people who were suddenly perverted
at the beginning of these bloody times.
The God of heaven give you better successe then
to loose so many soules as I have done, though
I were an instrument to convert most
of them. They then hunted after novelty,
and now they are weary of it. This gives
you advantage. Pardon this unschollarly
writing volanti calamo. If you knew
my haste you would willingly.

80

The words of ye Sermon] It is most certainly true concerning ye reprobate, yt if they make themselves a new heart (wch is their duty to doe) yt they also shall be saved, but this they neither will can or ever shall doe, & so they are most justly condemned, they will not doe it because they hate ye light & love darknesse because they savour the things of ye flesh & not ye things of ye Spirit, they cannot doe it because they are dead in sinns & trespasses, & they shall never doe it because God will never doe it for them or give them grace to doe it, because he will not convert them, for he effectually calleth none but those whom he hath predestinated.

These expressions, & some additionall in ye debate of these, occasioned these ensuing questions

Quest: 1a An Deo potius dicenti imo iuranti se nolle mortem peccatoris et vt homini docenti deum velle mortem peccatoris, ni velit et homo credat ad salutem et credendum est?
Si quid de voluntate signi et beneplaciti dicatur tunc erit altera quaestio sc:

2a An omnino liceat thetice et doctrinaliter publice praedicare voluntatem dei secretam plane et plene contrariam isti voluntati revelatae? Hoc asserere videtur haeresin Vorstianorum et Lampetianorum approbare imo sacras et venerandas scripturas quasi frustraneas et irritas reddere.

3a An realis vel tantum verbalis sit distantia inter Augustinum et Davenantium; hoc hominem lapsurum subiectum reprobationis statuente, illo, hominem lapsum? rat: quaesiti quia cum omnia sint deo praesentia in instanti aeternitatis, ideo videtur deum decrevisse vel ordinasse eos ut sunt in ipsius omniscientia, sic hic tum videtur quod [lapsurus] exprimunt potius modum nostrae cognitionis quam rem decreti.

4a An: si homo lapsus vel lapsurus sit subiectum reprobationis, decretum illud rectius dicatur absolutum vel conditionatum? rati quaes: 1o quia conditionale nil deo indignum magis quam relationem ponere videtur, sicut enim deus non potest esse pater sine filio, nec creator sine creatura, nec dominus sine servis [Dominus fuit ab aeterno secundum potestatem non secundum relationem, Aquin] nec misericors sine re miseranda, sic nec iustus sine subiecto proprio ipsius iustitiae; 2o quia videtur improprie dici deum absolute decrevisse aliquos reprobare propter peccatum.

5a An aphorismus hic contineat sententiam Eccles: Anglicanae, vel saltem conveniat cum ea prout in Arti: 39: Homilijs etiam in Confessione fidei et catechismis exprimitur? vlz. Supposita morte Christi pro omnibus et intentione dei conditionata de gratia promissionis evangelicae generali, intentionem dei specialem adesse de applicando beneficio mortis Christi per gratiam magis abundantem et efficacem absolute certo et infallibiliter solis electis, sine vllo praeiudicio aut vlla voluntati et gratiae communis et sufficientis diminutione. Videtur necessarium talem intentionem conditionatam asserere, quia scriptura testatur deum dedisse filium pro mundo, Christum obtulisse se sacrificium pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi et redemisse totum genus humanum (saltem sufficienter) ideoque Christum mandasse evangelium omnibus praedicandum, deum velle et iubere vt omnes Christum audiant et in eum credant, et in eo proposuisse gratiam et salutem omnibus, si hoc non esset infallibiliter verum videretur Apostolos aliosque ministros evangelii sic praedicantes esse falsos dei testes, facereque deum mendacem quod absit vel cogitare.

6a An non Anomaei Antinomistae et Athei sub praetextu decreti absoluti secure peccant inque peccatis dormitant? rat: q: quia acutissimus piusque iste Baxter tale quid incomodi animadvertit et scriptis admodum reverendi viri doctissimique Dris Twisse, aliorumque.

133

These Qns were sent by one
Mr Michaell a Minister in Huntington shire to Mr T.
with a desire of my answer But
who is ye Author of ym I know not

ffrom an unknown Minister
in Huntingdonshire

1

Were my businesse any lesse then the concerns of my Immortall soule I might
Judg my selfe somewhat bold to seek to one whose face I have never seen
(and indeed this is part of my unhappinesse that I have so very litle acquaintan
with any of Gods people here that going themselves forward: the heav
ly Canaan can direct wanderers) My businesse is therefore the Great businesse here
what I must doe to be saved, to get an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. Ch
hath been preached to me; his riches fullnesse, excellency have been in some mea
shewen me in the Gospel but alasse! I cannot get my heart affected with or
drawne out after these great things. I am, and cannot chuse (through Gods
mercy in means) but be convinced in my judgment of the exceeding, un
expressible excellencie of a gratious state both in life in Death and af
Death. But how to know whether I am in this state or no or how to get in
it I know not. To repent and beleive are things not possible without grace fro
above therefore from above they must be sought for; to this end I have long
prayed for converting grace for faith to beleive on the Lord Jesus &c but alasse!
I can finde litle or no alteration in my selfe, though at some times I have
had some (faint) hopes of some grace wrought in me as at the last Easter
and at Whitsuntide when the Sacrament was administred I was in great
doubt what to do, I found it to be my duty to come to the Lords table
but withall that it doth not conferr grace where there was none before
give life to a dead carkasse (as I read in Mr Doolitells treatise of the Lds supper
having no other treatise peculiarly on that subject) I therefore set my selfe
to search how it was with me after search I was still doubtfull yet I had some
hopes that God had wrought some hungerings and true desires after Christ
I could find as I thought my heart desirous to be united to Christ
in love and to follow him in a holy life yet still my doubtings remayned concer-
ning repentance (not like those of many Christians whether their repentance
were true or not, but) ~~but~~ whether I did repent at all or not in that I could not
find any sensible sorrow for or hatred of sin neither any working of the
Law upon my conscience touching which I find different opinions Mr Robert ~~Bo~~
Bolton in his instructions for comforting afflicted consciences in severall places sayth
such a working of the Law to be in some measure necessary to prepare for Chris
and some others whome he citeth in that piece as page 222 he quoteth Mr Greenham
whose words are these". The Lord will not part with any drop of his mercy to them which
„ have not been swallowed up of his Judgments which have not laboured and been heav
„ laden which have not been locked up in hell for a season and felt for a time
„ fire thereof in their bones &c, he that feeles not these things in some measure
„ ~~heart~~, else where he shall feele them. On the other side Mr Brooks in his precio
Remedies for Satans devices page 321 sayth it to be a device of Sathan to keep
men from believing by suggesting that such humiliations and terrors are
necessary before believing and he shews that many have believed who have
had such terrors & humiliations as Matthew, Zacheus, Paul, Lidia but to these
examples Mr Bolton sayth that we cannot conclude that they had not such wor
because they are not put downe in Scripture but that they might neverthelesse
I humbly therefore desire your judgment in this matter because I am not sa
tisfied about it. ffor my part I know not what to doe I find my selfe so
that promises or threats commands or invitations have litle effect up
me though I know that if I am in an unregenerate state I am a most mi
ble wretched creature having Gods wrath hanging over my head and my se
enemy to him yet this knowledg hath litle or no effect it lying in the head
and not affecting the heart and indeed this is my wretchednesse that a great measure
of knowledg of those great things which hath been wrought by the meanes
of grace in my head ~~only~~ resides there without any through work on
my heart My desires have seemed to be earnest for a saving grace in my
heart

Lately read Mr John Janeways life & conversion who was in a mild manner at some times I have prayed with earnestness for converting grace and an interest in Jesus Christ though at other times I am more dull and insensible but alass! after all I can find no change surely if I had any grace I should find some thing I cannot find that I hate sin any more now then I did ever indeed I doe not live in the practise of those some of sins nor the neglect of some of those dutys that I did because of some improvement of the means of grace. I have searched in signes and evidences of grace as in Mr Bifelds marrow Mr Roberts's Believers evidences but cannot find any thing that doth positively satisfie me. One evidence in Mr Roberts hath put me to some stand considering it with all the rest to wit about love of the Brethren being one signe of regeneration out of 1 John 3.14 &c Now as to this I think so far as I know my owne heart that I unfeignedly love the people of God above all other persons in the World this is something till I consider that in no other evidence I can find any thing in me so to answer it which may cause me to suspect the truth of my love. Sr, only this remaynes that I humbly desire your earnest prayers to him from whome proceedeth every good and perfect gift to him who except he draw him no man can come unto him that he would declare the allmighty workings of his spirit in causing my heart to believe. And that you would be pleased to take the paynes to write an answer which you may direct to me in Pembroke Colledg in Oxford. Thus hoping you will pardon my boldness and bear with my broken language I subscribe my self

Sr

One that desires to
be your Brother
in Christ

John Perkes

Pemb. Coll:
Oxon
Sept: 10 1673

Sr
If you cannot send to me
to Oxford you may direct
yor letter to a friend of mine
Mr John Hawkins living with
Mr Sise at the Sallutation
Tavern in New Cheapside
in London there to
be sent to me

I would desire your directions for obtaining a certainty of my state and an unfeigned repentance & a well grounded faith

This

ffor Mr Richard
Baxter in Bloomsbury
Square neare Holborne
in
London

Deare brother

2 I received my papers and your letter, and should yet desire your animadversi-
ons, if they might be had afore printing (which I intend to hasten as I can)
being resolved that if you shewed me any thing fit to be altered to do it be-
ing unwilling the truth should suffer by my oversight. That which I say
against infantbaptisme was occasioned by H. T. his words, and I think is as spa-
ringly said as I could have said ~~in that place~~, if you give me any
reasons to leave it out, or of your dissent from me in other passa-
ges I shall consider them. I still desire your epistles partly to shew our
concurrence in asserting truths wherein we agree, and partly for the better
reception of the books with those of different judgment, and also to
let men see that we are not enemies though antagonists in some disputes
and that it is truth we seeke, not promoting a party. That which is to
be added to the treatise of the light I do assure you is to be no other
then such directions about the using of Christ as light, which I assure my
self you will approve. I shall desire therefore your epistles speedily
and to direct them in a letter to this place whence I date my letter.
And if you acquaint me with any thing of the Papists and Familists
designe, it will be a further incentive to me to promote union amongst
the godly, to which I do assure you not onely my selfe, but the
most considerable men here of my judgment are very inclinable,
and the more interest I have in them the more I hope I shall fur-
ther it. The Lord give us hearts to be exceedingly tender of Gods glory and the peace
of his church, and if it seeme good to the Lord, there may be a right
understanding between me, your selfe and other dissenters, to whom
I still remaine

From the house of Henry Hills
printer next doore to the signe
of the peacock in Aldersgate
streete in London Oct. 18. 1659.

A loving brother and
fellowservant in Christ

John Tombes

For the reverend Mr Richard
Baxter preacher of the Gospel
at Kedderminster in Worcestershire
these are

3

Deare Sir 3

I am much concerned about your book of Nationall Churches; You have condescended so much to the Bishops, as they must be very unkind & unthankfull if they be not engaged by you. You will agree with them in the tenents of their owne Baptisme & Confirmation, only you would have them serious in it. You will allow them their Nationall Church & their Office to be of Divine Right, provided only they will use their Office so as to make it such, that is if they exercise the part of the Apostles that of in the Ordinary work of their Office & not by proxie on the Presbyters, & others the Parishes or Particular Parochiall Churches. In short you will have peace with [illegible], & they will not, may not gainsay that. But yet they will never doe it. The world goes in wickednes, & will conforme in show, but not in that practise you aime at.

As for that wherein we may Unite, if the Nation once will, I am convinced with you of this one thing, that it is an Act for a larger Comprehension of the Church of England (which is in Effect a new Act of Uniformity as my Lord Hale said) that must doe the businesse of this Kingdom. It is a Nationall Union is upon my heart & yours, & we goe two wayes to it. You give them so much, Lesse the Bishops & their Church to be Jure Divino (as I say), as supposing this to be best to obtaine that end: Now when I am so pleased you should doe so (seeing that is your judgment) though you differ in it from me, I would not have you displeased if I speak otherwise, or doubt, but to beare with me so long as the maine end be pursued by both, & I think that Nationall Union will be more surely attained by making Nationall Churches & the Bishops of them of Humane Institution onely.

There are some things therefore that need more Explication & light from you, which have made me write these two or three) sheets in order to the designe of Peace we both intend: & think it more ingenuous, friendly, & ~~much~~ prudent to send them you, for you to consider & give me your Answer, Note, or

X

Animadversions on them now in Manuscript, than to goe & print them & so engage you for publick satisfaction to do it as it were whether you will or no. You shall see the plainnesse & openness of my heart in what I doe, wch is all to the End mentioned, & therefore you will find at the beginning of these sheets a Title of a booke, & the booke it selfe I intend shall be not my two or three sheets alone, but your Notes or Observations upon them; wch I would have you write so, as they may not be matter of Confutation so much as Edification & pursuing our End of Uniting the nation. If the thinge doe not goe out to answer themselves by Robbery but it is by Compact, shall not friends that designe the publick benefit be ready to Contrive such a combining together afterhand as may tend most to the accomplishing of ~~the~~ such a purpose.

There is Mr Lawson hath given rise to you & me about the Extent of a Particular Church, making out a Nationall Inde-pendent one, as a designed thing upon wch he would confound after. He is doubtless a most ingenious Politician as Divine, & as I remember he doth it as a Prudentiall matter onely, as what is best, & may be done, not as a thing of Divine Institution. I doe not think he believes the Bishops or a Nationall church to be so, & yet must the Nationall Church & the Bishops be maintained so farre as that wee may submit to them as Established by Law or wee can designe no Union for England. I have distinguisht therefore in these papers wch may satisfy both you, me, & others, as to that matter.

I beg of you to read them over together, & take one nights sleepe, & then a morning thought of the whole, before you set to answer them; And then to be candid & so kind as to give me your Notes when you have read them, that I may alter any thing of my owne, & adapt your Notes so, as may render to the End in the Title proposed, like hearty lovers of truth, peace, & one another.

Your most affectionate friend
& servant. Jo. Humfrey

Pray name not me in all ~~this~~.

Bestow a penny in a post letter to me, to tell me, when I shall come for these papers again

Sir! Take heed of being too hot on your Notion being forth. It is no matter whether the Bishops be held iure Divino or no, they themselves that are wise will desire to be obeyed as by Law establisht: and there is no need in an Act to have here that mentioned, but men left to their own judgment. Believe it King Henrys Divines had canvassed this matter, & they thought best to have Bishops to Hang on the King only. Have you read the Necessary Erudition of a Christian man? [illegible].

I would not put you to the paines of a second transcript.

Thes:
For the Reverend Mr
Rich: Baxter.

Reverend Sr

4 The kindnesse you shewed mee, in being a meanes of introducing mee into the Family of ye late Earle of Orrery, was such, that tho you may forget mee, yet I shall allwayes preserve a gratefull remembrance of you. After my Lds Death I removed into England, & am now setled in Devonshire my Native Countrey, within 10 mile of Exeter: But I still keepe a corresspondence wth the Countesse of Orrery the elder, whose Favr I have made use of to convey this to you, because I know not how to direct to you.

And the occasion of that trouble, wch by these lines I shall give you, is a late Selfe murther Committed at Exeter, in July last by one Joseph Southmead, who writ a dying speech, & left it in ye Chamber where he did the fact. The coppy of wch I have taken, & because, as you will see, he seemes to ~~take~~ take some Encouragemt from some expressions of your writings, I thought my selfe obliged to send it to you, that if you see convenient, you may vindicate your selfe from those ill reflections, wch upon this occasion some persons doe make. And truly the high esteeme I allwayes had for your person & writings, made mee once inclinable to vindicate you my selfe: but when I considerd that thro mercy you are still alive, & that possibly I might not be well enough qualifyed for such a businesse, I concluded it convenient to acquaint you wth it, as being the most proper person for it.

Upon search, I found the place wch this poore soule quote, in ye first pt of your Sts Rest. Ch: 7. Sect 6. about ye latter end, where tho you doe speake something to comfort those, who have had any Freind, thro Melancholy, Frensy &c: make himselfe away, yet you sufficiently intimate argumts enough agt the perpetration of so vile an Act.

The Acct I can give you of this poore man, is wt I have from others, being a Stranger to him my selfe. Viz: That he was bred a Merchant, that he did not thrive in the world met wth many misfortunes, & was full of Discontents upon that acct. He was given to Company keeping, & some say to gaming & Drinking too. He was observed a little before he murthered himselfe, to argue in severall companyes in defence of selfe murther & did aske of some lawyers, how a man might settle his estate so, as that it might not be lost in case he should doe something to forfeit it. The Morning before he did this bloody deed, he prayd wth his Family, & then presently after went up into his Chamber, & bolted ~~&~~ locht the Doore upon himselfe, & there shot himselfe to ye Heart wth a pistoll, the report of wch brought up severall to ye Chamber doore wch having broken open, they found him dead, & that writing, I thinke on ye window, the coppy of wch I have here inclosed, wch his Brother in law (wth whom I am well ~~acquain~~ acquainted) assured mee was his own hand writing. I cannot understand that he was distracted, or did this thing in a fit of Melancholy; But upon examination of all circumstances, I thinke it is the most deliberate selfe murther that I ever heard of. & is the more to be taken Notice of, because what he writ, seemes to have some shew of piety & Religion in it.

Now Tho Selfe Murther have all things in it to make it terrible, as you very well observe in that place, wch this unhappy man quote to his own destruction, as, that it is an unnaturall violence upon ~~his~~ ones own self, that tis a committing such a known heinous sinne, wch makes a persons Salvation questionable, if he had ye free use of his reason, & that tis an wofull Scandall to ye Church of God, Tho I say these, & many more the like Considerations, one would thinke, should be enough to terrify a man from this sinne, yet so strong are the Devils Temptations, so corrupt are some mens reasonings, & so darke & ignorant are the minds of a great many, that wee see every where people too much subject to it. And in that small experience I have had in ye world, I have met wt severall strongly tempted to it. & even very latily, one hath beene wth mee that lyes under that temptation wch makes mee call to mind wt my L. of Orrery would often observe to mee, viz. That he thought English people more addicted to it than any other Nation.

These things being so, I have of late beene confirmd more & more in my opinion that it would be exceeding usefull to the people of this land, if some little treatise were publishd agt Self murther. Where in the Heinousness of that Sinne should be set forth, the causes & occasions of it discovered, the Aggravations of it laid down, & some Considerations & meanes proposed for the Arming people agt such Temptations, together wth some prayers & ejaculations to helpe people in theire devotions agt it. And all this to be written in so plaine & familiar a stile, & in such small compass that ye poorer & meaner sort of people may have it, & be benefitted by it, as well as the richer, & more understanding.

I take the boldnesse to mention this to you, because I am humbly of opinion that you will be the fittest person (if your occasions will permit) to employ your pen on this subject: because your Stile is plaine, your Argumts Cogent, your Directions proper, & your writings taking wth the generality of people, & you have now a very good occasion offerd you for it in what I now send you, at once to vindicate your self, as well as benefit ye publicke hereby.

If you would be acquainted wt more particulars concerning this unfortunate man, be pleasd to signify your mind to mee, & I will very faithfully & dilligently serve you in it. But if you thinke not good to meddle in this Affaire, pray let mee know of it, that some other may: For the inclosed paper goes abroad in many peoples hands, & if there be not something written to prevent further mischeife this way, for ought I know too many may take encouragemt: to doe as this man has done. Pray excuse this trouble, & beleive that I am in all Sincerity

Harpford
Novemb: 1. 1687

Sr

If you write, pray direct your letter
to Mee Minister of Harpford neare Honiton
in Devonshire, to be left wth Mr Hugh
Baker in Honiton.

Your very Afft & much obliged
Freind & Servant

Thomas Morris

LETTERS

fol.141. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter at his
houſe This
In Charter-House Yard —
In London

Reuerend & most dearly Beloued,

5

Your indefatigable dilligence in your ministry & vnparaleld liberalitie for diuers yeares past, Hath sufficiently manifested your tendernes of vs, yet it is no small addition to our Comfort, that yow are pleased to own vs as your charge notwithstanding your present sufferings for our sakes; and to continue your care of vs in your seasonable Instructions, and distributions of your loue tokens to vs, which wee thankfully accept.
Whateuer the Instruments are, which the Almighty makes vse of for our Correction, by this violent rending of yow from vs, sure wee are that god is Righteous.
Our lamentable nonproficiency vnder the rich enioyments, by your pastorall inspection, Hath iustly provoked the lord, to lay vs almost as low as Hell, who were formerly exalted, as High as Heauen. And who are wee that wee should say vnto Him what dost thou? ffor wee know there is iust cause; wee stick fast in the mire, and (which is worse) yet feele no ground, being scattered as sheep vpon the mountaines, without our Sheppard, so that wee are a wonderment vnto some, and a scorne and derision to many about vs; but as wee can foresee the end of those that trouble vs, so doe wee expect that all the obloquies shall bee wiped of, and all teares wiped from your & our eyes, when the day of restitution cometh.
Bee not weary therfore of well doinge, or of sufferinge for well doing for in due time yow shall reap if yow faint not. mean while (most dear sir) follow on those your encouraginge exhortations, by your feruent prayers, that your gloryinge in vs may not bee in vaine, but that wee may bee kept by the power of god, through faith vnto eternall saluation. These are the breathings and pantings of the souls of

your engaged ffriends:

Kederminster this 28 of January 1661.

John Eymore
Tho: Baldwin John Allen
Henry Jackson John Pearsall
Nicholas Pearsall
Thomas Doolittle Thomas Ward
Tho: Hunt
Phil Doolittle Laurance Pearsall
John Hill Thomas Bellamy
John Hill junior Abra: Plimley
John Brettell Will Mountford
Francis [illegible]

To the Reuerend, our moſt
dearly Beloued Paſtor,
Mr Richard Baxter
at His lodging, giue
this in London!

6 Whorthy & Reverend Sir

Albeit I could hardly expect ye would have employed so much of your precious time ye are so careful to lay out so well as I find ye have done in perusing that tract, yet I regrat that your health and other studies should not permitt you to allow a litle more time which might have prevented some of the objections ye move. Sir I cannot say how much I think my selfe obledged to you for the paines ye have been att that way And it is my request to our kind master that he may accept thereof as service done to him & that he would recompence. But as in your commendation I see your kind and tenderhearted respects so in your objections your freedome with your friend and this I take as a greater evidence of your love then the former And I am confident ye will not misinterprett the following briefe reply

As to the 1 I know no orthodox divine that dealeth more fairly & tenderly with Durandus a Dolabri and tho Dominicans and Jesuits look on one another as brethren ye will find more sharpnesse used against one another then mostly I do against either but that of heresy blasphemy &c is charged (according to the comon course of disput in such a case) not against the man but as a consequent from the opinion, And I remember not of any disrespective expression of D Strange tho I thought I was obliged to notice the advantages he gave for confuting what I disliked in his disput 2 But I cannot enough admire that ye should have apprehended that in the least I favored Durandus his opinion, since the way I take and the (thesis) I maintain will be found to differ most from Durandus yea more then the Dominican predeterminants as I show art. 2 part. 1 truly Sir I am none of thes who study to paliate what I would assert and own but desire to speak as plainly as I can for the truth, And if I imagined that tract did homologat with or gave the least advantage to independents (so I may call the Durandists) ther should none be more severe against it or the author of it, but what do I plead for what do I designe in all that tract but to assert and vindicat gods dominion & providence against thes men 3 while I say [that entitas actus mali ut refertur ad Deum non est actus vel mala] I mean no other thing but that [ratio actus and ratio malitiae est formalitas petita in ordine ad causam secundam ut eam ambulare &c] and I suppose there is no hazard and litle difficulty in such an assertion as neither in that, that [entitas actus mali est ab influxu dei permissivo sed non rigorose et proprie effectivo] 4 I suppose I have sufficiently shewen that the notion of permission used by me is only the proper notion of it as opposed to effection in which sense only it falls in in this controversy And I do not say that the [influxus in permissione] is permitted but that it constituts and is essentially required to permission as physical and a branch of providence 5 if I be mistaken in thinking

Durandus denyed gods im'ediate influence with second ca
I have all who ever wrott of that point with me involved
the same error, And if I make him or a Vola speak sen
I must thinke they speak what they are conceived to say
as to me it seemeth unintelligible for it may be saved
many strange inferences which you no lesse then I abhorr
to say that [god operats by his essence and that there is no
ground here to distinguish [inter im'ediationem virtutis
suppositi] 6 while you alleadge that I am of his opinion
I say that god is [causa permissiva actus mali] tho I di
taine the jesuitiall and Arminian inefficacious ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ and frustrable permission yet Duran
his opinion could no wayes be imputed to me But whil
against Durandus I hold permission to be influentiall
and against not only jesuits but not a few orthodox divi
permission to be efficacious I supposed I had been out of
reach of such a challenge 7 while ye aske [quid est
tas actus praeter actum] I answer it is nothing more but
what lesse as wanting that formality & denomination whi
floweth from its proper and peculiar cause, might I n
so ask [quid est co edere praeter entitatem actus] and
thus infer [ergo deus edit ambulat &c] 8 while I say [
veritatis extorsit] I say lesse then the Apostle saith ro
v 12 and what upon occasion all sober and zealous divin
(among thos your selfe often in your Apology and against
Anabaptists Antinomians &c) use to say 9 I suppose n
scholastick will deny that there is a difference betwee
[efficacy and proper efficiency] 10 I have laboured to cle
the distinction and show the difference [inter causam ag
^ nothing tem efficientem et permittentem] and need ~~nothing~~ to a
unless some thing be objected to overthrow that distin
as explained by me 11 I never could digest the distinc
tion between the generical and specifical nature of
act as being very usefull in this debate as neither the
distinction [inter actum et malitiam actus] and whi
I perpend the reasons of others part 1 art 3 I gave my r
=ons 12 as for method I will not contend that being most
arbitrary but I supposed that according to art and reas
I had sett the κατασκευη befor the ανασκευη and that
explication of termes fell rightly in while I was to an
objections But I regrate that I have not yet seen (noth
know I who hath tho I purpose to try) your Catholick t
Logy especiallie I long to see your Reconciler and I
heartily wish there were no place for such debates b
seing little ground to expect such times I thought
my part to appear for my master and to plead for hi
interest and dominion against all whom I supposed to m
mind or be no good friends to it and I am confident
sure that ye will kindly accept of this endeavour to ill
rate that tract, I could have added severall reasons if
had not judged them somewhat impertinent here, Expt
wh

what is said for prebenting mistakes might be interpreted as brought against any of your assertions. Worthy Sir if I cannot intreat the fabour of a further perusall having allready too far incroached on your condesension [illegible] it is my earnest desire and request that ye would accept of this Apology for it as supposing it to containe the grounds of what I own and assert. If I might but see and speak with you I am confident the difference in opinion might come to little And tho it were greater yet it will be no ground of quarell and that you will look on me as one who desires to cast my selfe and my poor labors over upon him who will accept of the lest serbice flowing from Lobe and an honest aim at duty The Lord support you under all your trialls and troubles and strenthen you for doing serbice to his church; so pray=eth

Reberend Sir

Your most obliged
and affectionate
Mr Alexr pitcarne

Sir I am bery sensible (a poor requital) of your kindness to my son, and intreats your exhortations and counsell to him —— Sir hearing my writ put you to a trouble I caused one of my sons to transcribe these lines written in hast and upon short adbertisement, my delay flowing from abersnesse not to writt to you (worthy Sir) but to reply to any thing comming from you by way of dissent. Now the good will of him that dwelt in the bush be continued towards you while in this wildernesse

A P.

ffor
The Reverend and
worthy Mr Richard
Baxter minister of
the Gospel

LETTERS

Fol. 146. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Much honoured Sir. Langford. Febr. ye 26th 167 2/3.

Your most acceptable letter hath done me that kind office
6+ which your writings often heretofore have, it by its serious &
important Argument hath made me in some measure more
considerate, more inclined to think & judge, to lament, to
resolve, to wish & desire, to love & hate as you. And would
my Heart did more Answer yours, would the thoughts, desires,
sorrows, & resolves of it, as to ye matter wch your letter mentions,
were so raised, constant & effectuall in me as they are in you.
And to show that my wishes in this matter are in some degree
sincere, & in good earnest, I adde hereto this serious request
yt what St Paul desired in ye Behalfe of Agrippa & those who
heard him plead before him: you would vouchsafe to pray for
in mine, ~~viz~~ that I might bee in this respect even as you
are. And though it were very much to be desired that I
with others were altogether such as you are, & though (as I am assured)
you would with Moses wish ye same, even that I and others
of ye ministry were endued with your spirit, with yt pru=
dence, moderation, yt compassion on soules, that skill, yt ear=
=nest desire or zeale of promoting Christs kingdom in their
Conversion, that Catholick charity & love to all mankind
wch hath made you so in earnest & vigorously to desire & endea=
vour their salvation; though I say this were much to be
desired, yet I knowing how much your capacities & attaine=
=ments have placed you above others, account yt I advance to
a faire pitch in my desires in wishing that I with multitudes
more were in those respects almost such as you are. 146
And indeed unless I am selfe-deceived I doe desire ever to
judge & foretell with you, that an idle, Barren, worldly, selfe-sa=
=ving life is a preparation for a terrible death. This foresight
if there were no other, were enough to make men, especially
those of ye Ministry, truely wise diligent & fruitfull. To respect
ye End or close of a mans conversation on earth is surely ye truest wisdom,
there being nothing of more soveraigne influence in governing a
mans life than ye consideration wt will be most joyfull or terrible
to ye mind in ye review at ye upshott of it. And this I learn't
long since in some part or other of your weighty & powerfull
writings. I likewise cannot but often & greatly lament with you;
~~[illegible]~~, ye largeness of Sathans
Dominions, ye seeming prevalence of his workes of wickedness & dark=
=ness over the glorious heavenly Light, ye darkness, & disaffected=
=ness of ~~[illegible]~~ sinners, ye paucity, unskilfulness, & coldness for ye most part of those

who are constituted ye promoters of Gospell Light. And here I must beginne with a most serious Lamentation of my owne unskilfulness & remissenesse in this great affaire. And I would earnestly de=sire such a sense hereof as may more & more excite me by fervent prayer, & greater diligence in my vocation to redresse them. Likewise upon consideration of ye great evills wch in your letter you so much lament, I would ever reason in ye same manner that you doe: that it is become in our Age, if in any, most necessary that ye Guides of soules such as ~~[illegible]~~ stand in the front of Christs Army, should now bestirre ymselves with all their might labouring somewt at least to remedy the evills before deplored, & in order thereunto cheifly pursuing those great & excellent qualifications (mentio=ned in your letter) wch may fitt ym for so great a Work. And there is nothing wherein I would more heartily joyne with you than in sincerely wishing & praying for that Ministeriall faithfulness wch may recommend us to God & men, & for a grea=ter measure of those graces wch wee must preach unto Others, for more of yt vitall love, faith & hope wch ~~[illegible]~~ so much guides & enlivens us in our Work both as Ministers & as Christians. And alas without these wt sorry work would be all that wee doe both in Religion & in ye Ministry. But why doe I men=tion my selfe with you, who am as of yesterday, & know so little in yt great work, in wch you have arrived to so long & great an experience: Surely I should have wholy forborne so to doe had I not a desire to attaine to those faire things, those excellent qualifications (above all) wch your letter mentions, & herein to follow your great & conspicuous Example.

As to ye subject of Conciliation about the Arminian points & my late request that you would give me some of your thoughts upon it. I have to say, That I count my selfe happy in yt by my letter I brought to your Remembrance Mr Corbetts request to you at his ~~[illegible]~~ departure so happily agreeing with yr foregoing mind. And I am bound heartily to thank you for ye promise wch you give me of attempting this Conciliation; & herein you will not only doe me a great advantage but also (such is your truly ge=nerous communicative mind) multitudes more whose apprehensi=ons are so odde & confused about those points. I have not yet gott your Book of ye Grotian Religion (it being somewt out of print & bought up, having been so long since sett forth) but I will yet seek after it, & the satisfaction wch you give in this mat=ter briefly in ye Preface. And having obtained it I shall know wt I already believe & am assured of by your letter, viz the un=groundednesse of his charge agt you as A calumniatour, & ye unlikelyhood of ye Report & opinion, yt Grotius was of ye Judgment of ye Church of England. Surely if he had been so he who wrote so freely & so much would have left somewt on Record thereabout, unlesse it be true yt he became of yt ~~opinion~~ mind only just at his Death.

As to Dr Parkers Preface I observe that it is generally very much disgusted by moderate & wise men of all Parties as the most fierce & intemperate language that hath been committed to presse this many yeares. He surely is a man that gives himselfe a strange liberty of saying.

guilty with her not being certainly knowne yet, the more are ye surmises & ye worse are the reflections about it. As for ye other Churches in Salisbury they are much frequented, there being two very worthy men Ministers therein, & few or no dissenters. And yet Mr Horton (Mr Perrots great acquaintance) though a truly pious man, yet is of such a fiery constitution that he can scarce preach a sermon without a satyr agt the Nonconformists.
I am Deare & Reverend Sir your most
Obliged Servant Robert Middleton.

any thing. His hard language towards you is methinks very frivoulous Juvenile & insulting: & you are not ye first yt wonder yt a Sick-man (you know whome) should say that his Invectives were not too sharp all things considered. Some moderate Episcopall Divines hereabout yt are Dr Parkers friends & acquaintance confess yt his Answerer hath very well chastised him, & rebuk'd his Luxuriant style, especially in ye former part of his Answer ~~though towards~~ swerved from his buisness ye latter end he hath too much shewn his Spleen & quarrelled with a whole Order of men instead of one of yt Order. In ye Book it selfe wch Dr Parker Prefaceth though I cannot but dissent from ye Reverend Author in severall things, particularly his misrepresentation of you, & misconstruction of some of your words, & in his too favourable plea for ye Book of Sports (a thing not to be mentioned by pious souls without regrett) & for meere Readers &c though I say I cannot but much dissent from yt worthy Prelate Herein, yet I am much of his mind in yt opinion in wch he fully agreeth with you viz. yt the points about wch ye Xian world have in this last age so much contended, have occasioned such differences as have been meere mistakes one of another betweene ye contending parties, & that because not rightly & scholastically stated.

If you ask how affaires goe with us here at Salisbury I can adde but little to wt I have before enformed you of. The three Non-conformist-ministers in Salisbury, all wch inhabit & have their meeting places in one of ye Parishes only, (called St-Edmonds, are come to this Settlement (as I am told by one of Note in yt Parish) they preach each Lords day twice in their turnes at two distinct places, the same man preaching both times & ye same sermon at both places, where ye one preaches in ye forenoone the other in ye Afternoone, & e contr. — & besides this they oft preach on ye week dayes whether by way of Lecture, or on Humiliation dayes I am not certaine. They have a hundred & Fifty pounds per ann raised among their Auditours for their maintenance. Fifty pounds each Minister. They are so much blame-worthy as greatly if not wholy to desert their parish Church where Dr Whitby a person of great Learning, piety & meekness is their Minister who hath constantly preached twice a day (though at first somewt agt ye Bps mind) & so continues, to ye end that his parishioners might have no excuse for absenting ymselves. But as if they designed to confront ye Publick they beginne and end morning & evening with them, neither ye ministers nor ye people coming nigh their Assemblies, so far are they from imitating your excellent Example herein, or complying with ye Rules wch you gave to Non-confor. as well as Conform. in a late book written in Reply to Dr Fulwoods Toleration not to be Abused. Would they but seriously consider the force of your Arguments there, & those used by Dr Conant in his late Excellent ~~[illegible]~~ Persuasive to peace & unity &c all things would be in a great forwardness towards a good understanding & happy agreement twixt all. Mr Hunt hath expressed [illegible] to Dr Whitby his willingness to regulate the meetings so that they shall not interfere with ye Publick but ye other ministers are somewt hott, & will not so much as condescend to yt, & they ~~[illegible]~~ intimate that they cannot persuade their people thereto. Somewhat hath lately befallen them that their adversaries have bruted much to their disgrace & an imprudent Doctour hath reflected on, in ye Pulpitt at ye Great Church, viz. the Incontinence of a young woman that seemed to be of Note among them. The man that hath been

guilty with her not being certainly knowne yet, the more are ye surmises & ye

My Lord & my Lady make frequent & kind mention of you, & kindly remember to you & Mrs Baxter.

Your prayers for me, your counsells to me, & your converse by letter are much desired, & as much prized & accepted by me.

For the Reverend his much
Honoured friend Mr
Richard Baxter
theſe
at Totteridge.

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Sir

As none in the world hath better
y Layd open ye mystery of Pietie
So I hope you will acknowledge
I have taken the best way to dis-
cover the mystery of iniquitie
Before wch i was not to omit
you among many virtuosi ~~&~~
Godly, and Mecenates i write to
these letter (namely Dr Coxe
who hath given 20 lb.) having
borne my burden of printing
and binding this booke ~~to~~
make me able to present to
those of whom all in requitall
i expect is their blessing and
prayers for the life of faith
wch you have excellently set out
and wch is ye only thing I
begge of God and you being

devoted to
you in all
observance

March 30.
1671

Lewis du Moulin

yr letter is ye 29

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Sir
As none in the world hath better
Layd open ye mysterie of [illegible]
So I hope you will acknowledge
I have taken the best way to dis-
cover the mysterie of Iniquitie
Before [illegible] it was not to omit
[illegible] Reverend &
among many
you [illegible] I write to
Godly and learned [illegible]
these letters [illegible] Dr Cox
who hath given [illegible]) having
[illegible] my burden of printing
and binding this booke to
make me able to present to
those of whom all in request
I expect is their blessing and
prayers for the best of faith
[illegible] because [illegible] out
and [illegible] only thing
[illegible] of God and your being
Devoted to
you in all
March 30 obedience
1671 Louis du Moulin

[illegible] 269

8

Reverend Sr

I know not whither to direct my letter to you. I wrote to you twice before I published my defence. to my first letter you gave an answer, but very farre from satisfaction. I wrote another to which you were pleased to returne no answer, yor owne reason you best know. I hope Sr I have let no words drop from mee unbecomming a christian. other ministers being judges tell mee I have not. I know yor pen cannot erre. & I desire but one favour of you, that you in one place, where I have made my proposition Indefinite, [which in some cases, in materia necessaria, is a generall] you would take my meaning, that I intend it but for particular Prop: p. 15: Some Meditation is not Divine worship. so I conceive it a truth. so p. 31. but fals printed. there I deny it againe. but there also you may please to take it, as a particular proposition. but take it in reference to yor Argument from preaching which I am speaking to. then let the Propos: bee genll. No meditation is Instituted worship: as Preaching is. this is all the favour I desire at yor hands. nor had this ever come in, had you but dealt candidly with mee, & not charged mee with often repeating a passage, which I did but once, & then did not oppose you neither, only in the end, I made a question, or doubt, propounded it but modestly, you might have resolved the case, & proved that All meditation [in reference to spirituall ends] is Divine worship. but this came in but obiter.

If you intend no more than you say you doe not p. 30. to stirre up christians to the practise of 3 phil: 20. 6. math. 21. I have done, & fully accord with you. but little doe you & other Divines know what tentations you put others upon. wt said one to mee since my piece came forth as to yor booke in this point, & other ministers straining of things, & a good understanding christian, & I hope truely godly. said hee, these men would make us call all into question, & quite throw of all; were there not some body to oppose their writings. (this is good worke to put soules under such tentations. tis not Gods booke, but yor & other mens bookes put them upon this temptation.) I desire this curtesie of you, when you charge mee with crimes the next time, make the world see you have cleare ground for yor charge. I have not requited you with ill termes. yor owne friends ~~[illegible]~~ saw you had wronged mee. but that Conformist spake true, who told mee before ever I wrote to you. take this from mee you shall not finde mr Bax: a man ready to acknowledge wrongs. it seems a relation of his had to deale with you, & found it so; which made him speake it.

At to mr ffullwood [if hee bee the Author] & you I see you are, in for a while. I was willing to cast away a shilling upon the booke, because I now know by him, what the Church of England is. but till I met with that, I resolved to send the booke againe, by what I read in it, ~~[illegible]~~ & that is all the worth in the booke. I presume the man will meete with his answer. but the Lord grant that Atheism & profaneness get not head by this one Division. Sr I must very much honour the graces & gifts of God in you, & desire to continue

19th. Nov: 692. I send to m[illegible]ust

yor unworthy friend & servant
G: Firmin.

x

Reverend & much hono^red S^r.

9

Yo^rs I receyved on Saturday last, the 27th instant. And knowing not how long it hath been coming to mee (because it hath no date) and finding by it that Mr Cares. had another reason of his backwardnesse, then ever I expected to hear of the young Enamourato, after such a character given him by my friend the minister (of whom I wrote to you in my former) I could have no rest in my spirit till I had posted this to you, though it signify little, more then to prevent my own trouble, which I should never bee able to shake off while I live, if through too much credulity (my own of my friend aforesaid, or others of mee) I should become an occasion of betraying a Gentlewoman to the temptations of an unequall yoke. The character I have given of the parents I cannot but own, partly upon my own knowledge, & partly upon the constant testimony of all the good people round about them. wherein neverthelesse I except the Estate, of which I know nothing but by vulgar report. The young Gentleman I am wholy ignorant of, nor had I known whether there had been such a person in nature, ~~but~~ if my friend had not upon this occasion told mee of the man and his manners. I confesse when I heard him described I could not but blesse God for the parents sake, who had given them a son so worthy of themselves. Et laudare fortunas suas qui filium haberent tali ingenio praeditum. Nor can I suspect either the judgment or the fidelity of the reporter. But considering that the presence of a Cato is enough to transforme rudenesse into civility, and how ingenious men are to conceal their extravagancyes from the observation of those whom they reverence, I crave this favour from you, that neither your selfe, nor the Gentleman yor kinsman would ascribe any thing to my former letter, but esteem it wholy as not written, unlesse I shortly second it by another to the same purpose. And yet herein also I am in a streight: for I live a great way from the place of the gentlemans dwelling: and have seldom either the ability or commodity of riding a journey of any length, & most of my acquaintance thereabouts are either removed or dead: that I cannot readily think of a person thereabouts upon whose word I dare pawn my credit; though I shall not bee wanting to doe what in mee lays. Therefore I intreat you to adde a second favour, that if for want of sufficient information I forbear to write to you any more about this businesse, you doe not interpret it as a recalling the testimo I have receyved and given of the young Gentleman, but onely that I am unable to give either my selfe or you that satisfaction as in matters of this nature would bee expected. that for mee the businesse may bee where it was, & neither receyve furtherance nor hinderance by mee. I have been so often acquainted with the sad consequences of an erro^r in matters of this nature, that you may assure yor selfe I will not bee blinded nor byassed into a facile credulity: as indeed I have no temptation to it, being wholy unconcerned in the businesse, farther then as common civility hath engaged mee to give you the trouble of a letter about it. And if you think my affections may trapanne mee, I pray S^r think with all that yor selfe have the greatest interest in them of any man upon earth, whom consanguinity doth not bind mee to: though my fear (and onely it) of troubling yor studyes hath hitherto forced mee to a contentednesse of being so farre a stranger to you as not to crave yor advise in some points, wherein I believe one line from you might have saved mee many weeks labour of mind, and that without any peremptory resolution at last. I have no more S^r to trouble you with at present but onely to crave an interest in yor prayers, and the acceptance of the tender of my highest respects, who am S^r

Childrey.
July. 30.
1667

Yo^rs in all observance
Benj. Woodbridge.

For the Revd. Mr Richard Baxter
at his house at Acton these.
ddd.

Leave this with Mr Tyton at the three
daggers in fleet street to bee sent as
above.

London.

Reverend & Deare Sr.

How my letter should finde a way to yor hand I could not tell. for I neither knew
the place of yor abode, & though I did, yet I knew not by whom to send. But at last I
thought the bookseller who printed yor ~~[illegible]~~ booke against mee knew both
where you lived, & how to convey it, by him then I ventured it. That it would seeme
1st. strange to mee to read my name in ye title page of you ~~[illegible]~~ who never so much as men-
-tioned one letter of yor name, ~~you~~ [how therefore I should Iuite you I know not] I
suppose you did expect. It was strange indeed not only to mee, but to others. Gentlemen
judged it an unhandsome act. a godly Conformist who first told mee of it, spake
very soberly these words upon it, [having I suppose observed something else before] hath
mr Bax: no friend to tell him of this Magisterial spirit &c. but this was the least.
2ly. till August last I never saw it. when I read the title page then I saw something
worse: hee that reads it will presently conclude mee a person, that have excepted
against heavenly meditation. the Lord hath not left mee as yet to such wicked-
-nesse, I hope never will. had you put in, a review of your owne Treatise con-
-cerning heavenly meditation it might have gone of well. It is one thing to
except against heavenly medita: & another to except against somethings in a
Treatise concerning heav: med: this is wrong offered to mee I am sure, what ever
the first was, & is observed by other ministers
3ly. I finde. p.9. you charge mee with Reducing the Rule to our impotent sinfull
natures, & crooked lives. / this is such wickednesse that I might question any
truth of grace if it bee true as you charge mee; & may justly blast ~~both~~
all my ministrie & labours. this was noted by other ministers before I saw
it, a heavy charge.

4ly. In p.24. you tell mee, you may conjecture what a gentle censurer I am of
short & seldom preaching. &c. twice there & p.17. once, you make mee
a favourer of seldom preaching, Instruction. &c. yet sr in that very
page within 3 or 4 lines of the place where you fetch yor conjecture, I
expressly mentioned, frequent, often, meditation. sr are frequent & seldom
synonimaes? will not my practise when I was in the ministrie, give you a
better ground for yor conjecture? I pray sr enquire.

5ly. In p:20. you tell mee, I often mention the non intermixing of other
thoughts? I pray how often? In the question it must bee put, because
you had so put it in description of the Duty. p.153. [edit. 4th] & 252. I
mention it but once that I can finde. then I say, I have nothing
against it. only in the close of the paragraph, I make a Quaere. how
little opposition if any at all, I complained indeed of the vanitie of
my owne heart as I had & have cause. But sr is once, often? I am sure
I spake to it but once; It slips my eye if I did any more.

6ly. whereas I concealed the question ~~prayer~~ because I would not give wanton hearts
so much as the least occasion to quarrel with familie prayer twice a day, by
understanding there was ever a question about it. you, though you were
never named, proclaime it to bee a familie prayer. wch a godly Conformist
who read yor booke long before I saw it tooke very ill. you might have
concealed it, hee said, as well as I did. Let it passe.

For other passages wch I meete withall that were something harsh,* I omit
them. I had warning given mee before it was Mr Baxters pen, then you
know what you might looke for. though it was acknowledged by them, & I doe
also acknowledge it with thankfullnesse you have treated mee with respect
& more than I deserve. you give a Caveat to yor Reader that hee must not
looke on mee an enemie to a heavenly life, & you doe it with words strong
enough. yet sr this will not doe. But I am censured abroad by such as
would know mee that I was one that did labour to breake downe the strictnesse
of pietie. a pious Lady told mee at London it was spoken to her. I was ama-
-zed at the report, & could not tell whence it should arise: for though I
have cause to sit on the dunghill with shame & sorrow, for what I know

* before I sealed I met with one of our brethren, whom for pietie & wisdome I reckon inter primos. hearing
I had answered yor booke was very importunate with mee to looke to my spirit in my answer fearing such
writings, & the more because of very unhandsome passages in yor booke, which hee instanced in more then
what I mention & feared they might provoke mee: & that ~~[illegible]~~ hee was very loth should bee to give our adversa-
-ries advantage against us. [illegible] to read our [illegible] / I hope God will keep mee.

know by my selfe, yet now for almost 40 years since I thought I began
to looke towards God, I was never reputed such a one. when I came to
read yor booke then I saw ground for this report. the premises
ly faire. He that reduceth Gods Rule to our sinfull natures crooked
Line. He that except against heavenly meditation; He that's a
gentle censurer (i.e. a favourer) of short & seldom praying & other
labours to beate the strictnes of pietie. This Proposition is true
I will affirme the same.

The Assumption you apply to mee. which if you can make good
[which God forbid I had rather have beene a toad]. the Conclusion is
strong & undeniable.
these things Sr lay sore upon my spirit, though I desire heartilie to
make use of this Providence of God in letting such lines come from you,
& others thus to censure mee; I can professedly avouch, though I am car-
nall & vile. yet the Law, the Rule of God, is spirituall holy, very good.
I would not have it altered; I submit, I subject, I approve the goodnes
of it desire it, pray for it, & love it [in some measure] though I cannot
reach it. I esteeme it a point of heaven to come up to all the will of God.

An answer to yor booke I was told was expected. I drew up an answer
more ~~large~~ & easier for the reader to understand the answer. I resolved
against sharpnes & unhandsome expression, from the duty lying upon mee
& the honour I beare to yor grace & abilities. Sr I honour you, though
I cannot reach you. Dr Merton told me there was sharpnes in my
answer. that I liked not, & tooke another course, in which I hope you
shall not find one word. ministers told mee they were confident you
would doe mee right, therefore I expunged those things that were
so bitter, & resolved to give you notice of them in private.

Had an answer come with some sharpnes, I perceive it would have been
excused by many: for what the matter is, in this last piece you have
put forth to answer Mr Bag: I know not. But what with this, &
yor piece of the Cure of church Divisions, I see you have lost very
much among the Non-conformists, & old Parliament partie. Sr, though
I am a person that have almost as great a latitude as you have
as to those who differ from mee in lesser opinion, viz Anabapt:
Indep: Presbyt: Episco: that hold the doctrin of chu of Eng: And in
church-worship, I know not the least points, by yor writings, in
which you & I differ but we agree fully, yet I wish you had never
put forth that piece of the Cure &c. nor those Determinations &
those excerpta out of them, what a stirre they made in our
Country. a Knight brought downe the Pamphlets & scattered them.
Sr you have spoken so much for separation that we desire no more.
& to bring us over to those of thy stamp. alas Sr yor I cannot approve it doe religion
is a toy: the conference you had with them, declare it was Will
they fought for: to roote out all that were not of their game; as
for Gods honour, & peace of the church, the least thing intended.
your bringing in the old Non-conformists against us, is taken very
ill, as if these were the same: for the carriage of abundance
who crowd under the Name of Non-conformists, I doe abominate
it with yor selfe; had godlines beene the thing these men had
designed; had Discipline beene rightly administred, Doctrine sound & but
moderation in Impositions, the pride & wantonnesse of many Church-
men would have made mee gone farre to have closed with
an Episc: partie. But Sr you must be silent. what you have ly by you
against Conformitie I know well, though I seldom mention it onely

to friends. no more of this:

ffor my writing to you before I publishd &c. Sr I named you not
at all. have not others written upon meditation, & commended heavenly
joyes as an object beside yor selfe? why then ~~[illegible]~~ must you bee the
man? But Sr had yor satisfied me (which truely Sr you have
not in this) what is this, to the many you have troubled? I
was telling a No: conf: [a man for his learning, pietie, sober
frank nature, honoured of all that know him, ~~[illegible]~~ or know
them his workes] what I heard you had written against mee.
hee gave mee this answer; Doth not mr Baxter know hee
hath beene preached against for this thing? ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ Sr I
am not the only person that have beene dissatisfied with this: I honour
very much the great grace & greate abilities you discover in it, but
Sr will you to whom the Lord hath given Benjamins messe, exalted
you above yor brethren in common gifts, as well as speciall. when you
were on the top of Pisgah, there make Rules for other poore
christians, what they must doe daily? what Gods Rule is wee know
well; & poore christians will take ~~[illegible]~~ your Rule for Gods Rule. if
once you speake of Duty, sincere christians will soone take that, &
if cannot reach it, then all is naught with them. the gate
is ~~[illegible]~~ straight enough, & the way narrow enough flesh & blood will
were enter in. but if houre or halfe houre meditation of joyes
of heaven daily without other thoughts intermixing, bee a Duty
God enjoynes his people, then those that have grace will hardly
get in. the same rule for rich, poore: master, servant; ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ man, woman: I knowe no difference.
sound worke I like & endeavour both to preach & practise: but
to preach ~~&~~ or write any thing that should justly grieve, or
trouble a sincere hearted christian I must mislike it. I saw other
men besides yor selfe, who in pointe of meditation & Daily
conversation, have multiplyed such abundance of Rules, that I
wonder what they meane. I have read the workes of old Divines,
~~[illegible]~~ mr Rich. Rogers 7 Treatises (a very spiritual piece) &c christians
were then as warme & lively (oh that it were so now with us)
as now, but they did not lay so many Rules upon their Readers
as wee doe. an easie matter for men versed in parts & grace
to make ~~[illegible]~~ & multiply Rules. But I must breake of. I hope
Sr in what I have done you shall finde no word unbecomming
a minister; there you have my minde clearly before you; if you
consent unto me (as I hope you will) the controversie is ended.
my Apothecarie lives at the Bell & Dragon in Aldersgate street
if you please to send any letter at any time, & there leave it to bee
left, it will come safe to my hand. will you please but to give
a promise that you will indeed remember me in yor prayers
you shall engage his affections much unto you: who is

Sr

yor unworthy Brother [yor
very unworthy to bee called yor
brother, & servant in the Lords
worke]. Giles Firmin

Redgwell in
Essex. 9th: sept: 71.

I forgat to give you ~~[illegible]~~ thanks that you tooke notice
of that humorsome spirit; that if they have taken a
a prejudice to a mans Name: what ever that man hath
spoken or written must not bee examined though with
great respect. It is so with divers in Essex, who confesse
they cannot answer what those worthy men have printed
& if not, are cut of from their behaviour, yet are angry &
will not buy the bookes. as if I did not honour them as much as
they, being men whom I knew ~~[illegible]~~

For the reuerend & my much
honoured friend Mr Richard
Baxter.

Leave this with Mr Nevil
Simmons at the signe of the
three Crownes neare
Holborn Conduite to bee
sent as aboue written
with care.
I pray.

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1

Honoured Sr.

I shall not take notice of all the particulars in your Large Letter: somethings doe require answer. ffor my Name, Sr, you may put it where you please; that your putting of it in the title page, when I had not mentioned one Letter of yors was judged a magisterial & vnhandsome Act blame not mee, it was by others both serious & vnderstanding christians: but that was not so much trouble to mee as other things were. That I mentiond the names of other holy men now dead, & so cannot answer for themselves, it is true Sr, I did so, & yet I thinke you have no cause to blame mee. ffor their Names I conceive it was with others as with mee; they being men so eminent & holy (almost all known to mee) the reverence wee bare to the persons, made their doctrins the more to shake & trouble vs. their Names gave the Authoritie to their doctrines. they were their doctrines. had other men published them, I should not much have troubled my selfe about them, nor would others so much have regarded them.

That I answered, they being dead, doe not blame mee neither. ffor 1st. while they lived I was but a Novice in the studie of Divinitie, I never medled with the ministry while I was in the wildernesse. but with Country-employments, & after in the study of Physick, taking my share in the afflictions soone after the plantation began. should I answer while but a Novice? 2ly. yet I wrote to mr Shephard, & had his answer, which I published without fraud. the next returne of ships (as I remember) hee was dead, & mr Hooker before him. 3ly The more years I lived the more experience I had what trouble their doctrines had caused, & since I published, I heare more. 4ly I knew they had children, or successors able enough to defend their ffathers doctrines if they judge them true: men of better parts than my selfe. I hope this may satisfie, as to what you alledge against mee in this pointe.

ffor the Consequences you thinke may bee inferred concerning these men if their doctrines fall, I was as far from these thoughts as heaven from Hell. All that I thought was this, if these eminent men did meete with such workings vpon their spirits (whither while only vnder preparations to christ, or closing with Chr) I thought it not sufficient to make their experiences a Rule for All; vnlesse the scriptures had warranted them. this was the worst I thought.

ffor my Impatience of Contradiction, you tell mee of. O Sr, I grant, too impatient, too proud, I would speake it with shame: but yet not so proud a foole, to thinke, all men must say as I say, judge as I judge. but if they will examin what I write & with a christian spirit argue, & sift out the truth against mee, that now I should grow impatient, this were high pride indeed. no Sr, they are the intermixtures of vnhandsome, vnnecessary, Lashes, expressions, which tend nothing to the cleering of the question, which I except against; else were there nothing but a sober christian spirit, speaking onely close to a question, I should love arguing too well. when severall sheets had passed between Dr [not long after Bp] Gauden & my selfe about Episcopacie, [though hee began sharp enough] yet in the

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the Conclusion, hee gave mee his hand that hee would have a respect for mee ever after: wee could argue very well without impatience, though wee opposed echother. nor was I so impatient when in the pulpit I was opposed about Dogmaticall ffaith, Christians expected a hot returne of answer; but were mistaken. though I am bad enough, yet God hath not given mee up to such a spirit, both proud & foolish./

How you could bring that in the p.p: for an argument against mee, till you had first proved from the Scripture, or by necessary consequence from Scripture that Gods Rule, & your Rule (which was the question) were the same, I cannot imagine. I have beene trying to cast it into a syllogisme, see how it would bee concluded, that I reduced Gods Rule, to our sinfull natures. & that you have proved yor Rule to bee Gods Rule, from the Scripture, [without which I regard not words] I finde nothing like it. an understanding Divine before I saw yor Booke, [for I saw it not till August] looked on it as a sharp charge. And another judicious Divine, one of yor intimate acquaintance, but a stranger to mee, saith you have wronged mee, in the severall particulars I mentiond. but you owne no such thing. then let it goe.

ffor other things in yor Letter, I passe them by; I must either say more than I am willing to write, & you to read, or say nothing; I chose the Latter.

Till yesterday I did not heare from the stationer to whom I sent my Copy: I thought it had miscarried. some tell mee my answer (or reply) is expected. but others in Citie & in Country doe so presse mee not to publish any thing more about the question, that I am in doubt what to doe. these desire mee not to doe it. because they would not have the adversaries take notice there is such difference between us. as also because (they say) I have spoken enough already: two Learned Divines I heare of (& one of them told mee himselfe) who never had read what I had published about the question, but by reading yor answer they perceived how the Case stood, & thought I need write no more. I know you are farr from these thoughts, then you would not have charged mee so fiercely. this may call for writing againe. & for the first, if it bee done with a sober Christian spirit, I thinke it can doe no hurt. & truely if I doe publish any thing, I hope you shall read no such unhandsome expressions against you, as I meete with in yours; though I deny not, you have spoken of mee better than I deserve in some places*. but as yet I am not determined what to doe. I will take further counsell of ~~[illegible]~~ my Brethren. I must professe my selfe much dissatisfied in yor answer in severall particulars. (I meane as to the question laying by yor Lashes) so are others, very godly* & able Divines. / If no body have published any thing against it before, the pulpit hath opposed it & wt perplexed thoughts you have caused in Christians I doubt not but you know, by what an intimate friend of yors heard you speake, who told it mee againe severall yeares since. & not many weekes are passed, since I heard two serious Christians say. If that bee Gods Rule, as Mr Bax: hath charged his Reader, wee must never come in heaven. I observe in yor piece against mee

* a godly gentleman that read over yor booke before I saw it, told mee Mr Bax: breaks yor head, then given you a plaster

* (Cogenhoe)

that seven times you mention Abilitie & Opportunitie: Sr had you mentioned Abilitie but twice, yea but once, when you summed vp yor Large discourse, you had never read a Line of mine about it. But that is it I have heard precious Christians, of good vnderstanding in the gospel mysteries, holy in Conversation, complaine of, they could not hold their minds so intent so fixed, vpon one object, as you & others have written. But I never read any man to tye them vp, to an Houre, or halfe houre [when the scripture hath determined no such thing for time] but yor selfe. Had not you charged mee heavilie, with reduceing of Gods rule, to our sinfull nature; & that I am but a gentle censurer of seldome preaching &c, thus bringing my name vnder reproach, which you confesse a christian should justly take care of, I might easilie bee taken of; seeing ministers are so satisfied as to the question it selfe that I have said enough already & need no more: vnlesse yor answ: it had taken mee of.

But whither I doe or not, let mr Baxter know I have a very high opinion of him in my heart, I looke on him as one in the high fforme of Christs schoole; on my selfe, but a poore empty Creature. & shall therefore still desire you to remember him in yor prayers, who is,

Sr
One vnworthy to be called
yor brother.
G: Firmin.

Ridgwell.
17th: Octob: 71.

To the reverend & his much
honoured freind, Mr Richard
Baxter

I pray leave this with Mr Nevill
Simmons at the signe of the three
Crownes neere Holborn Conduit
whom I desire to convey this
with care.
London.

3

Sr.

I am halfe of the minde that it is a meditation wch hath somtimes sollicited yours as well as other mens breasts, whither the Apocalyps might not bee disignd by the most Blessed spirit for the sacred Calendar of ye N.T. as Dan. prophecies were for ye ould, conteininge namely a glorious Chaine of the most notable events through all ages, (every age to witt beinge character'd by its appropriate event) by wch sacred connexion, as by a holy continued line the faithfull and vigilant might bee guided downe to our sweetest saviours second cominge, as they by Dan. series might have beene guided to his former. If yr but favourably entertaine this first hypothesis, the second will thus result upon it; yt these so wondrous transactions of ours in Britaine may probably have beene pitchd upon by ye Spirit for the character of this age, (these beinge without exception, the most remarkable that have befallen Christnedome (the Revelations peculiar concernment) in the age of man.) And I am sure yr will not bogle that Britaine should bee chose for the scene, since upon Romes defection (wch was once the most considerable Theatre) The Reformed Church (and Britaine chiefely in that ranke) is sure the choicest (though not the largest) part of christnedome, and consequently the fittest for the divine stage of present transactions, as Rome hath beene for ye former. I will but moove a third consideration, and so leave this letter (with ye papers) to yor view. Whither it can bee easily digested that the Late commotions in Brit. could have beene agitated to and fro with so rare a springe of swift and active motion, had not some energeticall prophecy lyne underneath, wch wee have found by experience was allwayes wont to quicken and invogorate the progresse of affaires upon the appointed mutation of each severall Monarchy, answerable to those powerfull revolutions wch Holy Daniels prophecies have acquainted us with. Now Sr, I shall onely begge that yr will favourably peruse the observations, and helpe to guide the minde of Sr

yor most hearty and wellwishinge
Christian brother
Tho. Hone.

Sr yr will pardon wt mistakes yr may peradventure finde in ye writing of ye papers, beinge performed by a friends hand not very skillfull in Orthography.

156

To his much honord
ffrend mr Backster
these prsent.

Without Answer

(268)

Dear Sr,

Earnest business before me, will not suffer me to write much. I have long seen cause to take up ye same complaint, you do. How many poor souls (alas) yt are now straying, & stumbling upon ye dark mountains! Its hard to keep a mean, or nature is ever bent upon extreams. Hence, ye more averse some are from separation, ye more inclined to superstition: & ye more averse others are from superstition, ye more inclined to separation. The milky way, ye golden mean here is, (as I conceive) to own wt hath Gods stamp on it in publick worship, & to mourn for, & take heed yt we be not ensnared by wt is spurious, ye sinfull device of man. I must joyn in ye publick worship of G., notwithstanding there are great corruptions in it; only in ys case, I ought narrowly to watch my heart & carriage, yt I joyn not in ye corruptions. I take it to be a very false principle, yt presence at Gods worship should argue or approbation of ye corruptions in worship, unlesse we do there publickly protest agt ym. This principle maintained would rend in pieces all ye publick Xtian societies in ye world, or fill them wth confusion. For wt society is there to be found, (whose guides are fallible, whose prayers, sermons, are not immediately inspired by ye H. Gh:) but have something of man mixed wth ye worship of God; and so either we must not joyn wth yt congregation at all, wch hath not ordinances administred absolutely pure, & free from all corruption; or else, wn we meet wth any thing amisse there, even private persons must publickly reprove it, every one for himself must openly declare his dissent, (I dare not joyn in ys unwarrantable petition, I dare not own wt ye congregation does in singing, while they use a corrupt translation, I cannot subscribe to ys doctrine, to ys interpretation, &c.) And so, men, even good men being of different apprehensions in many things, and yt being judged a corruption by one, which is not so judged by another, they should scarce ever meet together, but be divided, & fall into contention, as they did, Act: 23. 7. This Sr, you will not doubt of, but though it be a greater sin indeed to approve of greater corruptions, yet it is a sin to approve of any corruption in worship: and therefore I must either conclude ye forementioned principle most false, or else resolve never to joyn wth any in duties of worship, but upon these termes, to declare agt every thing amongst ym, wch (in my judgmt) varies never so little from ye Rule of ye word: And this is more than or Antagonists would have, or well know wt to do wth. But ye ground of mens mistaking here, is (as I conceive) yt they are ready to charge ymselves, wth anothers work. This seemes to be ye πρῶτον ψεῦδος of ye way of separation, they yt run into it, understand not their proper places, have not learnt to keep their ranks. It is ye Minrs work to order & methodize ye publick worship of God, to administer Gods ordinances according to his word: It is ye duty of private Xtians to attend on Gods publick worship, and to joyn wth ye Minr, so far as he keeps to ye Rule of G's word. They are neither to prescribe a mode of worship to him, nor to pin their faith on his sleeve: but must prove all things, & embrace yt wch is good. If ye Minr is guilty of some male-administration in his office, it will not excuse ye people from their duty. If he neglects to stir up ye gift of prayer, &c. it may be a losse to his people, but is not their sin. If he brings in disorders, its ye sound Xtians grief & burden; but ye Minrs sin, wch theirs only yt approve ye same. Now to ye plea's for separation, mentioned in yor Lr. Ad 1m Minrs building upon a foundation abjured. Grant corruptions in ye Call of Minrs, yet are these such as quite null, and destroy their office? No covt men can have taken, can ever oblige them to hold such for no Minrs, yt are Minrs, though their manner of entring

into ye Minry was sinfull. We may not speak wickedly, nor talk deceitfully for
God. If they sinned in ye manner of their entrance upon ye Minry, they must
answer for yt: if I am under them, & contemn, turn my back on Gods ordi-
nances dispensed by them, I must answer for yt. If I hear them, I hear ym
not as prelatically ordained, but as minrs, or men ordained to yt office; though
it may be, I could have wisht they had been otherwise ordained; & had it been
in my power — Ad 2m. That instead of making progresse in reformation,
we are retrograde. Grant yt Minrs, & their Congregations (for the generality) are
going back; & what can they do, who are in a private capacity, but mourn
for ye solemn assemblies. The priests were notoriously declined, & gone back
from Gs Institution in offering sacrifice, when Elkanah yet made conscience
of presenting his sacrifice to ye Ld. 1 Sam: 1.3. wth cha: 2.12,13,14,15. And as for
others yt were grown to loath & abhorre ye Lords offerings, they are sd to transgresse,
ibid. v. 17, 24. Indeed I must freely yield, all ought to breath after, pray for
purity of worship, it is ye duty of every one in his place to indeavor reforma-
tion, & therefore we should not sit down satisfied where we are; & yet I dare
not deny, but it is Gods mercy, we have yet ye face of Church-assemblies among
us. A mercy I say, yt Sabbaths & solemn meetings are not utterly forgotten;
so, it is some advantage, yt ye pple have ye word & prayer in a known tongue.
When ye Israelites for sin, were turned about to wander 40. years longer in the
wildernes; yet it was a mercy they were not carried back into Egypt. We
yt have forfeited all ordinances; as we should be sadly sensible of wt we have
lost, so it becomes us to be thankfull for any ye least signes of Gods presence remaining, &
yet enjoyed. Ad. 3m. I say nothing to this; you are willing I should wave it.
Ad. 4m. I question such a minrs call at yt time to exercise his office. Though
he may meet wth others privately, yet not in opposition to ye publick. Our Sa-
viour could have spent ye Sabbath wth his disciples, more profitably, then any minr
on earth can do wth his family, &c. & yet (as Reverend Mr Hilders. observes) he still
frequented ye publick assemblies, wch were as full of corruptions, as ours. To yt wch
they suppose, yt minrs are now driven to such privacy, by ye [intollerable
corruptions] in publick worship. I must distinguish: The least corruption in wor-
ship, is (in this sense) intollerable, scil. yt I may not admit of it, I may not com-
municate in yt corruption: & yet greater corruptions are not intollerable in this
sense, scil. so as to warrant my casting off ye worship of God, where they are.
In ye case before us, when corruptions are such as destroy ye substance of worship, then, and not
before, yt they may be called intollerable. Mr Cr. distinguisheth betwixt errours,
wch are only circa cultum publicum, & such as do viciare subjectum. Its true
if I were a Magistrate, I could not impose ye least corruption, without being
[illegible] If a Minr, I could not introduce ye least corruption among my
pple, without sin: but taken in a private capacity, I may attend on Gs publick
worship, nor are corruptions, without sin, while I am not active in those corrupti-
ons. Indeed, as if I cannot exercise my minry in such a place, except I will declare
my approbation of some sinfull ceremonie, &c. I must conclude, God calles me
off from such ~~an~~ exercise of my minry: because, I may not do any evill, yt
good may come: so if I cannot enjoy such, or such an ordinance, without being
an agent, & partner in some corruption, in this case I must look on myselfe
as barred from yt ordinance. But this seemes clear, I may not forsake Gods
publick worship, because others are bringing in their corruptions: the sin is not
mine, while I cannot help it, neither contribute to it. But when the cor-
ruptions are such as quite destroy ye essence of Gods worship; then I confesse
I am fully discharged, it ceasing to be Gods worship.
Ad. 5m. yt Xt never heard ye Scribes & Pharisees, but when he went to testify agt ym.

This is gratis dictum, will never be made good. The publick reading of ye Law was an ordi-nance of God wch we are able to prove from expresse Scriptures: & it became him to fulfill all righteousnes. He reckones himself a member of ye church of ye Jews (though he was ye Head) [We know, wt we worship: for salvation is of ye Jews.] We Jews, sayes he — where he both ownes them, & their worship, in opposition to yt of ye Samaritans. So Math: 23.2,3. He grants ye Scribes & pharisees sate in Moses seat, they were in ye place of Teachers, & though they were very corrupt, yet ordinarily ye pple could heare no better, wch therefore they were allowed by or Savior to heare; though elsewhere he cautiones them to take heed of their leaven. Hear their doctrine, & follow it, so far as they have Moses Authority for what they say: but take heed of their leaven. But manum de tabula. Sr, I had some discourse wth Mr Cr. when he was in these parts, he then promised me his papers, but hath failed of sending them, I suppose because they are since got into ye presse, as one lately told me, though I have not yet seen them. Mr Ball agt Can, & Triall of ye grounds &c. cha: 8. & 9. hath more in him, than I suppose ye paper you mention can well answer. put a candid interpretation on what I have here written in haste, to answer your desire, (though now I have done, I know not well wch way to convey these lines to you. Keep this paper to yourself. Continue to love, and pray for

Dec: 30th. (62.)

Sr

Yor very affectionate friend &
Brother, J: B.

6

Reverend & worthy Sr.

Yours of the 31 of the last moneth I receyved: rejoycing to see a name so precious to mee, at bottome, before I had read over the contents. As to the matter of your letter, you may please to understand, that Mr White hath appeared but once before ye Commissioners (though hee was many times summoned) & that not to answer any thing of scandall or insufficiency laid to his charge: but onely to show his title to the place whereof hee is incumbent: which having produced, the commissioners voted it invalid (as indeed it was) & gave him some moneths time to confirme it: which is as much courtesy as the best deserving men can expect or receyve from them in such cases. whether hee hath done any thing to fortify his title, I know not: but as yet there is no order drawne up to declare him an Intruder, & his place vacant. The truth is, I went at the time of his appearance, to the commissioners, purposely to befriend him as much as I could, hearing, & in part knowing that hee is a man every way without offense, & for parts, inferior to none of the County. And the reports of his being an Arminian discouraged mee the lesse, because I know his principall adversaryes put that name upon what doctrines they please: insomuch that my selfe am fallen under suspicion of that heresy with them, for nothing in the world, but because I lately preached from Heb. 10: 35, 36. that the heavenly kingdome is given to none but as a reward of theyr precedent service (unlesse they want age & naturall abilityes to performe it.) But when I saw that they charged him with nothing but a broken title (& they could doe no lesse) & upon my request had granted him time to secure it (& they could doe no more) I was not capable to doe him any farther service: though I was resolved before your letter came to my hand (& much more since) to assist him (as farre as my interest goes) in the quiet enjoyment of his place, if nothing more were charged upon him then the common reports of his judgement. As to the other Gentleman concerning whom you write to mee, though hee was returned from N.E. before I came thither, yet hee left such a perfume behind him, that I shall never expect good to Church or State, if ever hee become a man of prevailing interest. Hee had like there to have occasioned sad cutting of throates, & I doubt drives the same designe still. Sr. I have long earnestly desired & often purposed to see yor face: but considering your many incessant labours publiq & private, I have feared lest while I seeke some contentment to my selfe by your company, I become an oppression to you by my owne. If ever Gods providence bring you againe so neere mee as London, and my disease (the gout) give mee leave I shall (if God will) give you a meeting, & there informe you of what I have by common fame concerning the foresaid Gentleman. As also crave your advise & resolution in some Questions, which I am loath to give you the trouble of answering by letter, unlesse yor selfe shall give mee encouragemt thereunto. In the meane time Sr I commend you to the grace of the Lord Jesus, & Rest

Sr
A Reverencer of yor person & Labours
Benj. Woodbridge.

Newbury.
Jan. 6. 1658.

4

Reverend S^{r}

7 I have perused ye book & papers, as much as ye shortness of ye time & my pressing occasions at present would permit. I have not crossed out any thing, tho many words should be changed, & other both words & sentences be left out. And for ye severall reasons you mentiond, think you shall do best to suppress it; & if ever you should publish it, y^{t} you should make a short & full answer to ye preface, & contract what you have writ very much, & make it plainer in many places, & give some clear tho short answer to ye Scriptures, to make y^{m} yet more fully appear to be ridiculously alledged, & add some citations of ye fathers as he doth: But you will never be at y^{t} pains, Nor do I think, this Book deserves it.

And S^{r}, I much approve of the great rules you mentioned as to ye right expounding of ye Apocalyps (& indeed of any other book:) 1 to keep ye main scope of it in o^{r} Eye. 2 to keep to ye things y^{t} are clear, & to bring ye darker Matters to be explained by y^{m}.

Now S^{r}, 1 ye main scope of ye Apocal: is not onely to comfort ye Christians ag^{t} ye Persecution of ye Jews & Heathen Emperours; (wch is done, & ye ruin of ye Heathen state set down ch. 6. 12 &c by ye 6th seal) but also to shew ye state of ye Church to ye end of ye world, & to arm & comfort believers thereby.

As to ye 2^{d}, It seems to be a great & Plain Truth, 1 y^{t} not Rome Heathen, but Rome Xtian & degenerated, is described Rev. 17.

2 y^{t} ye numbers of 1260 days, & 42 months, & a time times & half a time, cannot be understood of naturall daies, & to be but 3 years & a half; or y^{t} ye 3 days & a half, when ye witnesses lie dead (ch. 11. 9. 10,) be only naturall days, for y^{n} they y^{t} dwell on ye Earth would have but a small time to send gifts one to another, & rejoyce

3 y^{t} ye 1000 Years Rev. 20 (& that state Rev. 21. 22) cannot be yet passed, from what time soever you begin them;

for Satan hath deceived ye Nations, & persecuted & destroyed ye Saints too. (tho ye latter be not mentiond Rev. 20.3.) For ye Nations have been deceived by Popish Errours yt grew up; & ye faithful persecuted by yr Romish Church & those they prevaild on; especially in ye 8th & 9th Centuries, when those yt opposed Image worship were horribly destroyed.

Besides, Mahomet rose about ye year 620, & his Doctrine presently overspread all ye East, the South, (Egypt & Africk,) the West, (Spain, & much of France for a time, & Italy;) The Saracens besieg'd Constantinople sore & long; & besides ye havock made by their wars, persecuted Christians qua Christians, tho not alwaies & in all places with ye like Violence. And so ye Saracens continued Lords, till about ye year 1050, Tangrolipix ye Turk came upon ym; & about ye year 1300, Ottoman gathered ye scattred remnants togeth:.

And it cannot but amaze one, yt admires not Popery, to see the glorious state of ye Church, Rev. 21.22, applied by Dr. H. to the years yt preceded ye 1300 y. after Christ, as I think he doth.

And its no wonder ye Apoc was not better understood by ye Ancient writers, nor till towards ye declining of yt corrupt state; yet ye Albigenses about ye year 1100, were not ye first yt cald ye Pope Antichr; for 200 years before yt, ano 863, ye Bp of Treves, Calld [illegible] Babylon &c—

Pardon, Good Sr, this scribble; The God of mercy make us know his Truth; and when we know it indeed, to make it known, and till then, not to trouble ye Church with our Uncertainties.

You say well, yt we lay not our opposition to Popery chiefly on ye dark Revelation prophecy, or on ye question who is ye Antichr, but on ye plain word of God; according to wch, we cannot find yt ye Excellt state of ye Chu: described Rev. 21.22) hath ever yet been.

The God of mercy teach you daily & refresh your heart. I am

Yours to love & honr you

There are (I beleeve) now, & have been in ye further Century, ~~of late~~, as great instances of ye power of ye prayers of S^{ts}; as there was in ye 3^d Century wch you menc̃ond conc: ye Heathen Emp^{ors}.

For the Reverend
Mr Baxter.

Octobr. 27. 73/4

Hond Sr.

I received yrs of octobr 6th on Satturday Last, & I wish for yr owne sake
8 you had better empl[illegible] those howers wherein you wrote it; for I can not foresee any
advantage future by such sterill altercations, I admire the pains but not the study
of such writings, & I can not judge them an improvement but a wasting of yr
tyme, & such as you had now very small provocation to, for if yt Enumeration which
I presented yu with was contemptuous or uncivil or such as you ought to
repent of why do you undertake the defense of it, And if in review of
those severall passages of your Epistles you judged them all becoming
yr gravity piety charity moderation & humility you might have sate
downe in peace, my juvenile mettle (toto genere unlike yr
mettle wch juvenile) did not provoke yu to any debate upon
them: For my part I have not leasure nor list to examine the
severalls of your Letter, I have something else to do then to
attend matters of so small importance as Logomachies are, As young
as I am ~~&~~ I am above such smale games such Push pin disputes
about the sense of though & some &c — But I beseech you Sr
was it not great disingenuity in yu to write as if I thought
my selfe injured by the title of curate, beleive mee Sr as I was
not injured so I did not think my self to be, I know I am a
curate As every one is that has Curam animarum, but I loathed
your contemptuous & contradictious imputation of it unto mee
In yr Lr to mr Sp. & mr Welsh. you call mee there parrish
curate & so in your plainnes you superscribe yr Lette to mee
[illegible] the ~~parish~~ curate of old Swinford, was not this contemptuous? Some
who happened at Kedermr to see ye Endorsmt of yr Lette before it
came to my hands thought so: nor will you be able to extricate yr self
out of ye ~~[illegible]~~ Entanglemt of a contradiction, for first yu call mee the ~~[illegible]~~ worthy
pastor of old Sw: & then afterwards & now agen assert that yt prelacy
as now stated excludeth true pastors under them, whereupon I thus Argue
if there be no true pastors under prelacy as now stated then there are
no worthy pastors — & if no worthy pastors under prelacy as now
stated then Edw. Eccleston is not yr worthy pastor of old Swinford
what say you now? here is no faultring in my logicall faculty no
more then there was in that instance wch yu so upbraid & ~~[illegible]~~ crow
over mee as if you had spurned mee downe & dead at yr feet

ubligly
w~

for if conformity be such a heynous sin & such a multitude of heynous sins, as you contend, & you are as certaine that it is so as you are yt infidelity is a sin, then if you write against infidelity bec: you know it to be a sin you ought also to write against conformity bec: yw know it to be a multitude of heynous sins, if yw can not in consc: suspend your judgmt concerning one knowne heynous sin bec: it is so how can yw suspend yr judgmt of another knowne heynous sin, especially when yw see such vast multitudes guilty & more like to be, A quatenus ad omne is a consequence wch no good conscience will deny, nor any good logician denie as you do calling it pittifull faultring in my logicall faculty: good Sr speak not of faultring in a logicall faculty, for yr self is liable to many a faire hitt on that accomp as might appeare if the forme of your arguments & the strength of your conseqs in discou on the most important subjects were examined, & lest you think this a slander I will present you with one instance which occurreth in yr reasons for Christian Religion Amongst your Argumts for a future state of retribucon this is one which when I read (to use your owne words in another case) it puts mee into an ignorant admira-con what you thought of viz. pag 137 §10 X: if no man be certaine yt there is no future life of retribucon then it is certaine there is such a life: but &c (I omitt yt which followes yr illogicall proofe of an hypotheticall major by a hypotheticall syllogisme formed upon a new medium) this is an argument calculated as well as a man could wish to serve indifferently for any matter of comon uncertainty whatsoever, for a man might argue if no man be certayne there is no world in the moone then there is a world in the moone; & why did not you use this medium to prove the existence of a world of innocent intelligent wights; Do not you see now that an infidel frust in his hopes of satisfaction fro this empty argumt might take up yr words or there like. Sr you have so practically convinced mee of the imperfection of yr logicall rationall faculty yt I despaire of being made a Christian by

I am too tedious, but this stuff will serve to strengthen yr faith of that which you tell mee very gravely you are resolved to believe that god is greater wiser & better then I, I pray hold to your resolucon, but wh then? are any of my letters at enmity with or opposite to what the good & wise g hath sayd in his word? If any of my letters or any passages in them be so I repent of them as I do of my unknowne sins.— but I despaire yt all your logicall skill should shew the pertinent relation of those many t you cite to any matter depending betwixt you & mee, the sin to be reproved & which was reproved in those scripturall instances was evid knowne sin, & unquestionably so, but I trust conformity is farr other for all your opinion of it, have you any arguments to prove confor sinfull which are demonstrative & necessary? such as when propound & understood doe compell assent? modesty would grant yt all yr Argum are but so many ~~[illegible]~~ poore probabilities & the truth is they are weighed down greater probabilities on the other side.

But seeing yow think to trouble mee with no more letters I doe now finally assure yow that as I did not proceed suddenly & servilly into the practice of conformity so my judgment was satisfied in the same & I protest I see yet no reason to recant what I have done, but yet am unfeignedly willing to have all my ignorance cured & all the errors of my understanding rectified, it is my hearty petition what I know not Lord teach mee, I am so farr from hateing light yt I take wonderfull pleasure in beholding it, & do detest ye contentmt of ignorance as drouish, blockish, & unbecoming reasonable nature, but as for your papers they are very farr from irradiateing my understanding with any new light, in your objections there is nihil dictum quod non — private debates with yow are endles & therefore if the [illegible] spare life & give opportunity I think to doe it more publickly but I pray god this controversy be not ere long turn[illegible] out of doores, yow have read Dr Sandersons fear expressed in his preface as the effect of separations & factions Among our selves venient Romani — which the lord prevent

So in hast I rest
Yr ever obliged affectionate
friend. E. Eccleston

For the Revd Mr Baxter.
Leave with mr Nevil Simons
Bookseller att the three feathers
in Pauls Church yd.
London

My Reverend & much Honoured Sr

I am somewhat tardy in the retourne of my ~~thankfull~~ humble acknowledgements for yr last. craveing yr pardon for any hindrance wch I might occasion to yr other affaires. I trust all will be overlookd by yr goodness: and if I have lost any thing in yr good affections, by the discoveries wch I have made, I beseech you let me gett ground in yr compassion. as to the will, that it was or is knowne to Julia it is more then I know; ~~[illegible]~~ever any unwary expression ~~of~~ mine might seeme to look that way.

as to the lawes & customes of the land [wch (you say Sr) maketh a solemnized marriage with congress to be a certaine marriage, and a contract without solemnization or con=gress to be none, where it is put in the competition with the other;] if by solemnizacon you meane such a circumstantiating of the act of contracting as that it may be witnessed & proved, soe as without solemnizacon, that is without proof or evidence, it shall not stand, then it is likely the lawes & customs of the land are such: but if by solemnizacon be meant any other thing, then I humbly apprehend that the stat: of Edward 6. by wch the stat: of Hen: 8: touching precontracts was as to part thereof repealed, makes a proved precontract to outweigh a subsequent marriage though solemnized; & for congress, I know not whether that weigh any thing in the sd statute.

That passage in the book intitled the whole duty of man, I shall be bold to present to you [But above all things, let all take heed that they make not such marriages, as may not only be ill in their effects, but are actuall sins at the time; such are the marria=ges of those that were formerly promised to some other, in wch case 'tis sure they rightly belong to those, to whom they past the first promise, & then for any other to marry them, during the life of that person, is to take the husband or wife of that other, wch is direct adultery as St Paul tels us Rom. 7.3.] yr thoughts of wch will oblige me.

As to that of a dependance on the corporall state, I know not what might be as to continence in case of endeavours & begging the divine grace; though there may be somewhat of difficultie in case of cohabitacon at least; the lord he knowes what is best: if congress be a duty, as I hope it may be, that is my word Sr by wch I discover somewhat ~~[illegible]~~ the inward state & acting of the soule in this case, though feares or doubts attend & sett in, wch I have acted agt, how shall there be a praying in this case?

Give me leave to reflect on this passage of yrs Sr. you say - [the doubts & feares wch have many causes: As ~~they~~ a feare of sin they are of god &c] then if, as under that notion, from god are they not rationall, & dos the lord impose delusions on his creatures? & must they not ~~[illegible]~~ be attended to?

As to that other case of A: & B: releasing one the other, I hope it was not extorted fro A: but because you say Sr, as to A: the debitt, (a man may give away his owne; this is that wch is suggested, whether that of the debitt, may be said to be his owne; & was it in his owne power to remitt the damage & whatever else might render B: obnoxious in conscience unto him: seeing he had seve=rall creditors wch had an interest in him?

Pardon I beseech you Sr the trouble wch this & a few lines fro you may occa=sion. and I crave an interest in yr hart & earnest prayers for

London Jan: 9: 1671:-

Reverend Sr

Yr much obliged thankfull
Servant
John Berry.

Sr I have applied my self to Dr Ridgesly,
& his advice I hope to carrie with me into
the country.

you say Sr that by telling me only yr opinion as you doe
wch is insufficient: is one way to satisfie. but I hope, that though
I ~~doe~~ not look thorough all the grounds & reasons of yr opinion yet
~~[illegible]~~ I may safely take up such sufficiently for it as to stay on it . viz: that you see: &
in doubts, be stay in all [illegible]

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These
For the Reverend & his much
Honoured friend Mr Richard
Baxter minister of the
gosple liueing att
pd Tottridge

[illegible] long silent submission under my sensible losse of yr incomparable assistan[ce] to solve doubts, I crave leave to improve this opportunity of begging the favour of yr fingers to untye a knot or two. I cannot readily assigne the Authors books that have tyed them for me, nor pretend to propose them so exactly because I am disappointed in my expectatio of time for that purpose, & therefore I humbly beg yr candour; with which I presume to desire to give you a large divertisement but only crave a few lines in answer to these few Qs.

1Q Wr it bee true that we must hono.r God in the Magistrate, love God in his Saints &c either 'tis understood ultimately, & so God must be honoured & loved in all creatures, though in different degrees as &c or else that God must be honored in the hono.r of the Mag. & loved in the love of his Saints, effectively, or interpretatively, because those given to those that beare his relative or morall image are acts of obedience wch flow from the hono.r we give to God; & thus ye servts of God hono.r & love God in every act of obedience, & therefore (as also from the Scholemens & others owne expressions) this seemes not to be the meaning. or else formally, i.e. the same hono.r to God & the Mag. the same love to God & his saints; if this be the meaning, I would know wt the love, or what other act or expression of hono.r (sc.) be soveraigne or subordinate, supreame or inferiour (else not to call it religious & civill because the inferiour hono.r to whom God hath made it due is religious as truly as soveraigne to himselfe) if the hono.r of the magistrate or love of the bodie (or of the image of God upon them, which is all one to my present argument for that image is not God but a creature) be supreame then 'tis idolatry, for 'tis the exhibiting of divine hono.r to the creature; if it be inferiour hono.r 'tis blasphemy, for 'tis the depressing of God to the footstoole of the creature. if it be said with the Papists that 'tis a relative hono.r, I answer 'tis but one acte & therefore either supreame or inferiour. if it be said 'tis primarily given to God secondarily to the creature: I aske, if it be one act, whether it is given to the creature secondarily, wt if it be not secondarily idolatry. if it be, 'tis not terminate on the creature below God; I demand, wr the divine hono.r terminate upon God be exhibited to the creature at all or not. if not, 'tis falsely called honoring the Mag. loving the bodie, worshiping an image &c; if it be, then 'tis in tanto idolatry, or participative idolatry. thus Sr I cannot yet understand the propriety of loving God in the Sts, placing the 5t command in the first table, or seting up a media cultus, I meane an objective media, yet not as media excitans, wch is betwixt God & us in point of assistance, but a media terminans, betwixt us & God in point of performance. I thinke the Scholes way of loving the Sts in Deo, is either ideall & nonsensicall, or returnes to the same with loving God in them.

2Q Wr the notion of Satisfaction doe exactly hold forth the interest of Christ's active & passive obedience in or justification & glorification. I shall offer a few causes of doubting of the fitness of this notion; 1 'tis no where to be found in holy Scripture, & that's a blot upon it, & a great weakening to a notion that's put to support such a vast fabrick as some would build upon it. 2ly 'tis inadequate to the benefits obtained by Christ; for all those supereminent gifts of grace & glory that were not in the first covenant cant flow fro satisfactio as such. nay an absolute right to the very life promised in the first covt flows not hence. because satisfaction for an offence but restores to no more then we had before the offence was comitted, but in Adam we had no absolute title to life; on a conditionall title. & to that satisfacon as such seemes to restore & no more. 3 this notion seemes not to answer well to the analogy betwixt the 2 Adams Rom. 5.19. for as the disobedience of one was the comission of the crime that the law prohibited, so the obedience of one should seem to be the solution of the idem that the law exacted (wch seemes possible according to Mr Lothils hypothesis, that there was no relaxatio of the covt of workes to introduce a surety but a benigne interpretation) as also as Adam's formall sin was imputed to us (not as or personall acts for that's a lye to all intents & purposes in law (as the Lawyers speake) as if we had done it, so may it not seem that Christ's formall righteousnesse is imputed to us &c wch the notion of satisfacon accords not so well unto, as that of solutio. 4 that this notion of satisfacon don't too much weaken the [illegible] of the Church of England & of other churches, & too much favour Socinianisme & popery I wish time don't evince; for my pte I tremble to thinke what's like to become of the doct. of the church I feare none more then Churchmen, & those now as much as any that are the great admirers of this notion. 5 this notion doth not squaire so rightly well with the notion of a surety Suretys make solution more strictly rather then satisfacon more generally.

but if you would know what notion I am for myselfe; I must confesse I have been for satisfaction rather then solution, & shall be if a fitter notion be exposed, which though I seeke yet I cannot find

wr universall conditionall election [illegible] necessary to the truth [illegible]
redemption. for the aff. 'tis thus argued, when you preach to reprobates, as who they [illegible]
if you repent & beleeve you shall be saved, this is as impossible to be true, if it be not supposed
that they are elected, as it is, if it be not supposed that they are redeemed. universall redemp-
tion is supposed to be necessary to the truth of the universall propositions in the Gospell, so
'tis said, that an universall conditionall electio is as necessary to that purpose, & an universall re[illegible]
without universall conditionall election will not doe, except you'l say, that because christ hath
redeemed all, therefore if they repent & beleeve they shall be saved though not elected,
i.e. wr God will or no.

42 wr there be no acte of God's will or decree touching sin, but a mere suspension of his acte? if he neither will peccatu futuru, nor futuritionem peccati, nor permissionem peccati, nor [illegible] quoad substratum then; then there was only a suspensio of his will touching the fall of man & that seemes prodigious because all the transactions in heaven & earth take their rise fro it, at least most of them that are revealed to us. 2ly then the murder of or Lord Jesus had no more of the will of God, though it & that for the same reason seemes wonderfull, neither know I how to interpret Act 2.23 & divers other textes. 3 how this mere suspensio can consist with the infallibility of prescience, with the eternall certainty of futurum's, with particular concurse, with infinite wisedome in designing all to his owne ends, I find not easy to determine.

—— but least whilest I pretend to be bold I should seeme to be rude, I shall only offer 2 proposalls to yor mature consideration; the one is, wr in yor quinquarticular discourse (which I joyfully heare is jam tandem in the presse) you should adde a diatribe touching originall sin; though you have spoken of it elsewhere on the by, yet in that discourse is the proper place (if I mistake not) for as the doctrine of orig. sin soundly proved & well explained would be the greatest bar to Arminianisme, (as I thinke) most of the 5 articles depend much upon it, for if there be originall sin then the controversy about free-will is halfe ended, & if that of freewill were taken downe, then that of sufficient objective grace would hardly stand, & if efficacious grace be admitted, then the decrees of electio & [illegible] will the more easily follow, & if election & efficacious grace be acknowledged then the doct. of perseverance will follow nolens volens. my 2d proposall is this that the doct. of the Church of Eng. which seemes to be shaken by —— be if possibly secured.

—— the messenger staying at my doore I must beg yor candor in correcting mistakes, & yor pardon for this boldnes in him who is to you (if to any man in the world) a

faithfull frd & humble servt

J. Reynolds

Stowerbridge
Aug. 4. 74.

fol.168. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(275)

+ 168

(275)

Reverend Sir

1

In January 168½ I received 20 copies of ye Method. Th: which I put into Mr Leers, our great Latin Bookſeller's hands to ſell at ye price. After you ſent an order for 10 to be delivered to Mr Simons order, & in ye letter of Decemb 18. 1685. You ſent for them all to be ſent to Mrs Simons, the man that called for the 10 of me & as many from Mr Hickman pretending (as you ſay) that he could find neither of us at home. But his pretences therein were vain, for Mr Hickman being at my houſe, we both met with him together at Mr Leer's ſhop, & told him they were at his ſervice. He then ſaid he should give Mr Leers order to ſend the 10 ~~from~~ me to Amsterdam, I ſuppoſed to be packt up with ſom of his other books, or to be otherwiſe diſpoſed of. But Mr Leers told me afterwards he called not again, ſo they remained here. When your last letter came, Mr Leers was gon to Franckford, Geneva, & France, where he remained ſome time, ſo that I could not get them. At his return, I got him to ſeek them out to ſend them. But when his ſervant had done that, there were but 17 to be found. At which we was both troubled. He deſired me to ſtay them till he had writ to Amsterdam, if he had not ſend the 3 thither, then to the Hage, & after to London, whence he ſaid he could get no anſwer, he being peremptory that he had ſold none. Having delayed ſo long, as I was aſhamed I ordered him to ſend the 17, which he hath now done with Mr Robt Niblet to Mrs Simonds, promiſing to pay for the 3 awanting if he cannot find them. Till which time I forbeare to pay him for the fraight he paid for them from London, or any other charges. I adviſed you formerly to ſend them by him to Franckford Mart, & ſell or exchange them as he could, but had no anſwer, & therfore would doe nothing therein without your order. I have nothing further of this affair, but to aſſure of my own, & Mr Hickman, & all your friends here being glad that you have obteined your liberty, & are at your publick work again, wherein that the Lord would make you ſucceſsful is the prayer of

June. 17. 86

Sir

Yr very affectionate friend
& Servt Joseph Hill

(352)

For the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
these

169

For the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
these

276

2

a Letter to Mr. Baxter

170

276

soone as you can prove yr selfe lawyer or phisition you shall have
all my share of ye lands att Seaton which otherwise are mine as longe
as I live; and wee can thence (whilst my mother lives) have considerably to=
=wards yr maintinance without ~~[illegible]~~ lessening our owne which I tell you
of least the improbability of such supplys should discouridg you remembring what yo
have heard of our affaires & wee desire ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to here when you will com
and to which imployment I have noe more ~~[illegible]~~ but with my service to Sr John
and his Lady Remaine your truly affectionat cousen MB

mr Barbers Chr at ye

Cousen

wee haue spent som time in considering whatt to aduise in referance to yr future studys & imployment; butt find noe probability of yr being a minister, for conformity you are against itt, so are wee, therefore lett vs looke noe more that way; for nonconformity, were you a minister wee should incouridg you in itt, butt, being free. wee aduise to chuse itt rather vnlesse wee could giue or procure you 300 or 400 pound a year, that you might do good to bodys and soules both, and liue and preach where there were neede of you; and not where yr needes must bee considered, as is the case of two many alredy nonconformity ~~[illegible]~~ has many dificultys dangers and strong temptations attending itt; and what wee say of a minister may be sayd of a scoolemaster besids yt its a laborious & a lowe imployment therefore as ~~[illegible]~~ wee found you inclined when here, to sett yr selfe to som other study wee resolue to giue all the incouridgment wee can in thatt way and hope to make yr ~~life~~ aboad so comodious and plesant as will giue you noe cause to repent yr choice its conueniant ~~conuenient~~ you com as soone as sr John will dismiss you & wee will haue you in a lawyers house without being oblidged to any but your owne busines. ~~[illegible]~~ butt I must tell you if you bee wholy indiferent as to lawe or phisick mr Baxter & I could wish it were phisick because ye learning you haue has made you fitter for it & mr Baxters name & fame for skill in phisick will helpe you something besides Sr Ridgley greatly desires yr being with him & his malancoly illnes makes him care so little to goe [illegible]broad that hee would quickly incouridge you to v[illegible] patiants butt if you are ~~[illegible]~~ not as freely willing to this as the othe you neede make noe scruple to say so, & resolue on the other; for eaither will content vs well, and because you haue lost all this time at Sr Johns alredy you shall the better incouridgment for yr future and as

soone as you can proue yr selfe lawyer or phisition you shall haue all my share of ye lands att [illegible]aton which otherwise [illegible] as longe

Sr/

Though I be altogether unknowne to you, and so might be prohibited
by modesty from so familiar a visit, yet you are so well knowne to me
3 in those yor good workes, that have filled & refreshed this little world wee
live in, that I dare presume you will ingeniously & lovingly entertaine
strangers: I have likewise an addition to my encouragement, viz: the
common interest wee have in Mr Thomas Baldwin once my pupill, since
your charge & care, now your neighbour & both or comfort, whom I desire
to shew this paper the way to yor selfe. Sr I should thinke this an happy
houre (without a complement) wherein I wrote this short letter, might it
occasion the initiation of our acquaintance. I know you put the right value
upon time, and can spend it better in publick service than in private courtesies:
But when you shall consider that an answer to this may have influence to
publick good, I hope I shall not much despair an answer. Sr I cannot but
let you know that I (amongst many others) owe unto you under God much
confirmation of my Judgement & quickening of my dullest affections. I highly
prize those Truths you have so fully cleered in yor more speculative tractates;
But my soule cannot but greedily embrace & hugge that goodnes that streames
in every line of your practicalls. You have set before me a two fold looking-
-glasse: the one, in your Rest to dresse my selfe by as a Christian; the
other, in your Gildas Salvian: to dresse my selfe by as honoured with the
high & weighty calling of a Minister. I desire, these with my bible may
be ever before me: o happy soules, happy Ministers that can walke
according to these rules! Let me beg, Sr in particular that I may
have the benefit of yor praiers together with your Counsel. /
Sr I confesse you have fully satisfied me in what you have made publick.
I would humbly beg your resolves in one or two things, which I meet not
with in your papers, might I not interrupt yor more weighty employments. Sr
I am very sensible how much uniformity in divine worship is desireable
in the Churches of Christ, the forme being inoffensive & comely: I much
desire to know what method you use in celebrating the Sacrament of Bap-
tisme. The method I have used since my calling to the Ministry these 7
yeares is to recite the (commonly called Apost:) Creed, & to receive a declaration
of ye Fathers faith of those Articles by a yea of assent, together with a
promise of educating the Childe in the feare of God, so as becomes so holy a
faith & profession: and then having prayed for a blessing upon the Ordinance to
baptize (sprinckle water upon) the Childe; and returne thankes to God. /
2 I desire likewise to know what method you use in administring the other
Sacrament. / 3 What you thinke concerning those significative Cere-
monies so much apologized by Dr Hammond. 4 What are your

thoug

thoughts concerning private personall devotion at people's first coming into the Church, especially if publick ordinances be in hand, a custome which hath been used in this blind corner of the Country for many yeares, & so is very hardly broken off. I confesse I have been much scandalized at it as savouring the leaven of superstition in so ignorant a people: & propounded (at my first coming) two places of Scripture to their serious consideration Matth: 6. 5. 6. — and 1. Corin: 14: 40. — I would gladly know from you, of what antiquity this practise hath been in the Church, and what your thoughts are concerning it. 5. I would desire to have some convincing Arguments for ye morality of ye Sabbath; as also to know your thoughts concerning the anniversary observation of Christs Nativity. Sr you see my boldnes thus to hudle up those few particulars wherein I humbly beg yor resolution: I am loath to detaine you now any longer from yor better worke; shall therefore onely adde my requests, which is you would please to gratify me with an answere which Mr Baldwin will convey to me. That the Lord would continue you still amongst us a help and blessing to his deer Church is the humble & constant prayer of Sr

Yor unworthy fellow-servant
in the Lds worke

Jo Watson

Mildenhall Suffolk.

Jan: 26. 166$\frac{6}{7}$

ffor my Reverend & hond
ffriend Mr Richard
Baxter Minister
of the word
at
Kidderminster

Lgdh.

4

Reverend and worthy Sr.

It cannot but seeme much boldnesse beinge a stranger to you by face yt I should trouble you with these lines; but the incouragments hereunto were these. 1 I am one of them yt have through ye lords blessinge upon yor worthy labours reaped much advantage both for to ye settlinge my Judgment in some things controverted in these times, and also as to ye settlinge my soule=estate for wch I blesse ye lord my heart may be inlarged in admiration & in praysinge of his goodnesse; and Methought in yor writinges I saw such an inclination to doe good & soe vehement a desire to helpe all yt need yor helpe or counsell yt I have strengthened my resolutions of writinge to you for resolving in some cases wherein I am perplexed. and againe I was much incouraged hereunto from some conference I had wth a reverend servant of Christ Mr Rich: Gilpin of late of Greistocke in Cumberland who assured me you would be ready to afford yor advice to me in reference to these scruples. and then I was assured yt the Bearer Mr William Browne my very good friend & neighbouringe=Minister would be faythfull in bringinge me yor thoughts as to these things if you would please to helpe me in this case. The scruples I am in straights about are these foure or five; I shall lay them before you as plainly as I can & also give you the grounds yt cause them; and doe humbly desire you will helpe me wth yor clearest advice about them;

1 scruple

1 whether I may use the present imposed liturgy or practice any of the much adored & used ye Ceremonyes without sinne or also whether it were not better and more safe to lay downe my preachinge ye gospell then practice these if I may not be allowed to preach without conformity to these:

for a liturgy composed as you have directed in yor disputations about these things I could doe it rather then leave ye churches service; but the present liturgy and Ceremonyes I cannot see how I can use them many of them are the grounds of doubt are these. 1 there are severall things in the present liturgy enjoyned yt are untrue as yt yt should be borne on ye 25 Dec: & sundays after and many other grosse things noted by the Minister who wrote ye late peice entituled [Reasons shewinge ye necessity of reformation in Divine worship discipline & Ceremonyes] 2 there are many of ye Apocriphall scriptures appoynted to be read and I cannot believe them nor doe protestants believe them as of divine inspiration; and this which is ye mayne ground of my stumblinge I see not but this is contrary to or Covenant; wch havinge sworne ye reforminge in all ye forementioned particulars accordinge to ye word of god & ye example of the best reformed churches; but ye practisinge of ye imposed ceremonyes and usinge ye present liturgy is in my poore apprehensions further from my indeavour of reforminge accordinge to ye word or example of the best reformed churches may to my Judgment they are agt both, and this truly makes me scruple much. and there is yet one thinge more yt causes my doubt in these matters and yt is the Judgment of the renowned Man of god Mr Rutherford he says in his Divine right of church government & Excommunication. yt in actions or religious meanes of worship and actions morall whatsoever is beside ye word is contrary or agt the word of god; I know you have seene the peice and therefore I shall but only referre you to ye places in ye booke where he doth debate this and humbly beseech yor Judgment of it and he farther says yt ye Magistrate may not impose any ceremonyes besides ye word, nor yt his commandinge indifferent things doth change their nature & make them necessary; you will find him disputinge these questions in these places sett downe in ye Margent — and especially in cap: 1. Q: 3. page 131. he hath severall passages yt worke much on me — what soule truly converted from popery, who inwardly humbled in soule doth not abhorre Ceremonyes by ye instinct of the new birth?; I can assure you worthy Sr the saints servants of god (at least I know some here me witnesse) yt Mr Rutherford speaks truth, and I observe yt ye use of ye liturgy & ceremonyes doe greatly offend & scandalize the godly against us, and very much doe I desire to tremble at this yt or [illegible] brought us into this [illegible] yt if we admitt not of these we offend his majesty, & disobey the lord if his Majesty have power from god to impose these, and if we doe we sinne agt or lord Christ in scandalizinge or weake brethren, his deare people, worthy & reverend Sr I have laid before you this scruple in much weaknesse, but I durst not doe it otherwise (as I could) in yor sight. I hope you will pardon what I need yor advice in, and yt you will for or Masters sake afford it me by ye hands of my reverend brother if yor workinge & other greate imployments will give leave. I doe find yt the prophane & [illegible] libertine generation of [illegible] under ye [illegible] [illegible] about these things.

Rutherf: Divine right &c:
Cap: 1. quest: 1. page 95.
96 97
Capite 1o Quest: 2. page
102. 103. 104. 105. 106 &c:
about the Magistrates power.
cap: 1. Q: 2. page 114 115 &
appe: in his examinat: of Dr
Forbs his thoughts about
things indifferent & in his
treatise of scandall & reply to
the Dr of Aberdeene annexed
to the same peice

2 Scruple. whether we may without sinne submitt unto ye present Episcopacy; and how farre we owne them & what is or duty we owe to them.

The grounds of this doubt are these; 1 this very species of Episcopacy we are sworne to endeavour by all good means ye extirpation of; and how conscient obedience to them is with oath I doe not see; in my meane thoughts we are in a great straight in this respect and it were much better we were buryed alive then breake or Covenant by Conformity to them. 2 I cannot see any footinge in the word of god for any such lordly churchofficers especially to have Jurisdiction one of them over soe many Congregations; in my thoughts Dr Hammond in his dissertations doth labr for grandr what he should have much better proved if he would have us believe what he hath written, though Episcopal men cry aloud yt he did Convince ~~the~~ Reverend Salmasius & brought him over to his Judgment in this poynt, wch I am unapt to believe; I desire we may owne ye good hand of god for his assistance given ye in yor disputations agt Episcopacy & particularly agt him; I have heard many learned men desire yow would in the reprinting yt peice adde what ye thought necessary to ye ~~[illegible]~~ clearinge this controversy further if ye have life & liberty afforded yu for such a worke. but I am affrayd I am over bold beinge a stranger, and a poore creature not worthy to mention these things to ye.

3 Scruple. whether ye doe Judge yt the nationale Covenant doth bind: and whether what Mr Crofton hath sayd agt Dr Gauden & others be solid and sound: though the Covenant be burned by some yet it lives & binds; and whether we are not bound to presse people ingaged in it to keepe close to it in their places. the ground of this scruple is the many exclamations made by some yea Ministers agt it and especially since the late sad & dreadfule proceedings about it; I am very much affrayd of sins will provoke some direfule spectacle beinge were punished with sinne for sinne; with breakinge Covenant soe farre already. let it not seeme a trouble to ye I am thus bold if ye thinke it not safe to Meddle with this, I leave it to yor owne prudence to doe as ye thinke fitt. ye may Communicate to Mr Brownsword what are yor thoughts if ye please in these things.

4 Scruple. whether we may safely & without horrible sinne & guilt lay downe the work of personale instruction beinge a worke of soe great necessity, and whether we yt are ingaged in and about ye worke may forbeare it: now that Many of those who formerly did not and the present powers will very likely proceed agt us as contemners of their government and soe disable us from preachinge the gospell at all; alas the guilt is insupportable we lye under if we neglect this and what we should doe I know not; Mr Brownsword and I were sett about it a little before these alterations, but we are greatly distressed about ye deposition of it; since ye Common prayer injoynes teachinge the younger sort & fittinge them for Confirmation it were a blessed mercy if we might but have liberty to doe it in a like & painfule way.

Worthy Sr. I doe beseech ye Cover the weaknesse or imprudence yt may be in this for brethren been over busy but it hath much of both & weighs attentions; ye experience I have by yor other learned labours of yor great Judgment & experience yt hath putt me on this course; and could I have gott solid resolution nearer hand I would not have sent thus soe farre; and over and above all this I knowe yor inclination to peace & preservinge unity in the Church wch made me the more greedily desire yor Judgment in these present controverted cases; tis but in order to actinge holily & peaceably yt I write, I doe therefore earnestly Crave yt ye wilbe shew me the way in this misty day wherein I may walke without sinne in these respects though I be walke without sufferinge; I would not runne to sufferinge needlessly nor would I wronge false conscience I disregarde him before me. I have many practicale cases of our griefe yor advice in but I dare not at present goe any further. the lord preserve ye in health & strength to be an instrument of much more good to this poore lacerated church and give ye favour in ye sight of his Majesty for the helpinge on sions glory & peace this is & shall be the prayer of him who is

yor Much obliged friend and most unworthy weak fellowservant in the lords worke

Hutton neare Kendale in Westmorland.

June the 14th 1661.

Ja: Greenwood.

For the Reverend and worthy
Mr. Richard Baxter Minister
of the gospell in London &
one of his Majesties
chaplaines in ordinary

These.

Answ 5 1º I am sorry you take so much notice of the story of ye Marke of ye Beast, wch I told you I taught it. 2º If you will be troubled or scandalized at my dissent more than others, it is such an irrationall distaste as you only are to answer for. 3º You have satisfyed me yourselfe agt my doubt fully when you tell me yt nothing but ye repeale of ye Law ~~will~~ is satisfactory to detract from ye Lawmakers sence. And I am fully satisfyed in ye way taken sence: If the words of many Lawes canot satisfie us, ye Law can: When also ye words imposed are designedly made ye same in an unlawfull sence.

4º If I were put to take ye Test oath or to sweare yt ye Bible is a booke of falshoods, & may put my owne sence on those words, I can take them as to ye
But shall it therfore be said yt I am a scandall if I do not, because I go not so farre as I can. I canot do wt you say I can. If I bow before an Image to drive a naile or on a just occasion I can do it. But when it is done as Idolaters do, I canot do it though I meane well: The 2d Comandment will condemne me, wch forbids symbolizing with Idolaters.

5º I have done my best to cure ye scandall on ye other side wch you call breaking 1º In going to Church & sacrament while I was able. 2º By many published writings agt ye mistakes wch you meane, as plainly as I can speake. 3º By our publike offers 1661 at the Savoy. 4º In bearing ye injurious obloquy of ye dissenters. And I am but hated so much ye more. And if I do more I shall enrage them more if I do not all. 5º The 20 Ministers yt tooke ye oath have no more satisfyed them than the rest. If any had now a designe to bring in Popery & should comand me to say yt ye Pope is ye Principium unitatis Catholicae as prime patriarke, & we must obey Generall Councils, & I say, I can subscribe this in my just sence; if they tell me, You aske not for union then unlesse you do it, I will not promote his designe by doing it. If any had a designe to unite with ye French Church, & call only ye Popes Absolute power Popery, & then say there is no way to keep out Popery but by declaring in words for our Church, in yor owne sence, I would not believe him. 11 176

6º If you are seriously desirous to understand ye Law you may soone be resolved: Do but say before witnesses, (The Law forbids me not to endeavour to change ye Government of Church & State, to take downe King, Monarchy & Bps by lawfull meanes) & if you are indicted for it you'll know ye sence. For my part I believe it forbids all meanes to such an end. And Church & State are joyned. I thinke also they would better tell you the sence, if you said It's lawfull to take armes agt ye Kings comissiond Army, if he put downe Parliamts, Lawes, property & religion, & decree 4 death to all yt will not become Papists. I believe yt ye oath & Law is agt any such defensive armes. And I am not willing to deceive my Rulers, who hate ye Trimmers.

I oblige you to keepe this secret & returne it to R. B

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These

For the Reverend Mr Baxter

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Reverend & Honoured

Sr,

6 I came yeſterday from Mr Mompeſſon's houſe at Teidworth, of whoſe diſturbance I preſume yu have heard. And I underſtood there, that yu were deſirous of a perticular acct that yu might publiſh the Relation. I came thither upon the ſame deſigne, & was an eye & eare witneſſe of many thinges which the Infidell world will ſcarce beleive. I find the Gentleman is not willing to have a Narrative publiſht, till the diſturbance bee over, & then it will bee fully & perticularly done. I'me confident a Relation of thoſe ſtrange tranſactions will bee as palpable & convictive a Teſtimony againſt Atheiſm as this age hath afforded. Some Hobbiſts who have been there, are already convinced and thoſe that are not ſo are fain to ſhift to their opinions againſt the evidence of their ſences. My occaſions will not give mee leave at preſent to informe yu of perticulars If yu deſire it, when I have time I ſhall

indeavour yor satiſfaction. Had I had time
to have waited upon yu again when I was
at London I would have deſired yor thoughtes
of Præexistence. If yor occaſions will permitt,
I shall make bold to second the requeſt of
my former unanſwered letter about it.
If yu send by Thursday's poſt & direct to
mee at Bath, yor letter will reach the
hands of Sir,

yor ever affect. Servt

Jos. Glanvill.

Jan. 21.

Theſe,
For his Honoured Friend
Mr Richard Baxter at
his Houſe in Upper
Moore Feild's
London

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IA
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Reverend Sr

7

I feare my departure from you so sodain, and at such a time, hath somewhat
grieved you, and may be supposed a deserting of that worke of new formes wherein
you have taken so great and so weighty paines. But I assure you my heart was
wholly with you there and in that worke, and I should blesse god to see it finisht
and accepted with them with whom we have to do (although I confesse I should desire
all possible tendernesse in the Imposition.) Nor could any thing but the
Indispensable Exigencies of a deare Sister afflicted dangerously and almost
overwhelmed [illegible] have fetched me home so soone. Pardon I beseech
this offence, and let the punishment which I suffer daily in the Losse of the
sweet society and Learned debates of yourselfe and the rest of our Reverend
Bretheren, that you may see your Brethren in the country are not altogether
unmindfull of your worke, nor wholly idle. I have sent this inclosed. So soon as
I recd this worke from Dr Collings, although I feare it is forreign to our Commission
the Booke of common prayer and that of ordering Bps etc. being 2 severall
Bookes if I mistake not; however it comes too late. our Exceptions being given
in. And I think the prayer it selfe is in some things defective. If in your New
formes you please to put in something for ordination according to his Majestyes Declar-
ation. But whether your Commission extend to it or no I know not. Something of
another kind in order to your papers I am thinking of, of what value or impor-
tance it may prove I cannot tell. But what if the Remonstrance offered in
the beginning of the Long Parliament were now printed to tell the world
for who first blew the trumpett. And who they be that are still what they
were: I would consult. For ought I see we are not onely like to suffer
but to suffer as evill doers without some such Apologie. Or that yourselfe
Mr Ash Mr Cooper etc. would joyne together to compile the History of the
Nonconformists from the troubles of Frankfort to this day. It would be
a Noble worke tending much to the glory of God and the vindicating of his
reproached People. The aspect of publick transactions as it is represented
to us at this distance is very sad. I wish now with all my heart the papers
that are in your hands were printed not onely in English but in Latine that
forreign Churches might see how ~~farr~~ much hath been conceded for peace.
The Lord furnish ye with a Spirit suitable to our times and exigencies. To his grace
I commend you and begging your prayers to him also.

a expiate yr offence

yors M.K.

[illegible] May 21. 1661

Sr there is another offence for which I am to crave your pardon. The night before
I came away Mr Webb brought to my Brother Calamye 2 Letters, one to him,
another to yourselfe both from the same Minister, the care of that directed
to you was left to me. The next Morning being exceeding wett, and you not
coming according to your Custome I was ~~[illegible]~~ hindered from delivering it to
you, but left it upon the table in my Brothers Study, with the paper
that were ye worke. which I hope you recd with it.

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X

BAXTER
LETTERS

To the Reverend Mr Baxter
att Dr Micklethwaites
house in Little Britaine

or

att Mr Calamys in
Aldermanbury

these.

Vol.5
BAXTER
LETTERS

fol.181. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Much honoured Sr.

Since the Providence of God hath brought mee into your Company, & I have found so much Christian Candour from you, give mee Leave I pray to request & obtaine ~~this~~ favour from you. I understand by mr Crow that you have ſeene a ſhort treatiſe of mr Baxters against mee about Meditation. I ſaw not the Booke till almoſt a fortnight ſince. I had no thoughts of anſwering it, till I ſaw it. then I ſaw there was a neceſſitie of anſwering it, both as to Clearing the Duty, & alſo to vindicate my name which hath ſuffered by ſome reports at which I was amazed whence they ſhould riſe. But ſo ſoone as I read mr Baxter then I ſaw the bottome, I doe ley out of wrong. this day Sr I finished my anſwer to him; & now earneſtly requeſt you to ſhew mee the favour to caſt your eye over it, & to give mee your Opinion, whither I wrong the truth, & whither there bee any paſſages in it unbecomming a miniſter, I ſee you are a man that love healing, & diſlike ſharpneſſe. I would not have any unhandſome words. I know mr Baxter ~~a man~~ is a man of great parts & grace, I thinke I acknowledge it enough, & give him reſpect accordingly. Sr if you will pleaſe to peruſe it betweene this & Tueſday next, I intend then to ſend for it. & ſhall bee thankfull to you. were it not for troubling your carriage, I would make bold to preſent you with my firſt treatiſe, which mr Baxter deals with. I had rather give it you ~~then~~ becauſe it is ſo badly printed, many groſſe faults, wch I would correct. I heare what promiſe you have made to mr Crow & hope God will give mee a heart & opportunitie to attend. pardon mee this boldneſſe I pray you; I was encouraged much by mr Crow in this my requeſt, & have nothing more to adde but my ſervice with all due reſpects to yor ſelfe with yor relations.

Being Sr.

yor ſervant
G: Firmin.

From mr Crows 16: Aug. 71

X

Fol.182. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To the reuerend & his much
honoured friend Dr Manton
at Mr Cutts in Clare.

these present
with my seruice.

A

Dear Brother

I am sorry yt I am incapable through ye great weakness of my understanding,
to say any thing yt may conduce to ye satisfaction of yourselfe
or those by whose instigation you say you write, in so very weighty a
case as you propound. It is weighty in respect to oe present settlement, &
more, in yt ye resolution will seeme to looke as farre as all future Assemblies
of this nature. Wn ye last Parliamt was called I studyed ye case, & consulted
some able Ministers of London about it, (& since yt, some of Scotland in their
case) & none of us were able to discerne whether a General Assembly rebus
sic stantibus would do more good or hurt. Truly I can do no more but tell you
of ye contrary Argumts yt puzzle me, & so helpe to hinder rather yn to resolve you.
1° For ye Affirmative: 1 The Parliamt by ye Humble Pet & Adv. is engaged to publish //
a Profession of ye Religion to be owned by ye Nation: The Assemblyes Confession
allready extant will not serve ye turne, uppon my certaine knowledge, without
very great injury to Religion & ye Church. The Papists yt insultingly call us to prove
a succession of a Ch yt hath owned all ye 39 Articles, will have much more advantage
here. The Parliamt canot with honor (it seemes) Establish a Nationall
Profession by any lower advise than a Nationall Assembly. //2° Experience
hath taught Divines many things since ye last Assembly
to a better determination & to Moderation & Peace. // wch may reconcile
all offended Brethren & oe comon quarrellsome people. 3° Above all, oe province
our settlement, if it be not by a Nationall Assembly will never Rece
ye Pastors. // 4° It will not have so much Authority with ye freely chosen by
5° Our long distraction & ye present Expectations from this Parliamt themselves. //
call lowder for it than ordinary. // 6° If they do not all yt is expected, it seemes to
like they will do much yt is of great Necessity (as ye Restoring of Confirmation,
ye agreeing on a better Version of ye Psalmes, & divers such things.) // 7° The calling
of them will engage ye Parliamt to a Reformation & settlement.
2° For ye Negative, I am ashamed to set downe my Argumts, 1 That wch is of all ye weight
is, Its two to one ye Assembly will not Agree, but by clashing & contention more
uncover our nakedness, & grieve oe friends & rejoice our Enemies. 2° Or if they
carry it by a Major Vote agt ye Dissenting pty, they will fly too high by uncharitable
& unpeaceable Impositions on Dissenters, & so lay a foundation of greater
divisions. I looke into ye Countries about me, & thinke who will be chosen, & I know
they will be men of much diversity of wayes, & most of ym stiffe to their speciall principles,
though good men. I find Assemblies for meere Communion & voluntary assistance
of each other to be of very great Benefit to ye Church: But Nationall Assemblies,
or any other yt have but an advantage of Imposing on their Brethren, as if
they were Sanguiners, will hardly be kept from destroying Peace, yt is, from ruining ye Ch.
Thus they have done in former ages. Canonizers have battered us. Councells brought in
ye Pope. They must be for Communion. They are dangerous for Canonmaking &
Imposing. The Major Vote is never (or most rarely) ye wisest. And we are all of
us by ye advantage of our knowledge so Independent & selfe-sufficient yt we
are Every man a Synod to himselfe, & almost incoherent through our selfconceitedness.
//3° The late Assembly men will be engaged in their old quarrells, &
so will be ye more implacable. // 4° And (as smaller Reasons on ye by) they will do less
in a month, than one or two men would do in a day or two. And they will delay
ye Parliamts Resolves: & will put ye State to charge, & not be able to live at London.
But these last are trifles. Were I but able to know wt men will be called I
could ye sooner be Resolved wt were best. But truly in ye midst of these difficulties,
I dare not be confident any way. But I may tell you wch way I most
incline; & yt is 183 // yt an Assembly be presently called only on these termes. //
1° yt ye Parliamt declare yt though they honor their persons, yet yt no discontented persons
may thinke yt the Assembly is a preengaged Party, they will have none chosen yt were
of ye last Assembly. // 2° yt they be freely chosen by all ye lawfull Ministers in England
(or els we lose almost all oe ends: & doubtless ye best yt Every where will

better choise yn ye Parliamt will make) But let none be called out of Wales (or but 2 or 3) bec they cannot spare them. It 3o That ye Parliamt acquaint them yt Healing & not rigid dividing Impositions is their cheife worke: And yt they restraine them from tedious contendings. These are my thoughts; but I am very hesitant, & dare be no [illegible]. When I am at home among an unanimous ministry, of no faction, meeting only for Edification & Communion, I am greatly in love with Ministers Assemblies: But when I mett you last at London, I brought home with me a great disrelish of them. When I meet yt wise peaceable humble Divines, I am ready to thinke an Assembly would heale us: & presently I fall among selfconceited unpeaceable (though pious) men, yt are wedded to a Party or to uncatholik Principles, & then I thinke an Assembly would do us hurt. But I am in hope yt ye generality of ye nation are much moderated. Believe me, Brother, It is not setting either Presbyterians, Independants, or Episcopall in ye saddle, but 1o ye Establishing of ye Doctrine & Discipline & Worship yt we all agree in, & leaving ye rest to a peaceable liberty, 2o & ye uniting us in Loving Communion 3o & ye driving us on to a faithfull practise of wt we are agreed in, yt must Heale & make happy this land. And wch way will best accomplish these Ends, I leave to wiser men to resolve. The Lord direct you, & strengthen you for & blesse you in yor Extraordinary labors. Pardon this unsatisfactory answer from

Yor very willing, but weake fellow-servant
in the Lords worke, Ri: Baxter

Febr. 1. 1658.

I thinke it of grt moment yt none of ye last Assembly be chosen, on divers accounts; 1o They will be strongly inclined to make good wt they are engaged in: wn new disengaged men, called purposely for healing will be more free: 2 The members of ye Episcopalicall will be slept ye men [&c] Yet sufficient expressions may be added to secure their honor from ye least diminution. But I lay not so much stresse on this, as yt ye whole should stand or fall with it. If ye Parliamt do but put it in their summons, yt [peaceable men be chosen] I could dispense with it. But ye first I thinke so necessary (yt ye Ministry freely choose) yt I had farre rather have no Assembly (unles a few Ministers for their particular advise) than dispense with it. 1o Bec ye Parliamt is mixt, & every man almost will bring in some of his owne mind, wn ye Majority of ye Ministers almost every where will choose men yt will do no harme (comparatively) 2o It will lose its Authority, as aforesaid||

(283)

To my Reverend & much ho-
noured Brother Mr Thomas
Manton Preacher of ye
Gospell at Coven-
Garden these
dd

London

Leave this with Mr Tyton
at the 3 Daggers in
Fleetstreet neare ye
Temple to be delivered
as above

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Honoured Sr.

In your Last, You are pleased to Give mee ~~the~~ that Short Scheme of the Apocalypse, you rather Incline to; and an Intimation of many Objections, you have to that, which makes the Papacy the Beast &c: but that you are not ~~[illegible]~~ willing to Sett them in array, partly that they may not Give Advantage to the Adversary, and partly, because you have not yet Seen Dr Mores So many Absurditys as hee charges on the Grotian Hypothesis. I am, I confesse an Earnest Supplicant to you to Grant mee Some of the principall, at least, of your Objections, driven as home, as may bee; that I may bee aware of theyr Force, before I publish, what may bee Lyable to Such Encounter without Fortifying against it; and ~~as~~ for the disadvantage, I can bee as private, as you thinke fitt to Oblige mee to bee; and ~~A~~ I assure you I will bee So: And as to Dr Mores Charge on Grotius, Let that bee never So poynant, It will not Fend his own, or any other, that Can bee, as notably Attackd, as hee may, or Can doe Grotius, and his way; For the Consequence will bee this; There must bee either Some new Discovery, or All must ~~[illegible]~~ bee acknowledged to Lye Secret, till an Unexceptionable One bee found, In the meane Time, I hope, I can give a Fayr Solution to all Adverse phaenomena. and if I Can doe that, I am sure, you will Easily Allow the prophecy more August, and Grand, in making just and Even Steps all along, upon the Cardinall Events so knowne in all History; then in such a desultory motion, as from pagan Rome, and its destruction, to the Day of Judgment; And that will be a very slight salvo, to represent Sathan Bound, when the Mahometane, and AntiXtian Imposture (as you acknowledge worse then paganisme) was ready to Cover the Xtian World; and to be let loose, when the Reformation, and the Light Appearing with it would so notably ~~Battle both~~ AntiXtianisme, and a senselesse Al-Coran. I begg therefore your severall Objections;

I must also give you thanks for your Advising me to a License obtaind for my Book before Subscription, signifying your Friendly Concerne; But indeed I fear more, I shall not have Subscriptions, in a Subject so Darke, ~~or~~ and ~~and [illegible], otherwise friendly~~; ~~and~~ that will not Allow a Vulgar Treaty, and is so much preiudged by the Learned: so that while one says, I am not Learned, The other pronounces it, Rashnesse, to meddle with a Sealed Book: Thereupon I first would make my selfe sure of Sufficiency for the Charge, and if I have that, besides my hopes of the other upon some Reason; The worst is, but persons Resuming theyr Deposito: I have no more, but Humble Recommendations of you to the Divine Protection, and to desire your prayers.

Sr Your very Affectionate
Humble Servant

Apr. 12
86.

Beverley.

To Mr Baxter
present.

LETTERS
Fol.187. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Sr.

I returne yu many thanks for yr late paper yu sent
me concerning private mens expounding of Scripture,
wch did very much agree with those conceptions wch
I entertaind about yt matter, and I beleive with the
truth. I have lately seen a passage in yr Right
method for a setled peace of consci: and Spirit: Comf:
pag: 57: wch I was very glad to read viz: that yu would
undertake now ~~to prove the~~ more confidently then ever
yu did to prove the truth of Scripture by plaine, ful,
undeniable force of reason; I give yu many thanks for
what yu have done on yt poynt already, however if yu
can ad any thing more, I desire yu to let the world see it, for=
=much of it lying now under Atheisme and infidelity;
also I desire to know from yu whether yu intend to
reprint yr Book of Rest any more or not? had yu
leisure and good health, I could wish yu would draw up the
controverted poynts betwixt ye Arminians and Calvinists
into Aphorismes (according to yt method yu observed
in yr Book of Justification) but not to print them,
before yu doe communicate them to ye most able
and iudicious of al sides, both those who are in extreams
and those who walk in ye middle way, if there be
any such; I know divers seem to themselves to have
found out such a way, true tis they have made it som=
what smoother, but for ought I see it tends to ye
same end, and is in effect rigide Calvinisme in a softer
~~[illegible]~~ dresse. I should be much satisfyed if such a
way might be discovered, being for many years much
perplexed twixt those 2 extreams, somtimes inclining
to ye one, somtimes to tother, somtimes pleasing my
self in Dr. Davenants and Sandersons middle way; but when
nothing would satisfy me, yt saying of Austine I found
ye best repose (next to ye (ω βαθος) of St. Paul) Domi=
ne, iudicia tua occulta esse possunt, iniusta esse non possunt.
I am not soe uncivile as to desire yu to undertake
this great burden upon yu at my sole request, but if
yu have had any thoughts to lay out yr self in those
high poynts, I hope these few lines wil accelerate
the businesse. with my hearty praiers for yu and
al that are studious for truth and peace I rest.

yr affectionate friend
and brother

Jo: Good:

March. 23d.
165 4/5

Sr

Sept. 24

I receiued yours, & am very loath to beleeue your Intelligence
Though alas: what is man, especially in Temptation, Oh ye mercy
of preventing Temptations Ld leade us not into them - If it should
be so, It will not much benefit you, nor any that are Consciencious
For they must take ye Reynes as they are deliuered into their
hands, & keepe them so last their places cast them, their hands
are Tyed up & ye work layd before them of which they must be
Executors, & not [illegible] Judges - However I think it not wisdome
to make too much hast till you heare & see further concerning
those men - My heart is upon you, & therefore I will not
tell you what Certificate my hand would easily make you, but
I am wholly ignorant of that Forme that may be most proper
as things are now wheeled, & therefore I rather wish that
you would Consult some men that live neerer ye foundayne
of Affayres, or at least have most ayme in this businesse
that so you may not have a Certificate to prejudice you,
whatsoever it is, if it be no hurt sayd of you I will subscribe
it, if it come to my hands, yea I commissionate you to put
to my hand to any such so drawne; I think it must not be much
that must be sayd, nor drawne up too Puritan-like, for savoury
expressions begin to be accounted canting; The colledge-letters
if they will be had will be of use to you, & therefore you may
doe well to get them. The Lord direct you to find out a way to
breake & remove all ye stones of offence yt lye at ye doore
into ye ministry. Many Thanks for all your love & prayers
My respects to Mr Sergeant & his wife - In much hast,
my businesse calling very loud I subscribe my selfe

Pontridge Sept. 26. 60

Yours in ye surest bonds
R. P.

X

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Deare & most honoured Sir,

I am allmost ashamed yt I have bin so long silent to so worthy
3 & helpefull a friend whom I reverence & respect wth my soule, &
from whom I have received such singular profitt & advantage,
I could never have suffered my selfe to have received yor last most
acceptable Letters (wherein yu gave me as much satisfaction about ye
Question of ye Wills Determination whither by it selfe, or ye practicall
understanding as I could expect & gave me ye grounds for a more
full satisfaction. And to speake ye very truth I understood more of
it by your two or three Lines then by all my former reading, &
perceive my selfe in a way better to discover ye state of ye Controver
=sy, wch I find in these Questions to be more difficult then to determine of the truth)
unlesse I had hoped to have seen yu by this time. But God hath o
therwise (as its most probable determined ye busines) ~~my~~ I being out
of hope now to bring my Sister thither, wch I should have counted a
speciall blessing, should it have so seemed to him yt most wisely
disposeth all things, & indeed hitherto Providence seemed much to encour
=rage me. But my Sister ~~having~~ being putt of wth two Hundred pounds
(whereas it should have bin six or seaven, three Hundred & fiftie
I expected at ye least), ye moderate Use at six in ye Hundred will
not board her. And more=over, shee is fallen into a love fitt, wch
hath as I perceive made her averse, whom I found as much, if not
more desirous then my selfe before, to come, otherwise want of money should
not have hindred, for I would have made (though a very hard) shift
to have supplyed ye rest. But I resolve chearefully to submitt to god.
This is in part my excuse, & besides I was very carefull not to trou=
ble yu wth needlesse Letters, & to put yu upon more busines, when I
had not well digested your former Counsell. Notwithstanding, as I
beleeve & I am fully confident, yt yu are most readie to take any
occasion to doe good & to communicate, not upon any private or
plausible account, but yt yu might fitt others to be serviceable to yt god
whom yu have (I doubt not) so conscientiously served. Deare Sir
I take leave to sollicite yu wth another request, wch is, A thing I
mainely desire, amongst things conduceable to a cleare judgment in
these principall Controversies in Religion to be satisfied in; It is
concerning yt midle way yu speake of in your Epist. Dedicat.
~~to the~~ Saints Rest. wch Camero, Lud Crocius, Amyraldus & Davenant
embraced, being a meane as I conceive betweene yt rigid Calvinists
& Arminians., & methinkes I see much yt likes me very well
though but darkely, in yt way I hope to procure a short Manuscript of Bp
Overall, yt will give me more light. Sr I would not be very troub=
=lesome to yu in it onely my request is yt yu would signifie to
me ye most compendious Booke yt I may read about it. I en
quired for any peece of Amyraldus but could procure none. ~~This~~
Sr, your book agt Mr Eyre seemes to intimate one if not two
Bookes of yours lately out but I can get neither. (viz) ~~agt~~
an Answer to Ludiomaeus Colvinus, an something agt Mr Kendall
Pray Sir will yu be pleased to informe whither it be so or not.
This is ye substance of what I have to present to yu att this

time: to wch my humble servic: & dearest affectio: commended t
I entreate your prayers. & remaine

From K. Coll: Camb:
Aprill: ye 3d. 1654

Your most Faithfull & truly
loving Servant Will. Dusnum

Sir

your treatise of saving faith came to my hands but on friday last, yet I have perused it with much delight & satisfaction as to what concerneth the controversie betwixt you & Mr Barlow. only demurring for the present on that which you seeme on the by to mention as your opinion that the act of grace is before the habit. I am not yet perswaded that there was any necessity of changing your iudgment in this particular. it may bee upon better enquiry & deeper study I shall close with you. methinks Mr Barlow hath not showed himselfe Mr Barlow in some of his arguments indeed to them all you might have returned quid est ad Iphicli boves? there being as you more then once tell him an ignoratio elenchi throughout his whole discourse & how strange is it that a man so versed in philosophy should argue a specifical difference in the effects from the specificall difference either in the causes or in their manner of producing them. first was Adam specifically distinct from Abel because one was by creation the other by natural generation. or shall I be distinct specifically from my selfe after resurrection because then my man shall bee the effect of gods immediate power whereas hitherto it hath beene caused & continued by natural causes. Valentia somewhere goeth about to prove a specifical difference betwixt the faith ~~that~~ of assent that is in devils & that which is in persecuted men on this account bee. one is wrought by the spirit of god & so is not the other. what Dr Jackson answereth to this you may see in his treatise of justifying faith circa principium, nay if he should serve his argument which he hath not done. that which cannot be obtained but by insuasion is specifically distinct from that which may be procured another way his proposition would be liable to exceptions. but I will not tire you. Mr Barlow is a person largely orthodox, but yet farre better acquainted with books, then with men, more studied in Calvin & Chamier, then in his owne heart. I never ~~he~~ heard his best friends commend him for any zeale for gods glory, or forwardnesse in any duties but those which common grace doth ordinarily put men upon & so it is no wonder he mistakes himselfe about preparatory workes & the manner of the spirits working & the nature of saving faith! I wonder your printer or his corrector have so much mistaken themselves. what a shame is it that there should be so great a catalogue of erratas in so small a treatise. & yet many lesser are not observed I have taken notice of two which disturbe the sense. & have not been marked by you in your printed index. I have scribled two or three things more but not worth your reading yet I send them. that you may see how willingly I would have rectified your mistakes if I could have found any. the lord long preserve you & continue unto you that favour which you have in the hearts of the lords ministers & people

I am Sir
June. 1th
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yours to love & serve you
Hen: Hickman

Mr Hickman of Mr
Barlows writings

5 Honoured Brother,

I wrote some weekes ago & sent to you an enclosed lr from the Minrs of the Westerne Association in Dorset whose earnest desire was that you would give them yr reasons of that assertion in yr Concord that a single Minr hath power of excommunication, this assertion proved would ad much to the great worke they are upon. they are a very godly & able knot of minrs as I know in these parts, & go on wth much love though of different iudgements, I beseech if possible send an answere by the bearer, I sent by the way of London but I know not whether you have received it. this I doubt not but will be speedily with you. I hope now we shal have yr Aphorismes enlarged, if you would make it a body of Divinity in 3 Columns & shew vs each extreme, yr reasons for the truth & against the errors, with the authors of best note each way in the Margent, I am confident it will prove of very great advantage herein. though I cannot expect to hear from you so often as I would, yet it being so long ago that I received a lr from you, I beseech you for my selfe & my friends let me not now want such a favor any longer. My wife doth most hartily remember you. I humbly beg yr prayers for me & mine; Be assured you are very high in the affections, & very frequent in the prayers of those that feare God here

I am

yr obliged & unworthy
brother
H. Bartlett.

Mr Woodbridge & I entend to
visit you this Sommer

Fordinbridge. May 10th 1655

the great [illegible]
his Courts ~~[illegible]~~ hath [illegible] he would to understand [illegible] understanding hearing is [illegible]
wholy ~~[illegible]~~ his, who hath by a worthy [illegible] man done so great things

Coventr: Oct. 6. 69. Sr

Sr I recd a most precious present wch my Cozen Downes of Shrewsbury brought from my son at Shifnall & left wth my wife at Coventry for me, a fortnight since, yr last Long & Longingly Expected most Learned treatise intituled the way [illegible] a work so exceedingly needfull for these last worst woefull dayes, in wch a sea of Atheisme in open & prac[illegible] hath broken the banks & overwhelmed almost all [illegible] that I cannot sufficiently magnify the goodnes of God in stirring yr spirit to undertake not only to make up the breaches, so that there will be no further danger of any such further inundation; but also to dry up the deluge, so that the drowned may recover life & breath againe; & in establishing [illegible] so mightily to convince all gainsayers by strength of naturall reason, & thereby to compell them to assent to the supernat. revel. of originall reason. [illegible] if yu knew wt a multitude of dreadfull doubts & fearfull injections I have had these seaven yeares, & how these devills are laid by yr good booke, & saw me [illegible] at theirs feet wch a competent man [illegible] would [illegible] have taken (for wch [illegible] words [illegible] ever [illegible] debtor) I will be stored [illegible] because [illegible] love any mans soul so well [illegible] & have it [illegible] judge no Labour too many; & [illegible] I have found you more than ordinarily affected (though most unworthy of the least of yr Loving words), almost these 30 yeares. [illegible] will blesse God to Eternity thousand soules besides mine will blesse [illegible] for this yr work & Labour of Love. Sr I have [illegible] thought wth my self how many many yeares [illegible] would the churches of Christ have been in this age without a Baxter! [illegible] that since the [illegible] of the holy Apostles no man ever Laboured more [illegible] better purpose than Mr Baxter: none more [illegible] in all sorts of [illegible] tongues, Liberall Arts, sciences speculative practicall, nor improved them [illegible] Learning as he hath done for the establishment of Christians in all truths & confirming them against all sorts of Errors as they rose, with [illegible] judgment, exactnesse of method, & fluency of Language; that he is the object of the admiration of all that know [illegible] yea of [illegible] that know [illegible] Especially considering yt he may truly say as [illegible] the great [illegible] I have [illegible] Captivity [illegible] the spirit of God [illegible] hath [illegible] the words [illegible] infirmity [illegible] his [illegible] holy [illegible] who hath by a [illegible] dying man done so great things

[illegible]

ye Cast down so many strong holds, Conquered
so many Modern Goliahs, yt [illegible] Little boys [illegible]
It was no little refreshing to my spirit to see how ye
you have laid the [illegible] philosophy [illegible] so large a Levell
whereon mathem. & motion I saw, soon so amazed
at ye discovery [illegible] I flatter not but
[illegible] the [illegible] of my soul [illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible]
[illegible] incomparable accomplished [illegible]
[illegible] so [illegible] beloved by [illegible] the
[illegible] devill & to give all the glory to God
[illegible] whose [illegible]
[illegible] promise [illegible] the good [illegible]
[illegible] may [illegible] ability [illegible]
[illegible] enlarged [illegible] Gospell [illegible]
you [illegible] Love to ye whole [illegible]
[illegible] in [illegible] to ye

y

+ would be generally

Your faithfull Servant Sir
Jo. Bryan.

For his reverend his
worthy friend Mr Richard
Baxter

Leave these
I pray

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Very Reverend

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These come humbly to acknowledge the favours you have been pleased to confer upon a person altogether unknown to you save by report. And here I cannot but in the first place gratefully resent the favourable character you was pleased to give of me to Esqr Borford, when he told you, that I was designed by My Lord the Bishop of Lincoln for this Living then vacant, by which I had not only the countenance & counsell of so worthy a person, upon my first coming in this country, but have always since had him & his family, as the greatest support & comfort of my life in this place: But this kindness was not more seasonable & unexpected, than it was altogether surprising that you should continue to pursue me with favours, in sending me by the hands of Esqr Borford, not only so usefull & valuable Books; but so considerable a gift in mo & yet as if all this had not been enough that you should so generously designe to have my Living made more competent & comfortable, & withall contribute so considerably toward it. For all which as I do by these returne you my most sincere & hearty acknowledgments, so I adore the Divine providence which is pleased thus to favour me, in a strange land, by stirring up so worthy persons to befriend me; and shall not cease to pray Almighty God that he would graciously vouchsafe to return these so great, seasonable & unexpected kindnesses, upon those whom he has made instruments of his gracious providence to so mean & unworthy a person, in a plentifull increase of his best blessings spirituall & temporall upon them; Sir because I have just reason to suspect that those who have given you any account of me have been too too favourable toward me, as I intreat some allowance may be given me as not able to answer the character they have given of me, so I more especially crave the help of your prayers with Almighty God for his grace to enable me to maintain the character of a serious & faithfull Minister of the Gospell. I shall only add that I stand indebted to you for benefits of an older date and higher nature than any yet mentioned having by your writings been freed from prejudices, confirmed in important truths, directed in the conduct of my own & others consciences; for which I do heartily blesse God & am in the greatest sincerity,

Very Reverend

Your Most Obliged
Humble & Faithfull
Servant
Ro: Bruce

Rickmersworth 29th of Septr
1684

x

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To

The Very Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter

Theſe

Mr Richard Butler Barbados Aprill 3d 1666

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Sr Being Encouradged By your kinsman and our good freind Mr Sa Butler Wee are Emboldned to addresse our Requests to you In a buisnesse Wherein the glory of god and the truest happynesse of this Place Is Chiefly Concearned — It hath Pleased God to Enrich this Island with the aboundance of all Temporall Enjoyments in Which Wee Beleeve Its not Inferiour to any In the World the only thing Wanting to Crowne and Compleate its Prosperryty Is the Power and Pieyty of Religion Which Is Maynely Propogated By an able and Powerfull Ministry: And haveing of Late Received allmost from Every Port the Sad tydeings of the Silenceing of greate Numbers of Very Emmynent and Labourous Ministers In the Land of our Nativity. And Likewise into what greate Straights the Unkindenesse of this Age hath Reduced Many of them. Wee have thought itt our Duty to Endeavour the improvement of Such a Providence for ye good of this Place Wherein wee have (through the Mercey of god) Beene Preserved In the Injoyment of many outward Blessings and wee hope god Will give Successe thereunto &c — In order to Which our Earnest desire is that you will Please to Enquire after Some Emmynent good Minister that May Be perswaded to Undertake a Voyge hither, and to the End he may Prove the More Successfull (Wee Being Well acquainted wth the temper of the People heare) Pray that he May Be thus qualyfied: — Vizt

1st One Very Pious, Serious, and of an Unblemished Life: —

2d One of Emmynent Parts and abilytyes, Boath In Poynte of Learning and good Utterance: Oratory Being the Most Probable Bayte to catch this Auditory.

3d One of healeing Principalls and Not an absolute Strict Nonconformist.

And In your Choyce of Such a one, Wee Judge it not amiss that (as you cann have opportunyty) you confer and advise wth Mr Richard Baxter Dr Manton or Whom Elce you shall thinke fitt. &c

Providence haveing Directed you to Such a person, you may Engage to pay him fif pounds Sterling for the accommadation and Charge of his Voyge hither, for Which Sume wee have heare Enclosed Sent you our Perticuler orders to our Respective ffreinds Which you may Please to Receive of them as you see Occation &c

The Employment Wee have In designe to procure for him Is, to be Lecturer to the Bridge, a Towne Very Populous and of greate Commerce; Soe that W apprehend a Considerable allowance will Very Easily Be Raysed for a Minis qualified as Before Expressed. In which Should he Be Defective In Respect It would Soone Be discovered, heare Being a Very Intelligent Obser Generation, Who for the generallyty commend a grave and Pious Life in a p though neglect itt (many of them) in themselves. &c

But Incase itt should happen after his arrivall that Wee cannot make wa for his ffree Reception and Setelmt here to his Content (which wee M doubt not of) Wee then Promise to ffurnish him wth the Like Sume accommadate him in his Retourne home &c

Our

Our Minnester Is one Mr Frith, Who Is likewise the Lord Willoughbys Chaplin; One Who hath Respect for good Menn and Is very mode=ratte In his deportmt: The Lord Willoughbay allso hath many fesr[illegible] much of respect and favour to good Menn, not imposeing on the Conciences off any; But affording all Reasonable Indulgence; which Indeed hath Beene noe Small Encouradgmt: to us to propose and Endeavour this Buisnes &c

Wee have Now noe farther to trouble you only to intreate the managemt heareof may Be carried on with all convenyent Privacy: And Likewise that the person (Whose Safe arrivall Wee shall Reioyce In) may be very Carefull not to discover Unto any one Whosoever (in his passage or att his arrivall) that his coming over is occationed by any Invitation from any persons here, for that may prove prejudiciall Both to himselfe and likewise unto Us: and haveing cautioned this wee Pray God direct you, So Subscribe Sr Yours in all Christian Love & Service

Jno: Bushell

Richard Parker

Bell: Seay

Edwd: Barton

Fran: Bond

LETTERS

fol.196. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To Mr Richard Baker
Merchant
In
London

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Norimbergæ, d. 24.
Sept. 1679.

VIR PLURIMUM REVERENDE, et in Germania nostra (ut nil alibi dic.) æstimatissime: Singulari quodam Supremi Numinis favore in urbe Norimberga optimum SEGNERUM, qui hic exhibitor est, compellavi; ceu sedulum ac pium auditorem in omnibus fere concionibus Tuis. Confirmavit is mihi admirandam humanitatem, et erga omnes benevolentiam; qua, more Christiano, eos complecteris, qui pietatem juxta ac eruditionem in Te venerantur. Ostendit insuper unum et item alterum libellum, a R.D.T. non ita pridem emissum; hisque salivam mihi movit, ut catalogum omnium scriptorum, quæ per omnem ætatem evulgasti, petere nunc sustineam. Ante hos siquidem triginta annos, in utraque Academia vestra linguam Britannicam didici, neque exiguam inibi bibliothecam Theologicam comparavi; qua nunc, Dei benignitate, una cum filio, ad Britannos quoque abituro, quotidie adhuc utor. De cætero ignorare non potes, Germanos meos quinque circiter Baxteri opuscula vere Teutonica induisse; quibus interim contentus esse cogor, dum ex ipso fonte perennes aquas bibere haud licet. Utinam vero hic locorum Tuam quoque servitutem servire possem, in colligendis aut consignandis Theologis, maxime practicis; haberes me paratissimum. Sed ne verecundia abuti velle videar, finem scribendi nunc facio; atque ut brevi saltem responso me digneris, oro. Vale vir θεόπνευστε, et in cultoribus Tuis me quoque habe

Christophorum Arnoldum, V.D.M.
Histor. Eloq. etc. P.P.

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VIRO
Plurimum Reverendo, Clariſſimo
atq; Eruditiſſimo, D. RICH.
BAXTERO,
Theologo Celeberrimo,
ſumma obſervantia
Colendo,
Londinum.

Louing Brother in Christ

I ſhall now giue you ſome account of our proceedings here at London to find the way of Peace; wch I hope the Lord hath mercifully directed & inclined our hearts unto. for at last by the unwearied ſollicitations uſed wee haue met ſeverall times, & at the last meeting wch was tenne or twelue dayes ago the most Considerable men of both parties mette in a Competent number, & after a friendly Consideration of ſome things wch I offered in writing towards their Unitie, & ſome propoſalls made ultro citroq; for the aduance of the worke they came to this reſult, that becauſe expedition was desired to draw up a full & ſatiſfactory forme of agreement; (for I ledde them only to the generall heads wherin I was ſure there would not bee any diſſent) & yt by a great number, yt could not bee ſo well done as by a few Choiſe Spirits; therefore they named a Comittee of noted men of both parties fiue of a ſide whereof Six should become a Corum; & the care of driving them on was referred to me; now there is one without whom the one ſide will not meet yet out of towne & I ſuppoſe till I write to hasten him wee ſhall not proceed. this is in brief the account yt can bee giuen of the Ministers of London; but there are more engaged in theſe thoughts

there wee

then wee; through the good hand of God I hope
over his people: for my Lord Protector is
forward in the worke, & this very day there is
a meeting of Ministers & of some from the
universities at his Lodgings in the Cock-pitte:
let us pray for the Spirit of Truth & Peace to
rest upon them.

as for my self I have used these adjoyned papers
as tooles to quicken & waken them to some Effect,
& all meanes to produce this effect; & now send
them unto you not to provoke you, for your
Commendable zeale doth provoke others, but to ac-
quaint you with the benefit wch I intend should
redound to all the Churches by our agreement among
our selves. if you desire more Coppies of these
let me know by your next how many will serve
your association & I shall send them Godwilling by
Mr Titon to you: in the meane time I shall
Commend you to God & rest

your faithfull & loving Brother
in Christ John Dury

at Mr Titons
shoppe this 22. Feb
1653/4.

Mr Titon not being in his shoppe when I
begunne to write this afterward hee came in
& told me yt he had one from you to me wch had
waited for my coming a few dayes: so I have
redde the things wch you mention therin & appro

& introducing new psalmes
the reasons of y^{r} delay & purpose to satisfie
your desires towards the advance of a Change ~~but~~
wch I think ought indeed to bee intended, but so
as no offence may bee occasioned; I am now
in some haste & cannot enlarge upon this subject,
but another time will bee more seasonable.
I rest againe

Y^{rs} in Christ

J. D.

Reverend Sir

It may seem strange to you yt a person whom you know not, nor ever had the least communication with, should write to you with as great a zeale & fervency of sincere love & affection towards you, as the most intimate & familiar of yr acquaintance. But believe it sir it is, if I know the hearts of others as well as mine owne: yt I may not hold you any further in suspence: my name is Thomas Bawdes now Recorder of Maidston in Kent, & am Bencher of the Society of Grayes Inne, & was Reader there Lent 1675 being well known to all the members of that House, & especially to yr Neighbour Sr Wm Jones late Attor: Gen: & Mr Williams late Speaker: either of which can or may give you a character of me (Sir) as it is for a Testimoniall that I may be yr friend & blessing with the greater [illegible]: Sr I have for above 7 years thirsted to converse with you. I saw you sometimes at the Chappell, Dr Craddocks Auditor, you are not imagine how full of contemplation I was at yr Aspect, an Idea of a Holy Soule through a mortified Body lively represented to me, which I had ever yet [illegible] an inexpressible assurance like in a little time I should rejoyce in the Society of Saints & Angells & my thoughts have since been soe fixed on you, yt by virtue of forcible imaginacon, I may better say, then Q. Mary of Callis, yt if I were to be ripped open, Baxter might be found engraven on my heart. I heartily wish yt his pious writings may [illegible] I am as sorry that my Communion with you hath been thus long interrupted I fear by the enemy of mankind: for, Sr, after my Reading I retired into the Country where I am most pleasantly seated as to orchards, vineyards, good ayre, water, & walks, & even in the midst of my Retirement, having in my hands Loyds little Booke of warning to a careless world, & then reading of the Secret Retreats of many worthy Persons & their desertion of the world, Honours, Riches & pleasures &c. I examined my selfe, how, if called, I might relinquish these Worldly Endearments, I thought of Lingering a [illegible], at [illegible], but pleasures were as difficult & harsh things for me to depart from, but it pleased the Lord, within 3 moneths after (viz) Octob. 1676. to take her away even with a stroake, which made me [illegible] drowned with a streame of sorrow (for she was an excellent woman) & my griefe was soe great, yt I confined myselfe to my chamber, & was soone taken very ill myselfe, & then in the middst of afflictions no worldly comforts or comforters gave me the least relief, my heart was only then on my God, the fountaine of all true & solide consolation I was mighty troubled yt I had spent soe many yeares in sin, & fruitlesse imployments, viz. my bare Callings, the noyse of [illegible], the Hurry & distractions of Circuits & Sessions, & made a Resolve to retire myselfe from yt imploy which tooke of soe much of my contemplation & meditation of Heavenly objects, & in my Bed reading of my dearly beloved Halls Contemplations I was the more confirmed in my Resolve

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

yet yt did not soe fully satisfy me, as to ye acquittall of my professio
but my thoughts were passionately after yr Councell & Directions. I writt
to you a pretty long Epistle, which I think (I being then under
the severe Rod of the Lords correction) was more fraught with
pious & heavenly Raptures, & expressions than ever I writt any before,
or since, but proh dolor, this letter was directed to you but through
ye negligence I may rather say, wilfull knavery of the Traveller
messenger, was made away with, & never came to yr hands. Soone
after a little Book of yrs came to my view & happy I shall call
Now or Never. then by Direction from Wrighter the Lady Style
since dead, I bought ye Book of ye Sts Rest. Call to ye unconverted
the Poor mans Prayer, a Family book. all which I have read
with unspeakable Joy & satisfaction. & embrace you as S.
Cyprian his Countryman Tertullian; & cryed Da mihi
Magistrum. & have subscribed all yrs & given them my
Children with this Distich.

Baxteri Libros, lege, & perlege, digere Sanctos
Hi qui bene Animae pabula ~~Sancta~~ sunt tuae.

Since I bought by yr Advice Jos: Allens Life, an incomparable
Book & Gouges walk with God. of you both I say as
Q. Eliz. of D. Haddon. Baxterum nemini praepono. Gougeum
nemini postpono. I am over long in writing to you & am as
a full Bottle wanting vent. yt I could vent & know not how
to begin or end as I should. But my q. to you then was, if
upon pious ends prout ante. I might leave my profession. as
to the Discharging yt offce. reserving to myselfe. my Recordership
charge to ye Jurys. as Justice of peace. & my practice at the
assizes in ye same County & native Towne. which I can
dispatch without many disturbances? Sr I will not tire yr
patience any longer. But doe. as with bended knees. &
with all sincerity begg 2 things of you. 1. That I may
hold a never correspondence with you. 2. That I may
have yr dayly & hearty prayers for me, my conversion
to & confirmation in a holy life. I have strong perswasions
yt yr prayer may be as prevalent, & successfull for me
as Luthers. Calvins. Melancthons for others. I am
assured by the word of God. The effectuall prayer
of the righteous man availeth much. Sr my son
of Grays Inn shall waite on you. If you write
but 3 words (for I would not wear you by long writing
to my unworthy selfe, considering yr age). Be pleased
to direct yr letter thus. ffor Tho: Brewer Esqr
Recorder of Maydstone & thus. Leave it with
Mr Woolball Grocer of Maydstn. who intirely loves you
as Sr. doth he who is Yrs. & desires to be. Humble
servant with you to ye Lord
ffeb: 7. 1681. Tho: Brewer

BAXTER
LETTERS
fol.202. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For the reverend
Mr Baxter
at his house
neer the Round
[illegible]

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beinge at dinner in Dublin with one m^r Mossom who called him selfe Deane of Galloway but since is said to bee Deane of Kilkeny, hee tooke occasion to speake very slightly in generall of [illegible] of mani worthy persons, and concerninge your selfe & m^r Alsin, hee came to particulars, hee sayd that m^r Alsin had recanted his booke of [illegible] [illegible] & that hee had recanted it to Doctor Morley & others, and for your selfe you had written in your bookes mani contradictions, and had in his sight indeavored to procure the Bishoprick of Hereford was [illegible] when the kings [illegible] to his place delivered the petition & was with the Lords John Berkly his ma^ties [illegible] & the Deane further sayd that hee had the petition in his hand & read it, this discourse occasioned some words amongst the companie that was there, the Deane very much [illegible] those that doubted the [illegible] truth of his relation; my humble request is you will please to satisfy mee & other your frends concerning the reallity of it [illegible] beinge I might some way be mistaken the relation I writ [illegible] of [illegible] whose lettar I have inclosed, ~~[illegible]~~ S^r I am ashamed to bee often to trouble you beinge already indebted for your great favor although I had no successe in my bussinesse, if you please to write two words to mee at your leasure that I may satisfy the desires of some frends of yours you will very much oblige him that is S^r

your most humble servant

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For his honrd ffrind
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of gods word
These

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Most reverend & most worthy Sir. 3

I doe most kindly thanke you for your paines you have bestowed on me which I have read & returne your papers most faithfully according to my promise having let no mortall man see them, though you needed not have bin so scrupulous I thinke, nor yet so vehement in your animadversions. That which you seeme to condemne me most of, I know well; I write agt things so, as I would put the best countenance on them; and that you call prevarication is the honest upright designe of my papers. If you or any would write for the nonconformist & put forth your strength agt conformity, it would either never passe, or in likelihood exasperate; but if I could put forth your strength in such a way as this, it might happly both passe, and insinuate it selfe in the minds of such who would have it, & tend to our releasse, & if therein you had bin free to my assistance, you might have bin serviceable, but seeing you doe so vehemently discourage me, it is most easy & safe, to lay my papers by against further deliberation. The face of them I perceive is a little too much turned, but I write for the oath and conformity, de industria so, as all may be resolved, & for reason for it, if when I had done, I did neither yeild to one nor the other. whereas then you say sometimes, here & there, I yeild my cause, it is but discovering of it. what is my cause really but this? that the termes of this oath & conformity are so hard, that unless I may have liberty of my owne interpretation & that so large as I speake I am afraid of it, & moreover unless I also take liberty to declare openly by the presse that I intend to have this liberty allowed, I am not free and to doe it. You know now perhaps more of my booke then by the reading, & if you have any thing to helpe me let me heare from you. If not, would you would tell me the party that shewed you some papers that had the most strength in them, & you seemingly perswaded it to suppresse & I might confirme something with him, wherein you may be at peace, and let alone. I did forsee that I should not be edified by my journey when I could not get your papers before to peruse them, & know what to talke on. Neverthelesse I will looke over your animadversions & say something on them, as I goe along, in my returne of them. On P. 1. I suppose my citation of Tertullian & [illegible] is warrantable in the Fathers integrity, & since my purpose will let men draw what consequents they will at their owne perill not mine. On P. 2. If [illegible] it is indeed meere oversight. I will aske some others whether they are apprehensive of the misconstruction as you are. On P. 3. I am not [illegible] by the Can: nor Hudson having not seene him. P. 4. I am not carefull of that. P. 5. De materia I account God hath not determined at all. P. 5. The thing is not materiall. P. 6. I suppose it was not lawfull to will agt Hen. 6. & Ed. 4. after they were crowned any more then agt Rich: 2d. & Hen: 8t. We must distinguish I thinke betweene an usurper before he is setled of the land (or before consent) & after. He that is no usurper & hath more than providence to plead, hath providence to plead. P. 7. The command is to all after a finall decision by providence, that there is no more appearance left for the right party. P. 8. If the apostle meddles not with Right, then must providence only be that ordination which bound the Jewes to subject to the Romans. As for Dr Taylor I had no regard to his words & shall not bee so thought. But the passages you quote to me doe seeme well; yet not to bring an odium on them, but a countenance to the oath as safer. P. 9. Paul saies the magistrate is Gods minister for our wealth, & consequently must be judge de fine et mediis. As for the terme absolute I perceive I must distinguish of it in your sense & mine. In ~~a~~ might stile the people in their representative are judges of their owne good & the lawes ~~[illegible]~~ just they elect, yet so long as the King hath a negative vote, it seemes to make him an absolute judge with me though not with you perhaps; desiring not to increase my talke. P. 10. you there is not you, it is enough if [illegible] learning & the at monarchy-men [illegible], though I could tell you more. P. 12. I see how sensibly the spirit is your stile. But I will tell you seriously, that as for that you say you were [illegible] of the mind agt, as I am most perswaded, the very thing that you & others at that time should have done & was is as that you thought as you did. Nay let me say whereas you may so appear in your Booke of Politicks, it seemes unto just, ~~that~~ seeing you were no more affected with the interloping grievance of the essentiall part of the law, the slavery of tenures, [illegible] impropriations & the like, which by Oceana might have had redresse but neither by you, who though you did well to put your pitty, yet the good publick [illegible] at most have bin the ground of many many & blood. It is my astonishment how so publick a failing as Mr H. could come to be for Dick C. & not for a commonwealth. But now we have ~~our owne~~ King the opposite conclude our indispensable subjection & contentation in the providence of God. [illegible] design you mention you hit right. P. 14. If it be only Authority in the Abstract is of Divine right then must it be unlimited (I mean negatively unlimited not positively) for if the ~~power~~ authority so qualified, then is it authority in the concrete of Divine right. The words I have as Dr Taylor. The other saies he is limited, the power is unlimited, & is not that to your sense if not words? When you say the prince hath not power to command what God forbids, because his office is to doe otherwise, but what if he does? Where the word of a King is there is power. There is none can hinder him or resist, so there is power, but how is there power else? Ib. I contradict not my selfe, because I speake hypothetically, if it be all from the King &c, if from the constitution & community, &c. P. 15. I thanke you for your caveat who knowes what may come! I remember Abbot's story in Rushworth. ~~As for the case you put them, I judge they cannot be answered but as I doe by saying they are not to be put, that is they are not to be conceived to come into the minds of the imposers but [illegible] of~~. That I blot out was mistaken [illegible], but really as you offer the matter here not as to the Kings person, but commissioned officers & civill counsellours comming to doe so, I cannot answer to your purpose. But the first part of the oath is only of taking armes agt the King, & ~~the second~~ through the middle part mentions those commissioned by him. I am not lawier enough to read those statutes. And really it is hard to be so bold to affirme that much if indeed any statutes say so much or will warrant any commissioned to be resisted, but I have supposed that unless it be in execution of a writ [illegible] there is none can raise the posse comitatus or armes in any case by law. I must aske some lawier about this. In the meane while I thanke you for being so plaine. Ib. If the King would, I goe on & say what we can doe then. P. 16. I thanke you for your distinction. P. 18. I doe there but quote Bodin & no body but you ever thought of danger that read my papers. I thanke you for your item. P. 19. That moves me not. Ib. The vote of both is, that the King of England is an absolute King, & yet ~~it~~ his lawes are passed by vote & legall authority of the parliament. Absolute must be distinguished in your sense & mine. Absolute is opposed to conditionall or portionate that we cant take armes he is absolute; or absolute is opposed to something in your mind (pray tell me wonder) it may be he is not. P. 20. Distinguish of absolutenes in a mixt & a pure state, that which you & others say is true of the one; what I & Hooker, of the other. P. 23. Bracton's simile is not to be strained to ill consequences. P. 26 & 27. Such instances & the like cannot ~~cannot~~ I thinke be answered but as I doe by saying they are not to be put, that is, they are not to be conceived to come into the thoughts of the maior part of the house, but [illegible] yet they are not to be silenced, unles I will forsake my end, to wit to ~~get~~ let men discerne the oath amended or to have a due interpretation. P. 28 & 32. What Barclay or Hooker saies will not be questioned & I care not to concerne my selfe in such consequences. P. 34. If the law of nature requires a community event in civill association then must it require some to follow some to lead; those that lead must be the maior part, & the maior part then must have jus or right to doe so, & jus imperandi is potestas, & maxima potestas maiestas. Againe when the maior part of the community frames a commonwealth or constitution appointing the manner of the personall soveraigne or qualification of both; Doe those acts bind or no? If they doe not bind, how comes the constitution to be of more force & valdir than the lawes of the person[illegible] soveraigne himselfe? If they doe bind, then must those be acts of power, & potestas be [illegible] community & [illegible] I am not sollicitous for that. P. 35. I will take heed I wrong not Bilson, though for my cause (as you call it) let it shift for it selfe. I say not there are no liberties forfeited, but that it is not forfeited that the King can forfeit or that if he hinder them we may depose him. P. 35 & 36. You might have bin kind & respect me to answer David's case & the [illegible]. P. 37 you are not out if you thinke I am content all should see what little authority they have that have put in that word whatsoever in the oath; I wish any thing would make them ashamed. Yet may I say I hope this is the ordinary judgment saying it impossible & our grandees like it. Your note on Grotius [speake adduxeris] shews what light I might have had from you if you would have freely communicated your selfe. P. 39. I lay no stresse on my distinction of words & [illegible] never but obiter passe it. But I see not why you should say my supposition is grosse that it is an act of government to alter government. Alteration of government I acount is made ordinarily by repealing old & making new statutes, & is not legislation an act of government? If there be no alteration of government but dissolving the constitution? Alteration of government I say what

fol.205. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

alter or dissolve not the constitution, is an act of government. As for the constitution I suppose the personall soveraigne cannot alter or dissolve that, for to frame or dissolve the constitution is a Right of Real majesty, & tho the personall differ quoad modum habendi, constitution from that. So that when you speake of putting Ecclesiastry into the constitution & swearing fidelity to it, you speake ~~but~~ strangely of my Politicks god. I wish I had a few of your thoughts more seriously what you meane by constitution, & that you would give me a little light therein, seeing I remember this was that which lay uppermost at my comming to you & I suppose you said something materiall which I did not then fully understand & have forgot. P. 42. It is enough if my reasoning be but conviction as to such. P. 43. I pray let the proofs that those is found; more will edify neither of us. P. 44. I thanke you for your cautious advise but I wish every parliament & understanding man in the Land had read that booke, & digested the matter as well as he, in better season. P. 45. To answer once to all such passages, I put in the beginning of my booke these words I suppose them ἐξουσίᾳ rightfull power, which you are from thence to take with you all along for the avoiding this exception. P. 47. You are mistaken, I tell them that have taken the oath that they may preach in private meetings for all that, but not that they may preach agt government in private meetings if they have taken the oath. P. 49. That doth not trouble me. P. 53. I am apt to believe, that order give not the officium & consequently that ~~[illegible]~~ ordination ought to be only εἰς ἐξουσ; & that I am confident of is only the nomination ad investitam particularem is found in Acts 14. 23. What you say of the Deaconship ~~I answer~~ would only by changing the words of the ordinances, which my selfe did, yet had not time to doe it to my mind. P. 54. I doe that plainely & fully find in those words nor any other; without limitation are want to be rehearsed, if they want ingratitude have I must let it alone. Besides in the Assent & consent when I speake in the person of the conformist what they say, the best I can devise to slubber over the matter. I answer only —— God. which so I intended, as a So of deliberation, or must as to say God give them the hearing but it was hard to be satisfied in ~~[illegible]~~ these words. Indeed I intended it for a negation at first but put out the words that explained my selfe after when I showed it at Oxford & have not revived any in their behalfe. What you urge then as to the use might be improved in the particular. In the consecration of the Bishop (that is the use) there is Take thou the holy ghost for the office of the Bishop — when I & you believe the office of the presbyter is the same. These are more passages agt my conforming you might have marked as well as this, & yet I count not that is any matter with me. I might print my booke, & yet remaine in the same case I am in or the like for that. P. 56. I have said what I can, I shall consider of what you say. Yet doe I not meddle with the crosse but only say the significancy of any ceremony have troubles not me. P. 57. The words I use there I suppose you know I borrow from Usher in the difficulty of the act of subscription. I answer only God as I said before, & tell you in what sense I meant it at first. But I thinke a man may not be able to assent to a thing as true to him, ~~which~~ when he sees a probability that it may be so or it may be otherwise, he may give assent & consent not to make any difference about it, in an improper ~~[illegible]~~ phrase, let us make the best of it we can, the more we know the worse it will be. P. 57. I thanke you for your them but I cant understand the halfe word Pie, Pie or what you meane. I could adde to your instances over & above enough, yet doe not your first about the Apocrypha (so long as it is read only on the weeke days) move me at all; the 2d & 3d not so much; but the 4th being mentioned so often in the new booke is unworthy dealing with us. The childs confessing in Baptisme credo, & the Athanasian creed that all that believe it not as is expressed are undoubtedly damned, without these are the most impossible convictions to the ingenuous ~~that~~ that can be. And as for my selfe when I answere it with the bible you observe it not, that I say withall that some cannot in these words, as of the Act give their assent & consent to the said bible (to wit in the translation) it selfe, ~~as your selfe have [illegible]~~ see, I have said as much as that hand middle part of the oath was omitted before. P. 66. I thinke indeed satisfactory nor the wit to any to take it, let them forbeare, because if it be not, It is as much natural to me that my papers should deterre any from the oath with satisfaction as to satisfy them in taking it. Let every one be persuaded in his owne mind whether he does, or does not. I thanke you for your counsell. I thinke I shall forbeare conforming, & for the present lay my papers by. But if I print my papers, & the interpretation I give, the booke will argue (that is my booke for my interpretation) after I have so explained my selfe (& what the world at it sees) methinks I may take the oath very honestly my selfe whatever others may doe. Yet doe I consider what a plague it may be my selfe if changes come & I would be loath to be bound up so strictly if I can helpe it, though I am never like to be very considerable whether bound or free. You see how readily I write to you & with what security I trust it to you. Pray if it be unworthy the reading burne it, & prevent the labour; if you doe reade it, burne it after; however burne it, but preserve your kindnesse & goodnes unto

Yours most honouring & affectionate
friend & servant.

Verte fol.

Calamy before his death was saying to me that a man might assent & consent without sincerity, to wit, before as Tillotson did & others, that is to declare in such wordes as a man can in his owne conscience, seeing it is only to be before the people. But then the question will be, whether it be lawfull to be the occasion of the Churchwardens reporting a falsehood to the Bishop? They suppose the declaration made rightly & not inwardly, wee declare that as our sense well knowne & so declare inwardly. Whether to shuffle thus ^becomes an upright man, I should have asked your thoughts, But I went away from that grave man with some wonder that he should only slightly & ambiguously speake so, & left it without altercation.

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For my worthy friend
Mr R.
These

Much hon:rd

4 We received yor of the 2th of Aprill (60) by wch we understand you have discharged the two Bills of 30li to Mr Mayhew, and 800li for the use of Mr Usher upon or account, wch we shall endeavour to improve for ye advantage of the worke according to the best of or skill, & the trust comitted to us, though perhaps not to the full satisfaction of all persons, yet we hope to yor acceptance, who labour wth us in the same service; & are alike obnoxious to the various conceptions of men. The remotenes of or meeting (being at New haven) from the persons most imployed in this worke; (who only are able to answere some particulers) must excuse us if we satisfy not yor desires at large, yet yt we might not be wanting, we have written to Mr Elliott to informe you what Schoolmasters he imployes, in what places, & what, & how many Children are taught, together wth their Efficiency. In generall we are credibly informed, that about a hundred of Mr Elliotts Indians can reade in the Bible, & many others about Plymouth, Martins Vineyard, & other places. One of the Indian youths at Cambridg died this summer; ye other foure, proceed in their learning to very good encouragemt as we are informed from thence by Mr Danforth wth whom they Sojourne. Two youths at Roxbury that were Initiated wth Mr Corletts died also this somer (in wch hath beene much mortallity amongst the Indians) the other two are yet wth him, These are all at present that are maintained at or charge; who have so much experience of their owne language, as there is no feare or danger of their forgetting it, wch generally throughout the whole Country, wherein the English have to doe is the same, though differing in Dialect yet so as the Natives well understand, & converse one wth another. We received from Mr Mayhew an Encouraging Account of the progresse of the Gospell amongst the Natives at the Vineyard who living in severall Villages, & amongst them some Pagans have very lately Solemnly renewed their Covenant, to owne & serve the Lord by a publique profession of their faith and knowledge, whereof he was a witnesse he also informes us of the low, & poore estate of his sonns widdow, & solicits us for a continuance of releife during her widdowhood, which we being encouraged, by yor approbation of what was done the last yeare, have continued also this yeare, & upon ye like Acct of gratitude to the ffather (who sowed yt seed in the Island the fruit whereof is now seene) we yet continue ye charge of Educating his Eldest sonne, about twelve yeares old; his skill in the Indian Languag we know not, but we shall consider whether it be convenient to be at further Charge then this yeare. Unlesse his Parents will give him up to us for this worke, & he be willing to consent thereto, we shall bee slow to take many more English or Indian youths, upon or charge for Education, till we have some experience of those on whom so much hath been bestowed, & the rather because yt severall

Already Educated, are offered to be imployed, though they are not many that will be willing to make it their sole businesse, wch we much desire; as mainly (if not essentially) conducing to ye advancemt of that worke. Wee shall attend your advice for the impression of the whole Bible; wth out wch wee should have rested in a former determination, that ye Coppy might have beene fully perused and perfected, by the most skillfull helps in the Country, and such order is taken by ye advice and consent of mr Elliott, mr Usher, mr Greene, and mr Johnson, that the impression of the old and New Testamt shalbe carryed on together, wch they have already begun, and resolve to prosecute wth all Diligence. A sheet of Genesis we have seene wch we have ordered shalbe transmitted unto you. The printers doubt not but to print a sheet every weeke, and compute the whole to amount to 150 sheets, mr Johnson will be gratified wth the honour of ye impression and accommodated in other respects (we hope) to content. The paper sent (as we are informed by mr Usher) is not all of it serviceable. The bookes when come to hand shalbe distributed according to yor desire. Wee have sent a particuler Account of the Disbursmts of this yeare, wch we have carefully examined and together wth ye former, are recorded in ye Booke of ye Comissionrs wch are perused by the foure Generall Courts and lie open to the view of all men; The grosse some of 120li 1s 8d is cleared by the two lesser Accounts of mr Ushers herewth sent, and indeed to be more particuler we understand not, perhaps the want of skill and experience in the accot may beget scruple in those that are unacquainted wth the manner of dealing here, where all Contracts are generally made for whole summes, But their satisfaction will never prevaile wth us, to preferr a plausible covr before a plaine truth, or to contract a deformity, by tricking up the account to a speciousnes. The Accot stands we have remaining in stocke but 347li. Wee have therefore charged you wth a Bill of 800li (though we hope 600li wth what we have in stocke may be sufficient, yet the surplusage being here secured cannot hurt, or hinder the worke) wch we desire may be paid to mr Harwood for the use of mr Usher, to defray the charge of the next yeare wch will be more then ordinary, for besides the Presse wch will be very chargeable, we shall imploy mr James upon Long Island where the Indians (as he informes) are desirous to be Instructed and some others that doe expect and (possibly) may deserve an increase of their Sallaryes; Wee are very willing besides the 800li Bill to receive upon accot 500, or 1000li if upon Consideration you see cause to send it over, either in good peices of Eight, wherein (unlesse they be very good) there will be rather losse then gaine by coyning, as the mint master doth informe, though ye Governmt doth expect noe profit thereby, or if you please to pay it to mr Harwood for mr Ushers use. it shalbe accepted as paid upon Bill. mr Ushers sufficiency to discharge what he undertakes, the full satisfaction hee gives in his paymts both for price and choyce of goods, to all that receive upon this account hath given us good cause to acquiesce in him, neither have we heard of any man yt would undertake it upon better tearmes, And we are very apt to beleeve if any should appeare to give a higher rate they would advance their price in their paymts

Whereby wee should be greater loosers, for the goodnes & quality of the pay, doth much advance the quantity of the sallaryes, & paymts. And all that we have to deale wth are in that respect Merchants, that will value their Comodity proportionably to their Barter, who doe generally chuse goods out of his well furnished warehouse; rather then mony wch hath beene issued inconsiderably. For in two yeares, there hath been paid but 270li the Advance whereof is about 16li, as appeares by the Accot: Wee shall not farther trouble you, but Commend you & this great worke to the Blessing of God & rest

Newhaven, 10th of Septembr
1660

Gentlemen yor loving ffriends
& fellow labourers, the Commissioners
of the united Colonyes.

ffrancis Newman Presidt:
Simon Bradstreet
Daniel Denison
Jos: Winslow
Tho: Southworth

John Winthrop
Mathew Allyn
Willm Leete:

Two of the Indian youths formerly brought up to reade & write, are put apprentices, the one to a Carpenter, the other to mr. Greene the Printer, who take their trades, & follow their businesse very well.

To the Hon:rd Coporation for propagating
the Gospell amongst the Natives
in New England at Coopers Hall
these present.

London

LETTERS
fol.208. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Right Honble

Yor Lordships great condescension much encreaseth
my obligations to you. I would not to Mr Ridges to
accuse Mr Williams of any thing, nor willing to be un-
gratefull to him. But I am willinger to find myselfe
bound in gratitude to his Maty & yor Lordship than to
him. I have hitherto only given him 4l 10s towards the
fees which he saith are necessary, the rest being yet
unpaid. 3l-10s he saith is Mr Squibbs fee for the warrant,
& what to the Crowne office & others I yet know not.
I canot understand by him or Mr Ridges, whether I
must give bond for the behaviour as part of the
penalty of my sentence unremitted; 2o or whether the
whole penalty be remitted & I must give bond
on some other account; 3o or whether I must be con-
tinued under the bonds at Hicks Hall; 4o nor yet in
what summe I must be bound; 5o nor whether my owne
bond will serve. The case is not of so great impor-
tance to me, as to tempt me to any thing dishonest &
unjust. All the benefit of the remission of my
fine is to my heire, to save him from a possibility
of paying it (if demanded) when I am dead. And he
is but an unkles sons son, (~~borne in Montgomeryshire~~)
able as a physicion ~~& of extraordinary learning~~ to
maintaine himselfe. I have tryed my friends, & find
not a man willing to be bound in more than I can
indemnifie them for: & that is very little unlesse
I sell from my said heire 33l p ann land which I
was borne to: for my bookes newly sold being will
but pay my debt & maintaine me in my sufferings
about 2 years more if I like to live so long: (wch I
expect not to be many months): And if I be released
I find no likelyhood of being able to change my
lodgings (though this foggy aire may hasten my
death, which in my living constant paine I have
much adoe to forbeare praying for;) My bonds are
broaken the next weeke after they are made, were
it but by living within 5 miles of a Corporation
wch I am unable to avoid: Or should but 5 persons
come in uppon me to visit me when I am praying with
my servants: Or should I but speake or write against the
sanguinary & sharp Laws agt you Rom: Catholicks;
it would be many fold a greater accusation of the
Laws, & government, than that which I have suffered for:
So that my conscience forbiddeth me to draw any man
to be bound for me in more than I can pay, uppon
any presumption that it will never be exacted, of
one so much hated as I am, & that suffers for wt I suffer.
I humbly crave of yor Lordship to informe me 1o whether I must
be bound before my discharge or after? 2o And where & in
what summe: Till then I am as I was. but [illegible] Your [illegible]
Octob: 2[illegible]

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To the Right Honble
the E: of Powis

these present

Reverend Sir 6

I receiued not yours of March 25 till about a month af-
-ter, and that neere 38 miles from home, where I yet am
About ye case you mention I suppose thay know my iudgment,
but I had rather haue had the obiection from themselues, that b
them I might haue returned my answer, but hauing them from
you, I answer them to you: I doubt not but thay may lawfully comunicate
in ye frames which you describe, but if any of them scruple kneeling
though not in eating but in taking, I suppose you may conniue at ym
without danger: for in ye publicke assemblies of London, few kneele
that I can perceiue; and I neuer heard of any questioned for giuing it
them. I will freely tell you my owne iudgmt & practise, which is the
best parte of my aduice to others.
if I haue opertunity to haue stated comunion with a church well
disiplined, I will bee ordinarily there: But yet once or twice a yeare I
would comunicate with an vndisiplined church, yea with an independ or
an honest Anabaptist church, to shew my iudgment by my practise, yt
I hould not comunion with them to bee simply vnlawfull, nor seperate
from any christians further then thay seperate from christ, nor reiect
them further then christ reiecteth them: And rather than com-
-municate no where at all, I would constantly comunicate with
such. And I take ye temptations of this time to ye ould separation
to be so great, that all sober christians should carefully shun them
on one side, as well as thay do the contrary extreame. And for my
owne parte, I neuer scrupled kneeling, though if I haue liberty I
like a table gesture better. And your expedient (of kneeling at ye
receiuing, & then to sit vp to eate and drinke it) I haue oft thought
on as answering the comon scruples, & as yt which the canon or
Rubricke hath nothing against that I know of. But it is a wonderfull
hard thing to keepe an iniured people from such passions, as hinder
the sober impartial exercise of their vnderstandings: And I
cannot expect that all my intrest in your neighbors should
satisfie them, by such a short accompt of my iudgment (which
thay had long agoe at large in my dispute of church Gouernmt)
vnlesse I were present to answer all their obiections. I tould
ye Bps at first that when the ministers were expelled, the people
(partly as vnguided and partly as exasperated) would run much
further from them then thay are: But thay thought ym
wiser than to beleeue mee, and were confident that if
thay could haue got away their former Teachers as farr
from them as since thay haue done, the people would
haue bin all conformable. And others neere you of yt
opinion haue tryed the same way. But woe to that
people on whom either pastors or physicians must try experim-
-ents to procure wisdom; and that must pay so deare for ye
learning of their guides: and yet thay are loathe to leaue
their error to this day but thinke that the sword

ſword would heale our wounds. But I hope god hath taught
you that what is not to be done by Reaſon and Love is not
to bee done att all by paſtors; and accordingly to excerciſe
convincing and paternall conduct. the Lord direct you and bleſse
yr Labours for yt peoples good, which is very precious to, and
much deſired by yr unworthy rejected fellow ſervant

Acton April 29
1669

R Baxter

ſome of Calvins epiſtles when he was expelled Geneva and
ſome and others queſtioned communicating with ye miniſters
and people yt expelled him, do repreſent your neighbours
caſe and mine ſo exactly, that I could wiſh I had time
to tranſlate one or two of them for their uſe. //

300

Sir

4

I hope I need not tell yow how welcome yor Letters are ever to me, but never was any of them so welcome as this Last of the 7. wch I found at Tom: Underhills shop yesterday. For on thursday was sennet that member of the Councell (by whom yow was pleased to send me a kinde message) gave me a grevious alarum by the first news of yor dangerous sicknes But blessed be the Lord I see better hopes in this That our God will yet preserve yow till yow become a more usefull instrument in setling ~~unity~~ peace in the churches of great Brittaine.

Yor charity in considering my concerns gives me the confidence to acquaint yow with them. Upon the restoring the secluded members They were pleased the very first day to command and account to be given of the causes of our restraint In obedience to wch order the warrants for our commitment were sent, I did desire the Governor (in jest) to certifie that my crime was Originall Sin, for I told him seriously Nothing can be charged against me, but that I was borne in Scotland & obeyed the Laws & supreame authority where I onely owed my allegiance. The businesse was delayed ten or twelve dayes, at Last and order was sent for our enlargement upon security to the Councell. On the 8. of this month we appeared before them & had our Liberty on honest termes without any restraint Except Not to goe to Scotland without Leave. Thus it hath pleased the Lord to restore me to Liberty after 8 years & just 6 moneths imprisonment.

My next endeavor was to have been restored to the poore remnant of my Estate, And I found many friends & great professions of the justice of my demand, The Councell order it to be reported as their opinion That the Laws wold authorise them to restore me if they saw cause, But either the shortnes of the time or some unknowen reason

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made

made the order insignificant, sure I am it was not reported so that I lye in the same condition as to my Estate. But my desire is to rolle all my concerns on him who rules heaven & earth: By his gratious providence things are broght to a more hopefull condition as to publick Liberty, Many yokes of illegall oppressions are broken, By the same providence and whilest my demanding it I have gott my Liberty, why then should I repine though the Lord thinks it not fitt to trust me at once wth Liberty & outward accomodations? I will in his strenth Labour to waite patiently (having done duty in demanding my owne) let the Lord doe with me what he pleases & when he pleases. This condition makes it not possible for me at this time to satisfy my selfe in performing my promise, but assoone as I am inabled I shall come incognito to Kidderminster. I long more (then you can) to speake wth you even about that contro=versie wch you hint at. It is a vanity for me to pretend that I can satisfy you in any point of controversie, yet in this I am confident I can: We are agreed as to the doctrine, And in the application I can say so much, And I am so confident you will trust me in matter of fact & heare my reasons, That I shall beseech you not to ingage against the generall received opinion till I can have the happiness to see you. This I say because It is reported in towne that you have declared against a gentleman to whom I wish very well, I doe not believe it, yet friendshyp compells me to give you this hint, one hint more let me give you, All secluded members are not of a minde, some may be changed since you saw them. This I can assure you I am unchangeably

Yors.

20. March. London.

For the Reverend
my much Honored freind

Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospel

At Kiderminster

Honoured Sr.

I haue Returned you the
ding which I take as a Great Indication of your
Communicatiuenesse to mee: as also the other Part of
beare the Characters of the same Kindnesse, and I assure
They haue theyr Answerable Resentments in my Thoughts: I
selfe, I haue some Ambition (I hope a very ~~[illegible]~~ Blame
lesse) to haue your obiections marshaled by your selfe to
Greatest Advantage, that I might either stand, I fall be
them, or may assure my selfe further of my Reall A
from the Testimonys of Truth afforded by the Scriptures an
vine Assistance to withstand them: And so farre, as I am Ca
ble of knowing, I doe not enslaue my selfe to my own
pothesis, but Deale Clearly, and Ingenuously with my selfe,
ther to my most Impartiall Judgment, and Even Scorn agains
my selfe, I offer such Solutions to the obiections and Difficul
on the other Side: So that your Arrainging against me
be a Great Advantage to my Vindications, upon what I
ceiue Truth and the men mighty my Adversarys are,
men I take theyr Contests, as a Favor, and Even with
provided, Theyr Contrasts are mannaged upon Scripture,
or Reason from both, and not by Rude Anger, or Contempt,
am sure, Yours will not: and so though they amongst priuate
For that matter I shall wholly Defer, as is Right
Your selfe. I yet I doe with some Earnestnesse Begg th
Hope they may concurr to your maine End of Search into the
Touching the Papers, I confesse I am at some Losse
an opinion; For Even the modestest Returnes to your desiring
doe, what I can, be a Censure: I cannot, I must needs say
Approue them, any further, then they Speake a [illegible]
to the Glory of God, and Inquisition after it: But Except

Matter either the Honor of very neare, Immediate Reve:
y, or some even prodigious Expeditiousnesse of Apprehensions,
very Shortnesse of Time allowed to the Conceptions Demonstrati
Impossibility of Just Correspondencies to the Things that
to bee weighed, and to which they are to Adhere: for the
ame Time I deferr to him the Author, the Honor of a person, that
ssary to be a Humble, Sincere, pious, Devout Xtian, and that
made some Essays, which more Time, and weighty Con:
deration may Improove to greater Advantages; This I Humbly Sup:
osing this Paper to be any Draught, or Modell of the whole
erformance: Those (Sir) Remarques upon measures of Time
er weight of Goliahs Armor, tis I know not, whether they are any
ere then the Wisedome of Providence, even in Casualltys, or the
er, when All Things are seen together, There may arise some
dmirable, and Adorable Systemes, even one of such Things (which
an very inclinable to Beleive) however inconsiderable by themselves.

As these Papers any way Reflect upon my owne Un
r takings, I observe onely in the Vision of the 2300 Ev. Mor.
en St. Some Lineaments of Agreement: as to the Agitation of them
dy upon these Things, This both Encourages, as then; an ap
rent Effervescency of the Spirits of Knowing and Good men to
ne Wonderfull Appearances of Divine Power, according to
ophecy, and in many Things a Collineation to the same Point:
This also Caution, seeing Things require to be Tryed: Even
my, En They Now are able to Answer the Test. These Two to one:
things are Great Justifications to me of a Good Scripture Conduct;
Those I find an even Thread Drawn all Along through them
I Rest upon so visible notorious Events, that are as the
Monuments in History, that all the Privacys, and Perplexi
of Chronology ~~[illegible]~~ and History doe not Encumber me:

Sr. Your most Faythfull Humble
Servant Beverley

To his very lo: friend
Mr Baxter
these

(303)

To his very Truely Honoured
Mr Baxter
present.

(909)

LETTERS
fol.215. of Baxter Letters in volume show

Sir

I rec: ye safe as alsoe ye booke wch ingage
9 returne you very many thankes wch I would no
ye first oppertunitie of sending I haue not rea
quite out but haue bin reading of it euer sinc
kannot see any thing in it to hinder comfort as
thinke I perceiue yr scope is to driue to ho
as well as comfort yt non might wn they haue
comfort take liberty to sin & yt I like very
as to yr tre yu say [I know if ye things I writ
my selfe were true,] & indeede I dare not say
desire of vniuersall obedience &c: is true be
I should be deceiued ye ♡ is soe deceitfull
dare not trust it assoone as I read yt passa
in yr tre I presently questioned if yes things I s
were in me & feared lest I had said to much
of my selfe, but it hath often bin my question
my selfe & I thinke I am very confident its
as far as I can discerne but I may be deceived
yes my great feare & care to avoid selfe de
wch is very dangerous, could I be sure of ys
soone then consent to ye rest of yr tre & th
might be sure I had grace & perhaps by con
quence & an argumentatiue assureance get
fort. I wish I could as soone put in practi
all other directions in yr tre as yt of giuing
I haue sent for some & like yt way extream
wch may be an occasion for me to speake to
yt haue ym, seasonably; pray name me some othe
short conuincing sutable bookes agaynst yes are
wth ym, to be supplying. Sir let me intreat y
for ye following of wt yu haue writ for I cann
but say as to my iudgement & reason its very
factory if I could but get a ♡ to close wth
I am verily perswaded yt I had rather haue
more grace & strength aginst sin then com
I can scarce (I am sure) pray for comfort
wn I can be earnest for holines. I thought
~~[illegible]~~ selfe clearly concluded (ye other d
under yt wch I heard mr Billingsly preach
wch were yes words Labour to be more solic
to inioy grace wth a suspension of comfort
comfort wth a priuation of grace; if I be
certaine of ys I am certaine of nothi
I haue herein sent yu 3 tres one of ym
may see was to chide me & yerfore bei
such a point I haue sent a copy of my
wch he neuer answered agayne, & I am
clearly satisfied yt it was a fault in m
desire strong grace & much desire yr o
as alsoe yr thoughts of ye tres & further
in any thing yu see needfull. my Co: Sa
yt was wth yu giues yu many thankes for yr
215 presents her seruice to yu & desired me t
know she hopes she shall be ye better
liue for your councell to her wch s

very usefull. one thing more I desire to say now
wch I comitted to her memory but its seemes it held
not out soe far, it was concerning my child yt
died at 17 weekes old a yeare since & to relate it
thus it was yt night he died & a day & night
after I was very well satisfied wth gods will
in it & had aboundance of ioy yt came ye neerest
to a full assurance of any ~~[illegible]~~ yt ever I had
in my life I was soe taken wth ye love of god
in my childs salvation wch I did then firmly
beleeve, but ye 3 day after I had as strong temp
tations to ye contrary sugested thus yt god
had taken him away in anger throwne him
into hell & I should shortly follow & soe into
a sad condition I fell saw noe beame of love
light of gods ~~[illegible]~~ countenance nor favor
for a long time but through ye mercy of god
since I discovered my condition I have bin much
better being in some hope of my selfe in ye midst
of my doubts, but still much unsatisfied as to
ye salvation of yt sweete child of wch if yu could give
me any hopes by yr thoughts as far as we may pry
it would much reioyce me. I am very sorry to be
thus troublesome to yu being yu are soe much
imployed wth more weighty affaires but pray take
ye trouble to yr selfe of reading & answering yes
lines yt time & I will not make a common prac
ise of it though its like if such pat opportunitie
be I shall let yu know how it is wth me but its
not like to be often. I desire ye returne of ye 3
inclosed tres by ys bearer who is yt minister from
whome yu received yt ~~tre~~ I sent & into whose
owne hands I delivered yours. this is all at ys
time & so much to trouble yu wth from her who
presents her service & mr Gells to yu & rests

much ingaged to you

Aug: 29: 55:

K: G:

In yr booke I read yt yu had had some thoughts
have published some of yr experiences to ye veiw of othe
I am very sorry such a thought fell, doubtles it might
much glorify god because I know it would doe good
to his people they would approve it & get benefit
by it & then wt matter is it wt others say, I have fou
very much good wt any xian hath said & I have found
& experienced ye workes very much, if I could perswa
yu to it I would spend a sheet to dog it if it would
prevaile; in ye meane time I wish I could see you
I have very earnest desire ~~[illegible]~~ to see you on many
accounts.

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me yt aduic both wt to iudge of my selfe & wh
doe, though it may be my portion to be in su
troubles while I liue, yet I would not by any
meanes soe far indulge ym as to wrong god
in robbing my selfe of my comfort, but since yt
change wch I thinke was wrought 12 yeares sin
I neuer haue bin free from inward troubles
could euer see my selfe to haue cleare intre
in Christ my great support hath bin in ca
my selfe wholly on him adhering to him resolu
ing to uenter my selfe on him only & not to part
wth him wt euer he doe wth me neither would I
liue in any sin or omit any duty [illegible] noe, my earnes
desires are after uniuersall obediences to haue
respect to all gods commands; & I long after
more holines as much doe desire grace here as glo
hereafter, but ye naughty base heart hinders per
formance, & is a clog in euery duty, our ministers
tell me I must submissiuely striue against comp
tions wch I thinke a uery hard lesson, I shall say
noe more of my selfe but if yu desire any farther
information ye bearer may informe yu of any
thing she knowes, who liues in our family, & be
ing one yt hath many outward afflictiones & in
ward troubles of conscience I desire yu would plea
to examine her of her owne condition who would
be uery glad of some words from you but it may
be can hardly speake to yu if yu take not some no
tice to her of it I told her I would write a word
for her. Sir I hope yr leasure will permitt some lines
backe to me, I heartily wish we could see yu one
weeke in ye County yt we might alsoe heare you of
wch I haue an earnest desire & I had not so grea
a family to leaue I should indeauor ye fullfilling
my desires in comming to yu. ye great care you haue
shewed to poore soules made me ye willinger to write
ys fit opportunity, I hauing had it oft in my thoughts
& if I could conueniently haue sent ltres yu had
heard of me sooner. I intreat yu to excuse both
stile English & all other defects herein con-
sidering its a womans & soe shall leaue yu to ye
keeping of yr god & wth my seruice rest

being one yt honours yu
for yr workes sake
Katherine Gell

July 6th

non hath ~~[illegible]~~ seene this neither doth any know
of my writing but my husband & ye bearer therefore
I desire ye concealment ~~[illegible]~~

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Honoured Sir x at westm: Ab. morn: Lecture

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~~Though~~ Though I never yet saw yu I hope having seene so much of you it may be an incouragment to me to write for some satisfaction from yu in somthing of yr owne writing in ye Sts rest; before I come to it I suppose being altogether a stranger it will be fit to giue yu some account of my state wch in breefe I shall relate thus; I was brought up under such parents as tooke great ~~to~~ care to Educate me well my father being a man of Eminent holines) wherby I was as formall as any & as constant in duties tell neere 20 yeares of age yt a sermon of mr marshalls did wake soe far as to make me seeke out for a better way then I was in, indeed before yt I was very much convicted & saw clearly yt I was out of ye right but yet did not desire to come in till yt sermon wch as neere as I can (by recollecting all things) conceive to be ye time wn my will was changed for I cannot remember yt ever I stood out after, but yt produced many sad troubles in my soule & raised many ill thoughts wth in wch I concealed 2 yeares, & then ~~hath~~ at times through gods mercy many words of support me in my hearing sermons, ~~and~~ at ye 2 yeares end I revealed ~~her~~ it to my hus: from whom I had much comfort but would not suffer any other to know till 2 yeare after I went to mr marshall & rec: much comfort from him but since yt reading of yr booke wherin yu earnestly presse ye helping others to yt rest & in particular by admonishing I was soe clearly convinced of my neglect & unaptnes to it & my uselessnes in my family yt way, yt I have drawne ye conclusion from it yt I am not in a state of grace & yt upon ye account yt whoever lives in ye constant omission of a known duty or commission of a known sin is not in a state of grace but I have done oft: ye hath cost me much sorrow for indeed sir I have indeavored it very much since & could speake but for a naturall foolish bashfullnes yt attends me in all other matters hindering me much from doing or receiving good, alas yt is much agravated by ye checks of conscience for I seldome see an obiect for me to speake to but I have a motive to doe it & refuse it & then I am sure to heare of it wch much greatens ye sin, its true I can hardly instance in any yt performe ye duty as yu presse it but yts noe excuse to me if I am convinced of it, though I beleeve were it set home soe on yr consciences yt are gifted for it & neglect it would put ym on ye speedy practise, many other doubts I might trouble yu wth but yt I have imparted ym of late

our owne minister & another in ys county from whome I have received much satis-
faction but though he hath write to me aboute it yet I desire to have yr opinion
because yu can best tell how far yu extend yt exhortation & therfore having a friend
goeing there I resolved to write yt I might be more fully satisfied in yt particular
wherein I have many times condemned my selfe pray sir deale clearly in your

G. 1

I am glad yt God hath so far brought you from under yor doubts, & so far resolved you of yor sincerity in ye maine. But you say you are fallne into a Condition more troublesome, beinge as much deserted in point of Livelynes, as you were before in point of Comfort. & in this it is yt you are urgent for advice: wch you need not draw from me by so much importunity, though my occasions be at least as much as you Imagine. Only I must expect yt upon yt account you will excuse my brevity. And first I shall tell you my opinion of yor present case, & 2o I shall give you my best, though breife advice for a remedy of so much as you may desire & hope for a cure of, in this imperfect state of this present life.//

1o you must understand yt ye thinge wch you call Life is but ye motion of ye Affections or passions about holy things. Now to ye motion of those passions, ordinarily these things following are required: 1o yt ye matter be weighty & accordingly apprehended 2o yt it be new or apprehended as new; 3o yt it be somewt rare & unusuall & not a constant thinge. ffor mans heart is unapt to be sensibly affected, either with knowne trifles, or with things yt seeme at a great distance from us, or wth yt wch is a Constant state. What we shall be & doe in heaven is another matter wch we shall better know when we come thither. But in this life, even Grace it selfe doth usually worke according to this way of nature: ffor comonly it doth only turne ye naturall powers to their right objects, & actions into ye right streame, rather then adde any more of ye same kind to those naturall powers. (I speake of Nature as created, & not of Nature as corrupt). And therfore we see those yt were of heavy flegmaticke complexions, & dull in naturall operations, are comonly dull in spirituall operations, when they are sanctifyed: & those yt were of quicke & active dispositions about worldly things before Conversion, are usually so about spiritualls after. Now ye first of these I am confident is not yor impedimt. It is not because you take Celestiall things for trifles yt you are no more affected with ym, or want yt Life about ym wch you complaine for. But though you value ym, yet it is with such great disadvantages, yt hindereth yor sensibility & Life. ffor 1o Celestiall things are out of sight to us while we are here: & though it be ye office of faith to be ye evidence of things not seene, yet it is in us such an imperfect worke, & opposed by so many enemyes, & clogd with so many difficultyes, yt its apprehensions do seldome affect ye soule as ye apprehensions of sense would do. Though faith do more truly sanctify & resolve ye will & renew ye heart, yet doubtless ye senses of ye unsanctifyed would more deeply affect ym, if they did see heaven & hell with their eyes, yn faith doth affect ye best men on Earth. Besides you looke at heaven as somewhat distant from you, & ye approach of present death doth not awake you, & tell you yt it is hard at hand. You know there is nothinge yt all ye world is more certaine of yn death it selfe; & yet wn we are in health, & death seemeth not to be very neere, ye best men are incomparably less affected with it, yn they are when they receive ye sentence of death in their sicknes: Insomuch yt I have oft wondered to observe yt all ye world allmost are so deeply affected with their change, when they see they must be gone as yt ye sense of it doth allmost overwhelme ym; & yet yt ye certaine foreknowledge of it doth cause no more sensibility even in ye best. But this is because yt nature is not easily awakened with distant objects in comparison of those yt are neere. And so is it with us all in regard of or sensibility of heavenly things. The best are ordinarily too stupid in their affections towards ym when they seeme not to be hard at hand.// 2o And yn it may be a great hinderance to yor sensibility, because yt ye things yt you would be sensible of are not new or rare, but yor comon objects or yor ordinary case. New benefitts & new hopes do ordinarily much transport ye heart with deepest sense & greatest joyes. And as yt we comonly live in as high an Estimation & as close adhesion to ym, but not in like affection to ym.// Those yt I have mentioned are ye causes why [illegible] are ordinarily so dull in their affections towards invisible [illegible]

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whole Course of their lives, in comparison of what they ought to be. || But you say this was not yor case while you lay in yor doubtings; & therfore you take it to be some extraordinary desertion in respect of Life. But I suspect you misunderstand ye Case: & yt rather you had extraordinary sensibility while you were under those doubts. And I'le tell you my Reasons: Because I know yt feare is ye most workinge passion of ye soule, most easily excited & frequently renewed, & long continued: & you must know yt it is ye nature of our passions or affections for one of ym to awaken another, & when one is up ye rest are far easilyer raysed. And therfore I find yt when death looketh me in ye face, & I thinke I am upon my change, it is not only yt one affection but all ye rest by it yt are awakened; and ye whole soule is in a more sensible frame. So it is with doubtinge Christians (as I know by many a yeares experience): They are deeply affected with ye apprehensions of their sin & misery & Gods displeasure, & ye feares yt they are not sincere, & yt they shall one day perish: And when ye soule is awakened by those feares & troubles, yn all dutys seeme to have life in ym (& indeed have so) because ye soule is still in this troubled, awakened state. But now when yor doubts are resolved, & yor troubles removed, & feares abated yor passions are calmed & quieted; & now you have not such sensible workinge apprehensions as you had. And no wonder if there be less noise & stir, when those winds and tempestuous stormes are allayed. So much for ye Causes & Diagnosticks of yor disease. I shall next proceed to ye Prognosticks & yn to ye Cure. ||

And for ye first I shall freely tell you my thoughts, not makinge yor case better nor worse yn I judge it to be. You know I am a stranger to you, & therfore can say nothinge but on this supposition, yt indeed yor case be as you report it to be yor selfe. And if it be so I must say, 1o yt I judge ye thinge which you call desertion, to be ye ordinary frame of most of ye calmed Xtians in ye world. 2o It is too rare a thinge even amonge good Christians to meet with any yt so regardfully observe ye frame of their spirits, & take so much notice when God draws neere ym & when not: but they too carelessly run on in a Course of cold & dull pformances. 3o I doubt with those few yt do looke after their hearts so much, yt most are glad if they can have yt life & sensibility now & yn extraordinarily, wch you expect should be yor constant frame. And as interruptions of yt life are yor Extraordinaryes, so ye tasts of yt life are their Extraordinaryes. I speake as I find it by converse with very many. 4o But yt you should take this state as more troublesome yn yor former doth speake a high degree of Grace. Hypocrites are past their troubles, if they have but a seeminge assurance yt they shall be saved: And ye most good Christians, do too easily beare all dullness & unprofitableness, & other corruptions, when once they are past ye feares of damnation. But how rare is it to meet with such a soule yt is as much discontented with their lifelessness & Corruptions even when they have overcome ye feares of wrath, as they were before with those doubts & feares. If this be indeed yor case you have much cause to be thankfull to God, as havinge attained higher yn most yt I have knowne. 5o Though lively affections & sensibility be very desirable yet are they not ye evidences by which ye truth of Grace may so well be tryed (as I have shewed in my method for Peace); no nor by wch ye degree of Grace may best be discerned neither. You have most Grace when you have 1o the highest Estimation of God & heavenly things, 2o & ye firmest resolution of ye will for God & his interest, & 3o when you have ye most strength against temptations, & hatred of sin, & victory over it & walke most evenly with God: & many have much life of sensibility & Affectionatenes, yt have little of these & consequently have but little Grace. And we often see yt many transported passionate Christians do walke very unevenly, & are tost up & downe with temptations, & oft fall into dangerous wayes in ye time of tryall, when the judicious, resolved (though less affectionate) Christians do stand firme. ||

now to ye Cure. And ye best Directions I can give you in briefe are these.
1° Be much amonge lively Christians & Ordinances. 2° Endeavor now to be deeply
affected with ye Riches of yt Grace yt hath saved & will save you, as you were
before, with ye sin wch you thought would have condemned you. If you consider
not what it is yt must affect you, & about which yor soule must be awakened, no
wonder if you fall short of it. Dwell now upon ye thoughts of ye eternall Love
of God, ye healinge bloud & Spirit of Christ, & ye everlastinge Glory wch shortly
you shall possesse. If you would now be lively, it must be in a Life of Love &
Joy; for you do not expect here yor former Life of feare & sorrow. Bathe
yor soule daily in ye fountaine of Divine Love, & feed ye Joy in ye Holy Ghost
by ye Consideration of yor certaine felicity, ye matter of yor Joy. 3° When
you would have yor lively apprehensions of sin & misery renewed, goe abroad
amonge ye Ignorant & prophane, & there you may see yt wch may do much
to renew it. Sit not at home as if you had no body to looke after but yorselfe;
but step out now & yn to yor poore tenants, or send for ym to you, & deale with
ym about ye matters of their salvation. And you may find yt, Compassion to ym
& such holy diligence in ye worke of God, will do more to enliven you, yn much
secrett strivinge with yor heart will do. 4° Take heed of carnall Affections:
the more Life you have to ye world, ye more dead to God. Let not ye thoughts
of any outward thinge too deeply affect you, with Joy or sorrow. Entertaine
not too sweet apprehensions of any creature, if you would have delight in
God. 5° Take more paines to subdue corruptions, & conquer temptations &
live fruitfully & cheerfully in yor place, & to keepe up a high esteeme of God
& fixed Resolutions for him, yn to gett lively feelinges & Affectionatenes in duty:
not yt this latter must be set light by or neglected; but ye former must be
much preferred before it. If you observe not this you will much wronge
God & yor soule. 6° Be not too high in yor Expectations of lively affectio=
natenes in Dutyes. Gett as much as you can of it, but do not thinke yt it is more
necessary yn it is, nor expect yt it should be (in any great measure yor constant
frame. For 1° God hath not so peremptorily promised those thinges, wch the
Essence of Grace consisteth not in, as he hath done ye Essentialls ymselves.
And therefore you must not be more peremptory in yor Expectations, yn he hath
beene in his Promises. 2° You know not for wt Gracious Reasons God may
limitt you in this gift of sensibility, nor what evills you might incurre if
you had yor owne desire. Sometime God doth it yt he might ye better stablish
or Judgements, or carry on Judgment & Affection equally in an even pace.
Sometimes he sees yt ye very heads of some weake persons, especially women &
melancholy people canot beare such deepe apprehensions & sensibility as
they desire. While ye soule is with ye body, it must move in such a pace as the
body can beare. Or else it may be as a keene knife too big for ye sheath yt
will cutt yt wch should keepe it. The braine of weake persons is like a Lute stringe
which will cracke if it be raised too high, & stretcht a whit beyond its strength.
It would make yor heart ake to thinke of ye Instances yt I have not far from
me in my eye, while I am wrightinge this. How many godly women have I knowne
distracted or very neere it (to ye great hardeninge of their carnall friends
& neighbors & ye greife of those ministers whose preachinge did ocasion it) & all
by entertaininge deeper thoughts & more workinge affectinge apprehensions of
heavenly thinges yn their very braine was able to endure. I write not this to take
you off from any holy endeavors to maintaine all ye Life you can in yor soule:
God forbid: nor durst I write this much to carnall stupid despisers of holy se=
riousnes, who would misunderstand it & misapply it to harden ym in their dead estate.
But I do it to let you see yt God may have more mercyfull thoughts in limitinge
you in point of livelynes & sensibility, yn you imagine; & yt you should submitt to
his time & measure in such thinges; & not wronge his Love by false constructions of
his dealings, nor trouble yorselfe through misunderstandinge of his wayes.

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of what I have to say to yor Case. The Lord be yor
strength yor Rocke & Life. I heartily thanke Mr G. & yor selfe on
behalfe of ye Church of Christ, for yor fidelity & diligence in promoting ye
worke of ye Gospell in yt Country, which, with gladnes I have heard of by many.
I remaine

Yor Servant in ye worke of Christ

June 7th
1656.

Rich: Baxter.

As for ye Questioninge thoughts wch you say are suggested to you, 1o Take heed
of feedinge melancholy, 1o by solitarynesse 2o or idlenes, 3o or unseasonable
thoughtfullnes & musinges 4o or inordinate sadnes. For I have ever observed
yt ye melancholy are still haunted with suggestions to Infidelity or Blasphemy.
2o You must expect yt Sathan should shew his malice against Christ & his
word & yor soule in ye worst way he can; & therefore wonder not at the
temptation, but keepe yor soule possest with an abhorrence of it.
3o Cast it out in ye beginninge, & allow it not any kind of abode within you
but presently turne yor thoughts to other thinges. 4o Thinke not yor Case
singular; for as every mans faith in this life is accompanyed with unbeliefe
so ye best are oft haunted with ye suggestions wch you complaine of. I
know many able godly Divines yt would give a world, but to be able to say
as you say, yt you as really beleive ye Contrary as yt its Paper yt you
write on. It would wonderfully compose yor soule, & better yor heart
& life, if you would still thinke of God as infinite Goodnes, & make it yor
worke to exercise Love Delight & Thankfullnes, & bend yor thoughts & dutyes
more to a prayseinge thankfull straine. It is not Ingenuous, when we have
received so great thinges (as Christ, a new Life, pdon, & ye right to Glory)
to be still complaininge of yt wch we want, & allmost overlookinge so much
received: nor is it wisedome to neglect or owne Comforts, or cast yem away
& yn complaine for want of yem.

To the Worpll Mris K. G. at Hopton
house in Darbyshire these

Sr

2

I thanke you heartily for yor last very good letter, The Lord recompence you for ye trouble you take to yor selfe in answering of mee. I have once more ventured to put you upon a worke of ye same nature wth ye former, but in ~~and~~ some thinge more considerable viz. as it tends to ye satisfaction of my own judgmt & conscience in a practicall matter, only let me speake one word or two to yor former. for ye businesse in generall wch I wrote about I thanke God we enjoy ye sacramt of ye supper in Coven-garden againe after 7 or 8 yeares intermission. For ~~mr Han~~ yor seconding mr Hanmer I should be very glad to see that worke done & I thinke it would prove of good use for ye uniteing of ye soberest of ye Episcopal part wth ye presbyterians. for that rule that ye church guides viz. pastors may determine in particulars where ye scripture is silent so be they hold to ye generall rule of order decency & edification I have had it denyed rule by ~~[illegible]~~ one sober man but I have not an ~~oppor~~ opportunity as yet to know his reason. For mr Baldwins indisposition I am sorry, & yet glad that he is able to doe any part of his worke ye Lord strengthen him more & more both in soul & body to fulfill his ministery & finish his course wth joy. Mr Bakers desired mee to present his respects to you God has lately afflicted him by ye abortion of his wife & ye death of his daughter. Now sr I returne to what I before hinted & shall crave yor ayde in satisfying me concerning this question whether I may baptize ye child of a pson not appearing to be a serious Xtian. or whether I may baptize ye child of a notorious wicked man, ye reasons of my inclination to ye affirmative are. 1o because otherwise there is no difference made betweene ye children of comon professors & heathens, for what else is it but baptisme in infancy, for if they cannot be baptized untill they actually believe & make profession ~~by themselves~~ this any heathens child is capable of, if they may come to ye congregations to heare ye word so may an heathens child as well as they, 2o we no where find that when ye scripture makes mention of any profane psons in a church that their children are forbidden to be baptized. 3o all ye children of ye Israelites that would own ye Jewish religion were circumcised, & if you say their ~~parents~~ adult should be cut of for their wickednesse yet suppose that God spared them were not their children to be circumcised? if they were than it follows that ye parents wickednesse was not a just let, for that continued, & the same reason there will be of persons that ought ~~to~~ or deserve to be excomunicate but yet are not, except you say that they are ipso jure excomunicati, & non excomunicandi but if so what need of church officers to doe it. 4o ye covenant is ~~of~~ offered to all that will accept of it & to acceptance ~~there~~ is required nothing but a right understanding of ye tearmes & a consent & both those may be in a comon professor as he acts in his childs name or representing his child, or if you will in ye child as professing by his parent or ~~[illegible]~~ proparent, for a ~~[illegible]~~ comon professor may have a right dogmaticall faith & although he failes in consent for himselfe because his ~~ow~~ lusts oppose him his own flesh is to be mortifyed by that yet he may truely consent for his child, & really desire that ye child may be good, there be drunkards that will ~~[illegible]~~ not indure their children should be so, or at least would have ~~them~~ sober 219 man that lives in wickednesse may be so farre convinced of ye benefit & goodnesse of Xtian religion as to wish himselfe could be so & heartily to desire his child may because as I hinted before his desires for his child doe not

x

infirm ye mortification of his own lusts & doe put his flesh to smart, will the
supposing this to be true ye child has made an understanding profession & given his
hearty consent by ye parent, for then ye parent doth not professe in his own name bu
in ye childs & ye profession & promise is ye childs by ye parents not ye parents for ye
childs so that ye covenant is wth ye child, & ye child becomes thereby obliged, & if
this covenant be not kept wee doe not use to say that ye father broke his cove-
nant for ye childe, but we charge ye child himselfe wth promise or covenant
breaking wch we could not doe if ye father onely promised for him &
not he by his father. so that if you aske me to shew you there like you
have it here in theire understanding consent to Gods offer & stipulations &
~~[illegible]~~ beside God ownes the Israelites & theire
children for his servants Levit. 25. 42 from whence you would draw an argumt for
the lawfulnesse of baptising infants yet in that place there is no exception
of ye profane but all that were brought ought of Egypt were so called
yet further Ezek. 16. 20. 21. they are called sons & daughters borne unto God
& Gods children & how were they so more than heathen children but onely
in respect of ye Israelites covenant to be Gods both they & theire children
or in respect of theire childrens circumcision wch God speakes nothing agst
or that they ought to be ingaged to God in covenant & taught his worship
& here for hast I shall leave at this time only againe I am desired
by our Brother to remember his love to you & tell you that he desires yor
prayers. Now ye Lord Jesus Cht in whom are all the treasures of wis-
dome & knowledge fill you every day more & more wth all those
graces & gifts whereby you may bee more ~~at~~ serviceable to his interest
& ye ~~[illegible]~~ soules of men, & I beseech you yet be not unwilling
to serve mine in particular and to pray to God for mee that he would
either let me live a profitable life or dy a comfortable & gainfull
death.

Yor faithfull friend & desirous to be
yor ffellow labourer in ye vineyard of Cht
Abr. Pinchbeck

March 19. 1657
Coven garden

Sr

3 It hath beene oft in my thoughts of late especialy to present my humble
respects to you, that I might acknowledge what god hath wrought in mee, by
converse formerly & of late by your works: the lord hath much awakend mee by
some passages in yr Guild as Salv. in ye exhort to get truth of grace. stirred mee
up to a more through examinacon, & selfe condemnacon, satisfyinge my scruples for
ye time past by this that I always chose subjects sutable to ye condition I have
apprehended my selfe to bee in & preached in part to my soule: oh how doe
I breath after such a frame of soule, as rather to live in ye most miserable condition
in ye world then to intrude into ye lords vineyard wthout a commission
I thought to write to you but ye lord prevented mee wth loveinge kindnes: for callinge
to minde his presence wth mee for many years past under ye sad wthdrawinges &
grievinge ye spirit, & incorrigiblenes, yet ye lord hath beene wth mee & I knew it not
how often have I gone to an ordinance wth such expectations as these, now may ye
lord returne againe I know, now ye lord will revive his worke againe in mee, & recallinge
yt my backslidings have not bene apostasies, & still daylie helpinge mee
to grone in ye bitternes of my soule to bee delivered from hellish temptacons.
even now when I was at ye pitts brinke (my ague rather increasinge) under more
sad terrours then formerly wch I thought would soone distract mee, ye lord about
6 weeks agoe on morninge helpinge mee to pray agst a temptacon twas put into
minde to rejoyce in god for ye victory how soone did my former fears vanish
& ye lord let mee see yt there were hopes for my poore soule in Cst wch I thought
I believed before, since yt time I finde all things possible for god to effect
on a poore nothinge creature, now I begin to mourne when I consider how good
the lord hath beene to mee ye vilest creature: I rest only on his power engaged by
promise in temptacon; only I fear my unbeliefe will damne mee after all
now I call to minde ye wonderfull workings of so god some years past, &
thinke it impossible I should bee becalmed for longe: ~~now~~ hereupon I a
couraged in his worke & finde his speciall presence removinge al
dispositions actuatinge my soule for gratitude. yt I rejoyce in hopes o
acceptance through Ct for 6 years past I have had scarce a comfortable ti
now can I goe to god & hee is indulgent to mee, helpes mee to mourn
helpes to submit to him if hee remove not my affliction, for since hee c
breake through light afflictions & manifest himselfe, & give forth stren
for publique worke, what can my soule desire more fearinge rather
I should misimprove ~~it~~ health if god should afford it: these workings of
wth some meltings over poore soules have kept mee from troublinge you: on
this I & others could most humbly beg of you to write somethinge of this
nature viz the monstrous sin of takinge up ye ministry wthout experimental acquaintance
wth christ, tis ye cryinge sin of ye university: for wch I who see it
could even breake my heart.

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men make no conscience of an inward call, but if they bee formall pro-
fessours & of parts they intende inconsiderately: divinity is made a superstruc-
ture, & ye worke of nature ye foundation: but discourse wth such theres more of
god will appeare in a christian of ye weakest capacity then in them who abounde
wth seraphical contemplacions: I presume you will excuse my confused lines
for truly my ague is scarce of any [illegible]: but I canot but proclaime ye lovinkindes
of ye lord when ever I have opportunity: tis indeed my imploymt at present for
a little time to excercize my selfe wholy in spirituall dutis & converse: for mee
thinks it comes in wth a fresh lustre when ever I thinke that after all my pro-
vocacions god is willinge to bee my god, & yt when I goe to god I see my selfe
ye wretchedest creature in ye world, yet yt christ came to justifie ye ungodly, & makes
~~intercesso~~ intercession for transgressours for them who see themselves guilty, oh
this is a mistery let men & angels admire: but I containe: for I should trouble you
wth crude extempore thoughts but god is freely good to mee by them, & therefore I
am resolved to publish ye goodnes of god to repentinge vile sinners though all ye
powers of darknes should breake loose, & ye ministry bee trampled under feet:
I close all concerninge my selfe wth most earnest requests for yr prayers: for my
condemnacion will bee most dreadfull of any in ye world if all these workinge of
god, humiliacions resolutions manifestacions of god bee not effectuall to con-
straine mee, at length to a full closure; for god may bee carringe on his
worke many yeares, & tis wonderfull for god to returne after soe many repulses
they make his mercy to mee ye most glorious & inconceivable yt ever
heard of.   But Sr that wch occasioned my present writinge is ye
request of a friende of mine this afternoone, hee is ye bearer hereof: I
have formerly knowne him only of our society, but findinge his spirit soe wrought
upon I shall now prize his acquaintance, hee seemes to mee very broken & contrite
& ye meanes chiefly by ye word, wherefore I shall not neede to beseech you to la
yt christ bee formed in him, since you see yr selfe concerned in ye birth: hee
will soone expresse his minde & requests to you, & I shall dayly pray yt ye lord
yourselfe
make effectuall: I told him hee had cause to rejoyce in ye soules humblinge presence
god: as god dealeth wth mee in humblinge my soule under ye sence of my gone
ings, & then whisperinge to mee afterwards yt god hath beene at worke on my s
compellinge mee as twere to rejoyce — what god hath & will doe for mee:
equest is that you will please to direct him to the house of some gracious
hilst hee sojournes wth you. If I have or shal have interest in [illegible] I hope
all beg of god dayly to lengthen out your days as hitherto hee hath miraculously
s when you pray for miserable distressed soules then remember

Your poore friende

Trin Coll: Camb.

Sa: Corbyn.

Reverend Sr

4 I desire, & should be glad to heare, you would emit a Treatise wth three
Columns, shewing both extreams, & truth in the Middle through the Body
of Divinity; this I conceive would not onely be the best preservative,
to keep yor Church at Kederminster (when yor mouth is stopped wth dust)
to continue in constancy, Unity, & peace; but will stand upon Record as a
Testimony of yor Desire of, & endeavour for the Reformation & Unity
of the Churches. yea this Tract may be a speciall meanes, both to the
suppressing of dangerous Errors, & Heresies; & for Christians to be better
fortifyed agt them.

Sr you have said God [illegible]s off; is it by giveing you knowledge that shortly you
must put off yor Tabernacle? then imitate the Apostle Peter 2 Epist 1.15.
or rather is it that you are employed in publicke & private instruction, a
good worke; yet [illegible] ought you not [illegible] take care of all the Churches. 2 Cor. 11.28.
The Reformation & Uniting of them, at home, & abroad (you say) are the greatest
workes any can be Imployed in. It remaines as a blot upon the Nobles of
Tekoah Neh. 3. 5. that they put not their necks to the worke of the Lord; in
not being forward to promote a Civil good; this more, for sound doctrine
(as you say) makes a sound judgement, a sound heart, a sound conversation, & a sound
conscience; This Use saith Mr Reynolds may be made of Errors, that they
let us know what is not —. It is a common saying, Opposita juxta se
posita clarius elucescunt. No pleasure (said Ld Verulam) is comparable to the
standing, upon the Vantage ground of Truth, & to see the Errors, & Wandrings,
& Mists & tempests in the Vale below.

Sr I earnestly entreat you (whom pious Langley stiles A man of Vast & digested
reading, A Learned Divine most happy in solving difficulties; & whom I say God
hath blessed to be serviceable & profitable to the Church) to employ yor pen
to make known [illegible] hath revealed to you of the Method & Body
of Truth in its Locations & proportion, & [illegible]vour to accomplish, &
effect, before yor glass run out, what you once intended; Truth hereby
may be better told then before; however, you are rather to be commended
in Labouring to find out Truth, then reproved for not alwayes meeting wth
it; for all considering Men know how difficult a thing it is, amid so many
perturbations, & weaknesses our morbid Nature is obnoxious to, to do, say, or
write, that wch is necessary in a weighty business; what Writers wthout
their Naevi? Divinitatis est non errare. Be pleased to manifest that wch is clear
& Labour to see through, & make known the obscurities that beset the rest.
The Lord Direct, Excite, Encourage, Strengthen & Succeed you to doe his Worke
Amen saith

Poulton Lancelyn Worrall Cheshire
Sept. 18th 1658.

Yor friend & Servant
Richard Green.

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mr Greens Letter (a Justice of peace in Cheshire)

(306)

Befor I should be glad to heare, you would send a Treatise with these Cautions, shewing both extreames, & truth in the midst through the body of Divinity, this I conceive would not onely be the best preservative to keep your Church at Edenburgh (whom your Lords speake so happily of) to continue in constancy, unity & peace; but will stand upon record as a testimony of your desire & endeavour for the Reformation & Unity of the Churches, yea this tract may be a speciall meanes both to the suppressing of dangerous Errors, & theirs, & for strengthening to [illegible] fortified against them.

Now we have said thus much [illegible] by giving you knowledge that shortly [illegible] must put off [illegible] then imitate the Apostle Peter 2 Epist. 1.15 [illegible] whiles it is that you are engaged in publick & private instruction, in good works, not only [illegible] to take care of all the Churches [illegible] a reformation & uniting of them at home & abroad, [illegible] can be [illegible]. It remaines as a debt upon the [illegible] that they put not their necks to the worke of the [illegible] forward to promote a [illegible] as you [illegible] a [illegible] conscience; [illegible] let us [illegible] what is not [illegible] upon the [illegible] of truth [illegible] in the [illegible]

[illegible]

Truth in its gardens & preparation [illegible] may be [illegible] in labouring to find out Truth, then especially [illegible] considering [illegible] that such is necessary in a [illegible] the Lord Jesus Christ [illegible]

Sept 13th 165[illegible]

Worthy Sr,

S I remember you did write a pric
agt. Ch divisions but I hi now little trouble
to me, & unwill others of ye Godly, &
well affected people of this nation that
in yor practise you doe & make them
By yor separating fro ye Ch of England
wch you acknowledge to be a true
Ch. (and ye truth is, notwithstanding slou-
-nishes & godly strangers) I finde that in-
-worth is a gr. cause of ~~people~~ many non-
conformists standing out for to my kn-
-owledge some haue a better sallary then
ever they had before. & if it were
not inworth what is ye reason that you are
fallen fro yor former principles, who
did much more agt. separation gathering churches out ~~then you &~~
~~yor party formerly~~ of churches then you
& others of yor party haue done & now
who more guilty of it? The gathering of
churches out of churches is indeede ye
destruction of churches? Tis an vncharita-
-ble, & an unscripturall practice, there is
noe precept nor president for it in all
x ye Booke of God. We reade in scrip

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of gathering churches from amongst heathens, but never of gathering churches out of constituted churches. The arg. for gathering churches is very slight & weake; 'tis this, Because our Divines hold: it's lawfull to gather churches out of ye Ch. of Rome ergo 'tis lawfull to gather churches out of the Ch. of England. q. d. because 'tis lawfull to separate from a whore, ergo we ought to separate from an honest wife alsoe. What more ungodly sacriledge or man stealing can there be then to purloin from Godly Min.rs the first born of their fervent prayers & faithfull preaching, the crown of their labours, & their epistles to heaven? Let me tell you plainly, yt you & oth.rs wch had with full cry, & open mouth pursued ye Congregationall men proclaimed them schismaticks, & the enemies to ye worke of reformation, that was then upon ye wheel: I say, you & oth.rs contrary to ye formerly avowed principles, & apologies, declarations, Remonstrances, & petitions, prayers & preachm.ts fall in wth ye same practises, & gather churches out of churches. And nothing is more frequent now then to meete with bookes dedicated to ye flock of such a man, or to ye congregation over wch such a man is overseer &c. Now wheth.r this be adhering to principles, or bespeake a man fixed, & well grounded, I leave

any man to iudge. No, no, it lookes like a
designe and as far as actions can speake
it tells ye world that tis not religion at bott-
om all this stir is made but pride & in-
terest. (as Mr Hollingworth showes in his
modest plea for ye Ch of England.) I am
afraid yt yor ~~[illegible]~~ separating from ye Ch
of England & carrying faire with ye
Independts & Anabaptists it is onely to
make a party to get ye governmt into
yor own hands wch makes me almost
turn Sceptick & think yt religion is coun-
-ted upon a politick account & if
I think popery is ye onely religi
for yt will keepe people most in awe
the truth is yt yor actions makes the
premises from whence I infer this
dangerous conclusion but I hope
ye Lord will open yor eyes (& ye eyes
of those that cause ye unhappy separation
from ye church of England) to see that
the onely way to prevent atheisme
& by consequence popery is to
ioyne with ye Ch of England wch yt you
may is ye earnest & dayly prayer of
Yor unknowne friend
T. C.

Aug. 3.
(76)

This
To the Reverend Mr
Richd Baxter living
in London.

Leave this wth Mr Nevil
Simons at ye Princes
Armes in St Pauls
Church-yard to be
delivered as above wth
care. London

Reverend & Worthy Sr.

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This Addresse may ſeeme strange to yu, but I hope may ceaſe to appeare so after I have told yu the occaſion; Thus. Some of my friends being sadly ſenſible of an increaſe of Atheisme, popery, & Socinianiſme in these Tymes & knowing by Experience that Dr. Jacksons Workes had fortifyed men against Temptations to those & other dangerous Errors, I have been moved by them to make an offer to the World of the Workes of Dr. Jackson, such as were & were not printed. The last yeer I printed his first Vollume and have now finisht a Vollume, consisting of such peeces as are new & never printed before. I have sent one herewith because I desyre yu should see it with the first occaſion who I perceive (by yr bookes) are no stranger to Dr. Jacksons workes.

Now Sr. So farr as yu shall be of the mind of my friends that advised the publication of Dr. Jackson, if you (whose Labors are of much note & use in the Church) please to make this Work known among Divines, or as yu shall think fitt, because it was never publisht before, yu shall put a great Obligation upon me who am

Sr. Yrs in all ſervice
Timothy Garthwait

from my shop at the Little North-doore
of pauls London.
20. Aprill. 1654.

postscr.

Sr. I cannot in any reaſon expect but a man of yr mark for piety & Learning must needs have ſeen the proof of the Orientall Bible now at the preſse yet having it by me at hand I have made bold to ſend it, & the rather to tell yu, That its hoped the pentateuch will be finisht the Latter end of this Summer, They having printed almost all Exodus.

T. G.

If my Neighbor Mr. Underhill be neer yu, my respects to him had he been in London I should have shown him this Letter before I had sent it to his Author.

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(308)

Reverend & Worthy Sir

This Addresse may seeme strange to S.r, but I hope may cease to appeare so, when I have told y.u the occasion. Thus. Some of my friends being sadly sensible of an increase of Atheisme, popery, & Socinianisme in these times, & being by experience [illegible] that D.r Jacksons Works ~~&~~ had [illegible] against temptations to those & other dangerous Errors, have been moved by them to make an offer to the World of the Works of D.r Jackson, such as were & were not printed. The last year I printed his first Volume, & have now finisht a Volume consisting of such pieces as are new & never printed before. [illegible] because I designe it should goe out with the first [illegible] which I perceive (by y.e Doctor) are no strangers to D.r Jacksons Works.

Now S.r so farr as y.u shall be of the mind of my friends that [illegible] the publication of D.r Jackson, it yo. [illegible] [illegible] of much worth & use in the Church [illegible] to make this Work known among Divines [illegible] because it [illegible]

Y.r in all Service

Timothy Garthwait

From my shop at the Little North-doore of Pauls London

April. 1674.

Sir,

I cannot in any [illegible] but a [illegible] of [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] the proof of the printed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] will be finisht [illegible] [illegible]

C E 7

, all bookes yt I know extant of yors, I have;
and most of 'em have read through (giving god hearty
thankes for ye light & guidance, yt hee hath afforded
mee by & in them) In every one of them, I think, you
more then once mention ye distinction of a Relative
& Reall change. Truely Sr, yor sense in it seemes
to mee a matter of soe great weight, yt I wish it
alike free from obscurety & exception; & yt it may
bee noe lesse cleare, then it will bee usefull, bee-
ing cleared. But whether yet it bee soe or noe,
judge you. For wn you set Reall, as opposite to Re-
lative, doe you not seeme to teach yt the Relative
change is not Reall? But thus, I conceive, you would
not bee understood (though yor words in some places
I finde very expresse this way) For then v.g. Justi-
ficatio Juris or constitutiva should not bee Reall. Be-
sides, Relatio is Res or Ens reale, otherwise
could not bee one of ye Predicamts. And soe certainely
every Relative change must allsoe bee Reall, or else
properly cannot bee Relative.

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In my opinion therefore you shall doe well, 1. To
review pa: 175. of Aphor: & Reconcile this passage
Relations are but meere Entia Rationis, & noe reall
beeings; with those other two immediately fol-
lowing, Suppose but the subjectum, fundam
and terminus, and ye Relation will unavoidably
follow, by a meere Resultancy; and p: 176. ad cal-
cem. — 3. Wch reall foundation beeing thus laid, ye
Relations of [Justified & pardoned in title of Law]
doe wholy result. 2.ly To revise all those
passages allsoe in yor bookes, wherein you oppose
Reall to morall. For sure, Sr, for instance, the
morall effect of Chts Law, is not onely Intentio-
nall, but truely & in very deed Reall, though
it bee not sensible, proper & Physicall. 3.ly To
think of devising some fitter member for, Reall;
For instance, Naturall, Proper, Sensible, or,
A change or effect by sense discernible or per-
ceiveable, or some like. For plainly I perceive,
yt by yor Reall changes you meane, sensible;
the Relative beeing not soe. That booke of yors
yt (as oft as I have freedome from paine and
exigencies) I am now reading, is yor Apologie, or
Answeares to Blake, Kendall, &c. In ye 4th pa: of
it to Mr Blake, you have these words, wch plain-
ly show yt by Reall mutations you meane the
sensible. The words, these; The Reall mutations

here on us, receive their diversification partly from our faith bee. there faith doeth efficere or causari;
As wee learne of Cht. bee. wee beleeve him or take him for our teacher; Wee obey him bee. wee take him for
our King &c. But it is not soe with ye Conveyance of meere Right or Title to Cht. & his Benefits.
And give mee leave, pray, to adde; Had not this Period beene much more cleare, if thus it had beene
expressed; The sensible mutations here on us receive their diversification partly from our faith, because
therein faith doeth [suo modo] efficere or causari; As, wee — But it is not soe with our Relative mu-
tations, or, our having obtained Right or Title to Cht. & all his benefits &c.
Sr, I am, I think much

in yor case, as to health and strength of body, a day, but I have very effectuall mementoes to think of my change; And doe therefore humbly beseech of you yt, seeing you are a beleever in good earnest (as, by yor deep complainings of yor vnbeleefe & hardness of heart in yor soliloquie at ye End of yor Rest, is sufficiently apparent) & one, yt, by not regarding in heart any iniquity, has an assured interest in yt glorious priviledge of having yor prayers heard; That therefore in yor constant devotions you would constantly remember ye weak estate (both of body & faith) of

Sr,
Your most vnfained and vncessant Orator at ye throne of grace, William White.

ffrom Pusey in Berkshire; a little poore-village between Wantinge & ffarringdon; July ye 28th-ffriday. 54.

If you will bee pleased to make any returne, You may doe it by my brother Robert White, Printer in Warwick-Court in Warwick-lane; Or, by mrs Lyton, if shee will doe soe much as send yor letter upon the Thursday-morning after his receit, to one Burdon a Carrier at the Bell in Carter Lane.

Worthy & much esteemed Sr

I must needs ingenuously confesse yt I haue such a reve-
8 rence & esteeme of your person, rivetted in me; yt would
not lett me presume to interrupt yor more weighty im-
ployments, did not ye ardency of mine affections towards
you prevaile wth me: For although I am a meere stran-
ger to you yet I haue, by ye sweet providence of god, con-
versed wth your Bookes where (besides, ye resolution yt
I haue mett wth of sundry weighty doubts & difficultyes wch
I was before puzled wth wherein you haue so plainely & clearely satisfied me) I haue there mett wth so seasonable a guide
to my future studyes, wch as I sincerely desire should be sub-
servient to ye honour of my Creatour, so in ye particular
way of ye Ministery. Sr I cannot expresse wth wt ravishe-
ment ~~& rapt~~ of soule & rapture of affection, I read them
over. (I meane yor Sts Rest: & Pædobaptisme) by reason of
yt current of zeale & piety yt runns through them, unto
such yt my judgment wch began though not to disapproue yet not so
well to relish learning is corrected, & my loue wch begann
to wax cold to it is againe enflamed: wch distemper I perceiue
arose in me from weake arguing: concluding from many Lear-
ned mens abuse thereof: or from want of differencing be-
tweene ye right use, & misimprovement thereof: Sr I haue
bin much troubled to find out ye sincerity of my hart,
but I haue received such satisfaction from your most pious & judici-
ous advice; yt I shall lay this by me as of excellent con-
cernement, yt ye prevailing degree is yt wch putteth a spe-
cificall difference betweene true & common grace. & so
consequently ye specification is not Physicall but Morall.
The profitt wch I haue reaped from this doctrine is unutter-
able as likewise in ye way & means yt you prescribe to attaine
evidence & assurance; not so much by plunging & per-
plexing examinations, as by constant frequent actings of
ye soule about god, & having a hart allwayes in Heaven
Neither is this ye Hundredth part of what I haue by
your happy meanes ~~[illegible]~~ bin partaker of.

I have cause enough to blesse god to Eternity for your happy Labours. I find likewise of what admirable advantage yt duty may prove to mee, wch I principally intend in ye Sts Rest) though I must confesse I find ye spirituall constant practise thereof very difficult, & my soule to be averse somtimes to ye practise thereof, though at other times I find it ye greatr refreshment of my soule, & very much to support me: Which makes me more to admire ye Love & goodnes of god, who though he might require obedience, absolutely, even by title of Creation, yet it pleased to propound such an incentive to my obedience: Sr I doe seriously professe yt ye affections of my soule, (as farre as I can understand my selfe) are most neerely related to yu of any I know in ye world: especially since I find my selfe forsaken by my Father, whose zeale being engaged for ye King, I perceive to have a kind of Antipathy not onely against those, yt take not part wth him, but even those as farr as I perceive, yt professe ye power of religion. I shall so much ye more patiently bare ye losse. But this greives me principally yt having a Sister who affections I have large interest in, is still under his wing, where I perceive shee is like to sucke in such prejudices to piety, especially being constantly kept fro Church by him, yt it is my greatest care to rescue her; & perceiving it feasable. My requests & humble desires to yu are (I shall not presume absolutely to petion yu) but if it may not be inconvenient to yu, yu would receive her as a Boarder, (of whom yu shall have what money yu please) but if it may not be convenient, yt yu would in some pious Family in your Towne, provide a place for her to sojourne. if I can winn her affections wch I have done as much as concerneth her selfe, & I doubt not but providence will remove all other [illegible] There is not any place in ye world, I desire shee should be in above that. But if god shall not succeed my Endeavours herein, yet I have greate encouragement to depend upon god from former experiences (though I confesse I have no truly pious acquaintance as I know of, to apply my selfe unto *) And even this is yt wch embolde

* wth whom shee might live to her spirituall advantage

=reth me to me unto yu Sr Whither yu shall vouchsafe to doe
this, or not, I have sufficient cause of enlargement to god
for what yu have bin an happy instument to me already, Sr I
am about five yeeres standing in ye University in Kings
Colledge. and a fitt object for your counsell & instructions
wch I should I dare promise yu faithfully follow, so farre as
I should be capable of them (cum deo) but I dare not pre
sume. thus to sollicit yo, who ~~am~~ I am sure have matters
of farr greater importance: & shall thinke yt I have sufficiently
troubled you if yu shall take ye paines to reade over my
Letters to yu: Thus wth my humble service to yu
I rest.

Your Servant to command
William Duncumbe.

From Kings Colledge
in Camb: Septemb: 12:
An: 1652:

Sr I had a very faire opportunity wch
put ye more courage into me in this bold
attempt:

To ye reverend & faithfull
Ministre of Jesus Christ
Mr Baxtir att his
house in Kiderminstir

these

Worcestirsheaire

9 My deare & very much honoured Brother,

I take my selfe very much obliged to thankfullnes for the renewed comunication
of your thoughts on ye matters in question; & for your condescension to so large
an answer to my questions. Accept my willing~~ly~~nesse and pardon my weak=
nesse in this returne. 1o I thinke some men are called to goe preach &
baptise Infidel nations, who are Pastors of particular Churches; & some
who are not, nor ever were but are only ordained ministers of Christ re=
lated to ye world for ye gathering of Churches, & to ye Church Universall.
the first sort have reason to seeke ye consent of yt people to whom they
are related: But not as a thing of necessity to their loose; much lesse
as giving them any authority. For the Necessity & Oportunity of grea=
ter worke, doth more fully shew ye will & Call of God, to our particular
removes, than ye will of a congregation doth. Yet doubtlesse none
of Gods people are to be despised; nor are they useles to us about
our removes: It is meete that they fast & pray with us for Gods
direction & assistance; wch they canot do in faith, if they are before
perswaded that our undertaking is sinfull. And this may be said of any
Church wherein we come, & not our owne only. Gods Interest in us is
greater than ye peoples. And that there is such as ye second sort
mentioned (Ministers indefinitely) appeareth by what I have formerly
said to you: The Apostles were such; & so were many at least
of ye Evangelists, & most of ye Ministers named in ye New Testament.
saving yt they did as ye Apostles did, stay sometimes a month, a yeare
or diverse yeares in one Church & place, to see it well settled be=
fore they went on to gather more: And were no doubt true tem=
porary Pastors of every such Church where they staied. It is to a
Ministry whose first worke is converting & Baptizing, yt Christ
hath promised his presence to ye end. And were I yor neighbor,
and did beleive yt forsaking yor Church, would enable you to do
much more service, to ye poore Indians, than yor Church ser=
vice cometh to, I should cast in my judgmt yt it were your duty
so to do, and to be only ye Apostle to ye Indians.// As to yor in=
stances, 1o Even yt wch was done on ye successor of Judas was
not done on any of ye eleven Apostles; nor yt we find to others
ordinarily (as Apollo, Silas, Silvanus, Timotheus, Titus, Luke, &c)
and ye person whom they were to choose & judge of was not one
who should only be a Generall Minister to convert &c and baptize,
of all those that had been ye followers of Christ, we

fittest by constant attendance on him, and other qualifications, to be ye witnesse of his life and doctrine to ye World, & to make up ye number of capitall Apostles. And yet in this, ye lot of God was to decide: And when all was done, ye people conferred not any particle of Authority to Matthias, but only had some hand in judging who was fittest to receive it. // And as to ye Case of Paul & Barnabas, 1° It was not their first & Generall Ordination to ye office of preaching & baptizing indefinitely; but a particular mission & designation to a particular province, or itinerary worke. For ye text calls ym Prophets & Teachers before; And Paul had a Call from Christ himselfe, as ye Apostles had. 2° The Church did not so much as choose or nominate ye persons: but God did it by his expresse command. 3° There is no mention of any thing yt ye people did in all ye businesse: But [The Holy Ghost said [Separate me Barnabas & Saul to ye worke whereto I have called them]: But yt this was said by ye Spirit to ye people is not said; And it is more probable yt it was only to ye other prophets, 1° Because it was an act of prophesy or propheticall revelation; 2° It is said without distinction that they fasted & prayed & laid hands on ym; Though it be most probable yt ye people fasted & prayed with ye prophets, yet it seemeth rather implyed than expressed in ye word ~~They chose ye men (as they did not) it is certaine yt they gave~~ [They]; seeing ye people did not lay hands on ym as you confesse. 4° If ye people had chosen ye men (as they did not) it is certaine yt they gave ym not their authority, Vers. 4. It is said that they were sent forth by ye Holy Ghost, & ye very imposition of ye Prophets hands seemeth to be but by way of Benediction; but can be no more than an act of Investiture, wch yet ye people did not undertake. In a word the people of a Congregation give no Authority to their owne Pastors, but only choose ye persons yt shall receive it from Christ, as related to them. Therefore they cannot give ministers their indefinite power of office as related to ye World & to ye universall Church, wch is antecedent to their relation to a particular Church; (as Baptisme uniting us to Christ is antecedent to yt Consent wch uniteth us to a particular Church and pastor): Nor can ye people have ye power of choosing ye person to this indefinite function, 1° because no one people in ye world can lay more claime to it than another, while ye person is not related to them more than unto others: 2° Because ye whole scope of scripture telleth us yt ye people are not ye Governours of ye Church at all but commanded to obey, and ye officers only to rule. And now even Dr Owen here (in his Catechisme & to me) asserteth confidently, 1° That ye ministers receive not their power from ye people, but from Christ only 2° And

that ye people are not at all Governours of ye Church. And we take those of you
in New=England who consent to yor Synods Proposns to be so much nearer us
than ye 4 or 5 guides of ye Congregationall party here, yt we suppose yt we are
little if any thing at all, disagreeing from you. // And where you say yt ye
Officers only are to impose hands, yt signifieth yt ye people have not so much
as any of ye Investing or traditionall power. Nor do I know wt Usurpation
it is for a Minister to leave a people whose Pastor he is, when ye Worlds
or Churches Necessity & his Opportunity shew Gods will & call, nor for
any Pastors to concurre in judging it his duty, seeing he hath made no
(lawfull) Covenant with ye people durante vitâ, nor have they any
Governmt over him. But all things are to be done in Love & order.//
2 This serveth in answer to your 2d Paragraph: I confesse all. yt you say, yt a Coun=
cill of Churches, & ye consent of ye people is not undesirable: But 1o A Coun=
cill of Pastors only may do it, 2o & one yt never was a member, much lesse
a Pastor of a particular fixed church, may be ordained to it. Ordaining Elders
in every Church, much differeth from ordaining Ministers indefinitely.//
3 To yor 3d I answer, We must distinguish between a Church essentially, & a
regular well ordered Church ad bene esse. No doubt but six Godly persons
with a Godly pastor are a true Church. And if so, no doubt six persons
whose heresies & wickednesse do not notoriously exclude ym from ye Num=
ber of Visible Christians, may really make a Church, though not a good one.
Else we shall never be able to define a Church, yet it is as you say, An abuse of Christs
institution too.// 4o I am sorry to read your narrative of Thomas Gold, & as sorry
to read from another hand ye sad case of ye Church at Hartford. To speake
my heart to you, I greatly distinguish between Independency & Separa=
tion: & my owne judgmt is for ye Independency of particular Churches in
point of Governmt; though for their Dependency in point Concord & Councill,
And yet in this, I goe not all so neere ye Presbyterians as you doe: For I take
Councills to be lesse of Divine right, & more variable by humane pru=
dence, for statednesse, times numbers &c than you seeme to doe. But I
take ye Spirit of Separation, to be spring of all our Confusions: Thirty
yeares agoe, I never heard ye name of a Separatist, but my heart rose
agt ye speaker, supposing it had been a reproach of Godly innocence: But
since hath shewed it us by ye fruites (wch we are all yet under at this day)
I say yt one extreame must no more be Justifyed than ye other.
And now I see, yt as holynesse consisteth in Power, Wisdome
& Love & of a sound mind, as Paul calls ym; even so ye Spirit of
Schisme or Separation is nothing but 1o Pride or selfegreatnesse,
instead of Spirituall Power, 2o Ignorance with selfe conceit=
ednesse instead of a sound[illegible] mind

3° Selfe Love & want of Love to others, instead of universall Christian Love.
And ye principall fomenter of it is our confounding mens visible & mysti-
call Church state & qualifications, & taking yt to be necessary to their
Church Communion which is necessary to their Justification & salvation.
& specially becoming more strict than Christ, yt is, superstitious & arrogant,
by changing his test & termes of church-admittance: The meere Bap-
tismall Covenant is Christs termes; And our superstitious brethren, have
cast yt off, & set up such tryalls of ye worke of Grace, for manner,
meanes, order, time, &c, wch leaveth Ministers like ye Popish Confessours, not
stewards of Keyes, but Masters of ym; so yt there no certaine termes of
admittance knowne among ye separatists; but they are as various as
are opinions of ye Pastor (yea ye people too) & as their severall degrees
of charity. // But yet let me tell you, yt I believe such schismaticks, as yor
Congregation, are not to be severely handled handled severely by ye Ma-
gistrate. If you have not read it, I pray Sulpitius Severus life of St
Martin; its worth yor reading for a notable story of Ithacius & Idacius
& other Bps dealing with ye Priscilianists; & Martyns wth ym for it.
Doubtlesse if your way of Comunicatory concordant Councills were set on
foot, ye Concordant Churches wth ye Glory & strength of their Unity,
would in time weare out & shame ye sects into nothing. And this was
ye old good way, till Cyrill began violence at Alexandria, & after
ye Donatists extraordinary members drew Austin to change his judgmt.
Magistrates may serve yor turnes in New England. but how few
are ye nations in ye world, where if we put ym to draw ye sword, it
will not be first agt our selves. But no doubt ye Magistrate must
keepe ye Peace, & represse unchristian reproachings of one another.
5 Hos. 2.19. speaking but Gods speciall kindnesse to yt people (yea many
expositors thinke yt it is ye Catholick Church under ye Gospell yt is
there meant) is not a proofe yt any part is called Christs spouse,
though every soul as a part of his spouse is espoused to Christ. A particu-
lar part of ye Church universall is not properly called Christs
Kingdome any more yn a Corporation is called ye Kingdome of ye King.
But I will not drive further that which is but lis de nomine.

6° As to yor owne Church case of Baptisme, pardon me for interposing
my opinion yt ye case seemeth not obscure in it selfe, supposing
ye right of Infant baptisme. I thinke ye same qualification wch
is required in ye adult to their owne baptisme is required
in one of ye parents (or adopting parent) to ye Infants right

To the

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While we have o^r selves conformed to the subscriptions, declarations, Li
& ceremonies required of us by the Lawes, we have long bin sensible of the Cha
lesse of many of o^r protestant Brethren who conforme not. And we perceive
many of the people think yt we consent to their exclusion, yt we may ingross
ye worke, & honor & maintenance to o^r selves; & yt this prejudice is a hin-
drance to ye successe of o^r owne Ministry: And we cannot but perceive yt ye great
numbers of grossly Ignorant & ungodly persons ~~in ye land~~, wth ye great num-
bers & industry of Papists & other sectaries, do loudly call for ye united endea-
vours of all orthodox faithfull ministers in ye land; ~~Unity in this time of such~~
~~danger & dangers~~; And yt o^r divisions are o^r weakness, & o^r adversaries strength
And that ye exclusion of so many protestants, occasioneth those private preach-
ings & assemblies, which give hopes to the Papists, of their enjoying as
much liberty as they;|| we therfore humbly professe ye griefe of o^r hearts for
this unhappy ~~breach~~ & o^r earnest desire for ye healing of it: And yt though
~~we take these things to be lawfull~~ & we conforme to ye aforesaid things as
Lawfull, yet we take not o^r owne Conformity to them, to be so Necessary
as their Ministry. And therfore humbly make it o^r petition I That all worthy
men who will subscribe to the Doctrine of ye Church of England in ye 39 Articles ac-
cording to ye 13th of 2 Elizabeth, & will take ye oathes of Supremacy &
Allegiance, & promise to live peaceably, may be capable of ~~such~~ places in
the publike ministry, & of Institution, Induction, & actuall ministration if
allready ordained, & of ordination if unordained, without any other oathes,
declarations, subscriptions, or reordination, saving a meere collation of
after the foresaid oathes, & subscription (but
Legall authority. II And yt those who cannot use ye Liturgie or Ceremonies,
nor be the procurers of others to use them, may yet have leave to preach
that Gospell wch we all agree in, in such Churches where the said
Liturgie & Ceremonies are used by others; under such Lawes of peace
as shall penally restraine them from preaching or praying against the
said Liturgie or Ceremonies, or agt ye Episcopall Government of ye Church, & from
all unpeaceable doctrine, & behaviour. wch we hope would do much to
the healing of o^r division. Or at least, that some Learned & peacemaking
conformable Divines may be appointed, to attempt an Agreement with the
moderate Nonconformists, on such termes as shall be safe & honourable to
the Church, & to render ye result to yor grave consideration

(312)

It is thought by some wise men, who would faine prevent
or feared ruine, that it will be a very usefull & seasonable
worke, for those honest Conformists who truly preferre ye
Churches safety, ~~&c~~ & the soules of men, before their ease
or worldly interests, to shew themselves presently by such a petition
as this, either to the Parliament, or to the Lords Spirituall alone
as they judge best, so it be openly done. The fruits expected
are 1o That the Parliament will see that many Learned peaceable
Conformists are for that moderation wch may heale us, wch may
do much to ~~weigh~~ incline themselves to the same. 2o Or at least
it will quiet yor Consciences that you did yor part, & were
not meere selfsaving timerous spectators in such a perilous
time as this 3o And it will greatly reconcile the people to
yor ministry, wch will tend to the healing of or alienations
& separations, & to the edifying of the hearers soules. ||
And there being no men whom the Nonconformists more honor
as understanding, Conscionable & peaceable men, than yor
selfe, & Dr Stillingfleet, Dr Outram, Mr Gifford, Dr Ford, & Dr
it is desired that you would communicate this to them & such
other, & attempt a concent at least of some, in so good a
worke; which is motioned to you for those necessary ends
which we must all live for by

One that truly loves & honors you

Deere Sir

Excuse me that I am so troublesome from tyme to tyme, that which
1 moueth me to writ now is this; the strang report I hear of mr
Calamies Imbraceing a Bishoprick, being such as these are
That its opposite to the Covenant, for wch Covenant he hath in
many sermons pressed for it, so often in his prayer towards
the close of it, that God give him to harken to this call. they say
it will be a reproach to religion. Now some say that
they ~~are~~ Covenant, wch put the king to death. It will
reproach all the presbyterians; & when they say this & the
Lord, that pride, ambition, & Covetousness, will prevail
to break all obligations. this he be but opened wth
his sermons shall be printed. that he hath pressed, whereby
to blast him, and so make that way that he & all others
will be evill spoken of. As for the alteration
& distinction maid, in the of Episcopacy: I perceive the
Ignorant Cannot perceive of it: & the more knowing say
it is but little; & is insufficient cannot satisfy them
so that there is likely to be great dishonor to god thereby
by the offence that especially, ~~—~~ And it is a great
offence & grief to the generally of them that fear god,
now whether the good that may come of it will counterbalance
the evill, it may be doubted. those nothing must be
done but what is of good report; & the apearance of evill
must be avoyded. it a sad wa is commanded against those
that consent afterwards. tho it be but to avoid [illegible]
yet the least evill must not be done that the greatest
good may come of it, upon such like considerations. I and
heartily wish; some eminent person who had not taken the
Covenant, & so pressed & prayed wth relation to it might
do this, be in mr Calamies roome, the rather wch I have
writ all this unto you is, because its generally said that
are the only person that ~~[illegible]~~ Incouraged & persuaded him
now because both yor self and Cala:, is dear to me, & the
honor of god & religion dearer, I have trubled you wth
these abrupt lines, wch are writ in so very hast, that I
question whether you can make sence of them, make the
best construction of them you can; being from yor ondeared

To my very worthy friend
Mr Doctor Vsher

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a letter to Cousen
Rich Baxter

(314)

~~hee will lett~~ you shall haue lodging in his house & such diett as himselfe &
such kindnes and assistance as you will deserve which hee concludes
will bee considerable having entertained a very good opinion of ~~you~~
~~thus farr for the~~ you these are the Drs tearmes which wee like well if
you doe; and during the time of yr stay with him wee will alow you 20 a
yeare for clothes & bye expences (bookes you haue besides) and also wee
will indeavour to make such acknowledgments of yr Drs kindnes as may make
you acceptable; if his death or any other accident should ocasion yr remove
~~[illegible]~~ before you are fitt and setled in bussnes wee will take care whether
wee liue or dye that you shall nott want due incouridgment ~~neither~~ nor shall
wee upbraide you with being many yeares chargable, butt take kindly yr
complyance with vs ~~att~~ in such an age when many vnder as great obligations
as yrs doe nott stick att fighting against those thatt gaue ym the
weppons; I shall only add as before if yr inclinations are more to Lawe
then phisick wee will giue you the best assistance wee can in yt way
the lord direct you I remaine yr louing Cousen MS

Cousen

~~some after I refused [illegible]~~ I went to Mr Ridgley ~~being tired of the occasion to discource him in this bussines, and [illegible] [illegible] for yr bed with him for som time that his company & friendly assistance might [illegible] in your studys of phisick butt~~ I ~~thought fitt to~~ reade the three or 4 lines in yr letter & putt him to answer the question which hee ~~[illegible]~~ did to this efect, ~~that hee had him desirous one of his relations should have studyed phisick butt was dissapointed in that~~, that hee needed and desired a cumpanion, and asistant in looking after his cimistry and doing that which was nott fitt to bee trusted with servants such worke as was ~~[illegible]~~ his owne butt that bussnesse & illnes made him need helpe; for that which was servile hee had a servant to doe itt ~~so that~~ hee should expect from you nothing ~~fitt~~ thatt should hee iniurious to yr ~~hinder you~~ studys ~~[illegible] you[illegible]~~ butt to use his owne ways gratitude hee expected & then bade mee advise you from him to reade hipocrites his oath; hee also expects you stay with him 4 or five yeare ~~fitt~~ its nott fitt hee saith for him to comunicate his secrits to one thatt will presently bee gon before hee knowe how to use them ~~so long yt its 4 year~~ four years its nesisary to bee a studiant in phisick and so long hee would have you stay with

~~hee will lett~~ you shall have lodging in his house & such diett as himselfe & such kindnes and assistance as you will deserve which hee

Evesham Febr: 3 1652

3

Worthy Sr

I had great hopes to have now sent you the Profession subscribed, and am much troubled that it is not yet done. Our brethren in those parts still insist upon the former additions in the article concerning the Holy Ghost, and without the explicite asserting of his divine nature (at least) I believe they will not subscribe it: they promise to give in their reasons speedily. The more our Association increaseth, the more variety of judgments I finde concerning the forme of the Profession; ~~though~~ yet none differing in any point contained in it, or thought necessary to be inserted; so that, ~~although~~, I hope, there may yet be a faire accomodation although, for the present, we are a little at a stand. I desire you would be pleased well to consider (notwithstanding your resolution of cleaving to the letter of Scripture, lest we frame an engine to divide the church (as you say) whether there be any such danger in professing to believe that the Holy Ghost is God, it being (1) So generally received in the churches of Christ. (2) So cleer in Scripture (though not in terminis expressed in any one proposition, yet) comparing place with place, that (as we do not; so) we need not doubt of the truth of it. The witnesse of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost which are one 1 John 5.7 is called the witnesse of God v.9. And the Holy Ghost is called Jehovah, the great God, & King above all Gods, if we compare Psa: 95.3.6.7.8.9, Exod 17.7 with Hebr: 3.7.8.9 &c there are also severall other places of like nature besides what is spoken concerning the divine operations of the Holy Ghost already in our Profession: and what is usually argued from the forme of Baptisme Mat: 28.19 But what need I go on to produce arguments for it to you, who are farre better acquainted with them, then my self (3) stated (with the mystery of the Trinity) by all our classicall writers, as ffundamentall, and not Problematicall, as Dr Cheynell proves in his divine Triunity (4) (I am confident) not disbelieved by any that will desire, or are meet for communion with us. I rather feare, by what I already finde, that there is more danger of present dividing, or (at least) of using severall formes for Professions of faith (which may tend to future division) by not speaking out in this point. And if we of this County, (not agreeing in this) should conclude to use only the Apostles Creed, our Brethren of other Counties (probably) will not be satisfied to go the same way. Sr I well remember your saying at Worcester, that the drawing up of a forme for a Profession of faith was a work for a whole Assembly of Divines: and it being a matter of greater weight then any other part of our work (I think) it might do well, and more tend to unity, if you send copies of this to two, or three, of the ablest Divines; that are of your most intimate acquaintance, and not very farre distant from you, desiring their advise, before it become obvious to publiqz view. The God of peace direct us in that way, that may most tend to unity, and edification in his Church, which is the earnest desire of

Your unfeigned friend, & fellowlabourer

x

Geo: Hopkins.

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4

My Reverend Friend,

With many thanks I returne you the two papers you lent me. There came lately to my hands an Epistle of Peter Molineus upon my L. Herberts booke de veritate; wch one of or fellows Mr Davis will see left at my cosen Goods for you. when I meet with any thing fit to communicate, I shall gladly gratify you, whom the Lord please to make soe serviceable to many.

Yr last booke the 32 directions, displease many about Assurance left ~~so~~ soe uncertaine; & yr non=distinguishing common & saving grace more then gradually.

Be intreated to hint to me, what are the grand Antinomian opinions you ayme at, when you (soe often) decry such a thing as Antinomianisme.

J. Goodw. 9th of Romans; you have seene, we must and expect his 2 pt it seems.

How like you Dr Hammonds notes?

what say you to that in 1 pag. of the first of his 6 Queres. whatsoever hath bin delivered by God is equally of infallible Truth.

gods light of nature, is infallible as scripture!

I heare some of the Ministers about Northampton are considering yr Agreement, how it may be practi-cable among them.

Potts & Reade goe on studiously, especially Potter they shall be quickened frequently. I owe you 3li 10s since midsomer, & if you please to give my sister yt more at Michelmas, I shall pay it where you ~~please~~ appoint

I have written to Mr Holland that he would take some many of Mr Wilks de ux women, or they have occasion to send any, & furnish you. that the account may be even; I am sorry that I should in any measure [illegible] you have troubled with these petty things. Farewell in [illegible] through Christ. Yrs [illegible]

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Reverendissimo Viro Magistro Richardo Baxter
Pastori fidelissimo Ecclesiæ Kedderminsteriæ
in Comitatu Vigorniensi
S P D
R: M:

Haud minus deterrent (Egregie vir) hinc perspicacia tua, et illinc imbecillitas propria ab hoc munusculo proposito exhibendo, quam excitant hinc candor tuus in accipiendo, et illinc debitum proprium in fungendo officio. et (ut fatear quod res est) vix à me impetrare potui quin præ timore sileam, quin præ officio scribam. Sed, agedum, candido viro supplex accedo, ubi timor? ~~e~~fungor officio, ubi pudor? An grates persolvam? hoc ingrati est; persolvere conabor, agnoscere discupio, hoc est debitum: è meâ urculâ (qualis tibi sanguis verè Christianus ebullit in pectoribus) te nihil desideraturum auspicor, quin ut mihi ipsi et Ecclesiæ Dei omnia vertantur in bonum: (mente tuâ verè piâ hoc votum unice tibi suggerente) ut pietati, et studijs bonarum literarum deditus evadam tandem strenuus veritatis pietatisq; propugnator: Quod faxit Deus Opt: Max: ad sui ipsius gloriam, et tuæ mentis Deo planè dicatæ solatium. Hoc interea è intimis visceribus tibi depromo. videlicet. non minima est inter curas, ut alicuj (abjectissimo licet) usui sim in Ecclesiâ Dei: et ne stipes planè inutilis è vineâ repulsus exorbitarem inter timores non est minimus. Benedictione plenariâ succedat, fine fausto (sicut adhuc) coronet (obsecro) Deus labores tuos perutiles, ut quamdiutissimè opem subministres opportunam Ecclesiæ hisce in angustijs laboranti. et tandem in patriam cælestem recollectus temet plene remuneratum possideas Ità precatur

Dabam è Musæolo meo apud
Collegium Stæ Mariæ de Winton
in Oxonio 4 Calend: Januarij

Tui Servus (indignissimus licet)
Richardus Morton

my very Honoured and Reverenced Sr

6 By mr Salisbury I Received Your Kind Contri-
bution to the Charg of the printing, ~~Exceeding~~ Excelling w
I valew them at; besides Your Kindnesse in ~~Sending~~ Sending
mee Yours. I Take it with Great Satisfaction, as an Argu-
ment of Your Continuing Favourablenesse to mee, of which I
have had Former Experiences. And did I not Thinke, that
God hath been pleasd so to order it for Good, I Should be
much Concernd to have the Appearance of a Controversy
with You: But I have it not at All with You, but with those
Appearancy of Reason against the Truth, I Assert; which for
the Greater Clearing of Things You have Layd before mee;
And now You have done the utmost, As I Apprehend, and Hope
that can be done against my Frame of Doctrine Concerning
the Kingdom of Christ; And that I have Answerd the utmost I am
Able, so farr as I can Find; I Beseech Your pardon, if Any
Thing in the Least unbecomming the Sincere Estimation, and Love
I Stand Bound in to You, have Fallen out in writing; and Begg
of You to pursue mee no Further; that I may neither on
one Side, but Seem to Hold a Controversy with You, which Any
further then Clearing Things thus farr, as I have Done, I Fully Re-
solve not to doe; nor on the other Side the Truth Suffer by my
Silence, wherein It is to be maintaind according to the word of
God; As I am most Assured It may be; And How Great a
Blessing would It be? If I might Give occasion to Such
an Eminent, and Diligent, and Faythfull a Steward of the
mysterys of Christ, to Enquire yet further, hereinto, and to
Embrace and Salute so Great a Truth before his Death after the Example of
Simeon; and thereby to Recommend it. But This I Know
must be, As It Shall Seeme Good in his Sight, who freely
divides to his Servants, as Hee will; Giving to his Servant John
what Hee did not to other of his Servants, and to [illegible]
what Hee did not reveale Fully to Him, and Yet

his owne, to Know: what Shall most Certainly bee Eternall Life
wherein All Shall bee Fully made Known to Them, who yet
Knew but in Part. And I am Fully Assurd You Shall
Know, as You are Known, and as you ~~Expr~~ Apply it, Face to Face; and Drinke in
Those ἀέναα νάματα; And Because I Find Your
Apprehension of New Heaven, and New Earth Agree; that They
Shall ~~bee~~, ~~But~~ You postpone Them to the Delivery up of the
Kingdom; I most Humbly Beseech You, who are to mee more
a Father, and a Bishop, then many nominall ones; Ever
since I Read Your Sts Everlasting Rest, and Re-, and
Re-Read it, before I ~~[illegible]~~ had Seen Twenty Years
I most Humbly Beseech Your Consideration, How necessary
you must Interpret the New Heavens & Revel. 21 Allegorically; or
Else there must be New Heavens, and New Earth upon Them
~~For~~ as may bee more Briefly, if not more Regularly, Re
presented thus: The Heavens &c that Fled must bee Those
at the Casting Death into the Lake; The Connection is So
Close, There is no possible Division: At the Same
Time Sathan the prince of Death Could not bee out of
the Lake, when the Dead, Death, and Hell were ~~there~~
whatever was not written in the Book of Life was Cast
into it So Sathan Could not bee out of the Lake; If He
was ~~[illegible]~~ Cast into the Lake; Then must the Thousand Years
bee past; For nothing is more evident, then, that Hee was not Cast
into the Lake till after the 1000 Y:. The Camp of Sts, and
Beloved City must needs have been the 1000 Y: For so Long It
Stood Quiet, and in Peace; Now what City can this bee Supposed
Except that which Came down from Heaven, So Beloved, as a Bride, So
Holy, as to bee the Citadell of the Sts; So in peace from Sathan
and the wicked, as to bee Securd for a 1000 Y:? Together the
the ~~1000~~ New Jerusalem were the New Heaven, and New
in the 21. 1. 2. Earth; Seeing then The Finall Judgment was after the 1000 Y, and
the New Heaven and Earth ~~during~~ the 1000 Y, and then Fled; Let me
most Honoured, and Beloved Father weigh these Things well. Either All
together bee Allegory, or the New Heavens and Earth must
And then must bee other New Hea

and Earth; both after the First and after the new to Stand forever,
~~and th~~ if These Things may Satisfy you, my most Reverend,
who, I Think, have Summoned what can be Objected; I
shall Look upon All, that can bee Sayd after you, but as
I have Sayd, the Talk of Loosers: But if you are not Satis-
fyed, I Beseech you to Spare mee, as to Any Public Re-
mark Further; and to Transact the Doubts by private
many writings between us. For I never will on Any Account
be Longer a Public opposite to a Person, I am So Assu-
red, is So neare the Highest Resolution of All mysterys
and whose Reverend Age in the Ways of Righteous-
ness is not to bee Further Disturbed: And had it not been,
that the Truth of God may bee made more Manifest,
I Should have Great Confusion upon mee to have Appeard
as a Dissenter from you, I So much Honor and Love,
and to whom I am Ready to Say; Blessed mee oh my
Father before thou dye.

Sr

Yours in all due observancy

T Beverley

Please that Mr Sylvester to whom
you much Respect may have this
Book next Sent.

m. 2. d. 4. 91

These
To his very Honoured
the Truely Reverend Mr Baxter
present

4

Most Honourd Madam

Mr Baxters letter has made me very ſe
ſible of my miscarriages in my last: I can only ſay
that I errd unwittingly. Writing (I see) is a nicer th
than I thought, it being no leſſe difficult than neceſſa
ry to make a faire representation of the humour
one is in when one writes. I intended to be pleaſant
not smart, and it may be, it would have been ſo und
stood by some that it would have more suited. Hond Madam I mu
not undertake at preſent to expreſſe my ſenſe of your renewd
and redoubled kindneſſe; only I cannot omitt to ſay
that I thinke it is more than any elſe in ſuch circum
stances would have done in good nature for ſuch a one a
my ſelfe, and as much as should be done in diſcretion
any: and if it be lost, it will be my own unpardonable fau
But I hope from time to time to give you those reall
aſſurances you have ſo good reaſon to expect. My
The bridge's concernments much interrupt my thought
and engage me deeplyer than ordinary. I have long ſin
been made ~~been~~ ſenſible, that this was a place neither of
convenience, credit nor much ſervice: but should I enla
here I should but intolerably weary you. My preſen
aime and endeavour is to give as little diſſatiſfaction a
is poſſible justly or unjustly, however things may fall
out. All that know me and my preſent circumstance
know how tender I am of this poore woman and
her family: her brother it ſeemes has not been ſo frug
as to provide for her. I hope, by ye means of a ſchoolm
that comes in with his boyes at Michaelm. (by my
procurement) to be then diſcharg'd: if I continue lo
ger, it will be wholly againſt my inclination for the
good of others, not my own. And now it is more than
time for me to crave pardon, and my humble

Service to mr Baxter and mrs Norm. &c. Heartily praying
for your health and preservation. I am
Honourd Madam

(319)

[illegible] Aug. 23. 1679

Yor most aff. and
most Obed. servt

Rich. Baxter

For

The ever Honod Mrs Baxter
at her house at
Highgate

pd 2

Sir

I was under restraint till now, and could not send
you an account of our reception with the King,
it was very gracious, hee was pleased once and
againe to signify how acceptable our addresse was.
and how much hee was perswaded of our peaceablenesse
saying that hee had knowne us to bee so ever since
his returne, promised us that hee would doe his utmost
to get us comprehended within the Publicke establishment
and would remove all barres, for hee could wish that
there had beene no bounds nor banckes at all, but that
all had been free, that wee might have had liberty enough,
but something must bee done for publicke peace, neverthelesse
wee could not bee ignorant, that this was a worke of
difficulty and time, to get it fully effected for our
assurance, and therefore wee must wait till businesses
could bee ripened, in the meane time hee wished us
to use our liberty temperately, and not with such open
offence and scandall to the Governement, hee said our
meetings were too numerous, and so (besides that they
were against law) gave occasion to many clamouring
people to come with complaints to him, as if our
designe was wholly to undermine the church, and to say sir
these are those whome you protect against the lawes
&c. Hee instanced in the folly of Farringdons preaching
in the playhouse, I tolde him wee all disliked the action
and that hee had been soundly rebuked for affronting the
governement under which wee live with so much peace
but forgot to disclaime him: hee instanced in one more
but with a preface that hee had a great respect for

the person and ~~of~~ his worke and learning, who draweth in all the country round
about to him, this person is one Mr Baxter of Acton, hee instanced in him because of a late
complaint from a Justice of peace, who had a minde to bee nibling at him but feared it
would bee with the offence of his Majesty. Hee imagined Rosse to bee the person.
I replyed that you went to the publicke, did it in the intervall between morning and evening
service, beginning at twelve &c. that the first intendment was for the benefit of your
owne family. that this great company were not invited by you but intruded

upon yours that it was hard to exclude those
who in charity might bee supposed to come
with a thirst after the meanes of their
edification: I alledged the reasons all necessity
that inconformists were not all of a piece
and if people of unsober principles in religion
were permitted to preach, a necessity layed upon
us to take the like liberty. that those who have
invincible scruples against the publicke way, may
not bee left as a prey to those who might leave
bad impressions upon them which would neither be
so safe for religion nor the publicke peace, to
which his Maiesty replyed that the riffe raffe of
the people were not of such consideration they being
apt to run after every new teacher, but people
of quality might bee intreated to forbeare to meet
or at least not in such multitudes, least the
publicke scandell taken thereby might obstruct
his intentions and designes for our good; hee seemed
to bee well enough pleased, when I had suggested that
our sobriety of doctrine and medling only with weighty things
and remembrance of him in our prayers. with
respect procured an esteeme of his person and govern-
=ment in the hearts of his people, and that possibly with
people of another humour might season them
[illegible] refusing: then Arlington plucked him by the
coate. as desiring him to note it: finally I told
him that you would have waited upon him with

as if you had not been under the confinement
of a disease. this is the summe, expresse words
I haue not bound my selfe unto, only kept as
neare as I can remember, since our Addresse
hath beene considered by the Cabinet counsell, and
approued, the businesse was debated whether it
should bee made publicke, most were for that
opinion, but the finall result was that wee
should bee left at liberty to speake of it with
such restrictions as our wisedome should suggest.
wee mett him privately in my Lord Arlingtons
lodgings. I am now in very great hast, I
must abruptly take leave of you with the profession
that I am Sir your faithfull Brother and
servant S. [illegible]

some other things when they
come to minde I will acquaint
you with.
C: G this Tuesday morning.

2424

For the reverend Mr
Richard Baxter these
at
Acton.

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355 Mr. John Sadler to Mr. B.
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4 A Letter of John Cheney's May 17. 1682 Imperfect.
5 M^{r}. B. from Kiderminster. Oct. 27. 1656
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15 M^{r}. B. to an unknown person
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21 D^{r}. Hill's Arguments for Predetermination
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1 Your Letter finding me under those pains wch
disable me ~~from~~ publike service, the same neces-
sitate this brevity. That God hath afflicted you is
not to be wondered at, had you been the holyest person:
Sin having made this world to us a place of trouble,
the curse being not wholly removed till our expected
conflagration: But yt God maketh it our purgatory &
blessed affliction to make us partakers of his holyness
must be the matter of our thanks & joy: And as the good
of Chastisement is farre greater than the evill or hurt,
so the comfortable sence of our Fathers Love, should
overcome the displeasing bitterness, were we affected with
it as we ought: But it will not be till faith set open
heaven so to our minds & keep such hold of it,
as yt Love may foretast it, & cause us to see how every
step of our pilgrimage leadeth thither, & to judge of
all conditions more as they relate to or long home, than to
the flesh. // As to yor case about yor Sheriffs, it is past,
& in such particular cases as circumstances make difficult,
if a Christian follow the best knowledge of the case, it
is accepted of God, & the imperfection pardoned: How
we are buryed is no great matter so we consent not to the
actors sin. // I am sorry to heare yt your papists there
are so generally bad. I think it would be a good worke
if you could disperse among them some good practicall
bookes in a language which they understand. If they
understand french or Dutch, my Call to the unconverted is ~~written~~
translated into both, & my Family booke & others into Dutch.
In Latin there are many, yea some of their owne religion
wch they will easilyer read: (As Thaulerus, Sales, Thomas
a Kempis, Gregory Lopes &c)   As for Mr Allens Life &
such other which you mention, any of yor friends can
easily have them for you: seeing Lives please you,
I send you herewith by Mr Bufield two imitable ex-
amples, Mris Coxe & Alderman Ashhurst. Follow them
as they did Christ, & you shall be with him as they are.
The Lord help us in the great worke of a speedy &
sure preparation; Make it yor daily businesse & your
religion, to learne to die; which is the care of

Yor fellow passenger to Eternity

Ri: Baxter

Dec. 16 1680

To Mr [illegible] [illegible]ckey
at Hern[illegible]
Phi[illegible]
No two [illegible]

vol. 6.
BAXTER
LETTERS.

Mr Baxter

My Service unto you Hoping that you are in good health: And here
I have sent this letter unto you Desiring you to pardon my bouldnesse
in this matter, the reason that I have here declared my minde unto you is
because I have ~~seene~~ heard that you are a man whome Almighty God
hath endowed with a great measure of his holy spirit and whome hee
hath elected to salvation for I have seene your workes which you have
published for the good of all those that are desirous to bee partakers of
eternall happinesse which I did greatly like because you ~~were~~ are one that hath
troden those craggy paths which leade unto everlasting life and are experien
ced ~~wt~~ with the travailes that did make mee the more desirous to send this
unto you, Breefly it pleased Almighty god to give mee now in my child
hood to make mee one of his elect children; for it pleased almighty god in the
beginning of this last summer to give mee a great desire to praier,
And soe not longe after that came upon mee much feare and trembling when
I thought that I had offended god in some particular offences I should
mourne with greate anguish of spirit and see many offences against my
will, And then after that the almighty did enlighten my heart with ye
shining beames of his blessed countenance which many times I did feele and
apprehend in my heart when I ~~wh~~ other reade or hearde scriptures declared
to my great joy, And had all the notes and markes in mee that a child of
god hath soe farre as I could discerne in mee when I did reade in that
booke of the christian warfare which is published by that reverend divine
John Downame which Booke I bought at you tennants Robert wethe
shop in eaton soe that by that I was assured of my election; soe then after
that through the boisterous blasts of Sathans temptations and my owne
corrupt flesh and neglect and Ignorances together; I am now fallen into
I feele great corruptions and Infirmityes and Instead of all saving graces in mee
the the contrary corruptions but in reading that booke afore mentioned
a I had better content concerning the falls and troubles that the Children
of god had after their conversion but yet I my selfe am much troub
led thereat And I now am fallen exceeding low for I live amongst strong
temptations; first my parents secondly my brethren thirdly my kindred
and relations fourthly my owne corrupt flesh Sathan and the world which have
almost betrayed my heart from god because I am in soe low a condition
and because I am in a malenkolly condition and not of their nature
which they would have mee to bee I receive many reproaches from them
and some threat and ~~some~~ Ient at mee to avoyde it tha I am

destitute of all consolation for I am lower: then I Can finde that the
Children of god were in formertimes and if I cannot finde more comfort
shortly then I have now I doubt I shall fall in desparation: And as it is afore
mentioned concerning my parents and the family that I dwell in (they ~~have~~
forced mee to goe abroad thinking that it would have driven mee out of my
disposition which I am in which have caused mee to offend god in neglecting
my duty towards god and have ma[illegible]ee worse then I was; Yet further
I was wont to keepe my selfe in a strict course of godlinesse for a little
while and to set my selfe as if I were in the presence of the almighty
and I should keepe my selfe in a narrow path both in thought word and deed then
for that little space I should bee lead by the spirit but then after that
strictnesse I should fall againe into my filthy corruptions most sadly; yet
it was against my will and consent thereunto but now I can get noe hopes of
my standing in such a way for I have fallen lower dayly and am in a very
low condition now; which makes mee send unto you soe bouldly and unreverently
as I doe ~~[illegible]~~ desiring youe ~~ad~~ advice in this matter concerning my eternall
welfare for though I am not acquainted with youe person yet youe workes
& report have given mee Cheerfulnesse to send and this my ~~[illegible]~~ weake condition
I commit to yo[illegible]sideration desiring you to send mee youe best advice and I
shall bee boun[illegible]blige you

Your servant at any time
Thomas Roberts
living at the hay in madley parish
in the county of salop

To that reverend divine
Mr Richard Baxter
Living in ac[illegible] or wheresoever

[illegible]

Reverend Sr

Yors I haue receiued; & haue giuen you ye trouble of this 2d paper though it brings little else but my thanks & acknowledgment of yor favour in answering my first: The sending of which I do not repent since I hope I haue thereby secured to my selfe an interest in yor prayers, though I failed of my other end, viz. the promoting of the charitable designe of placing pious bookes in prisons, for the recovery of those that are Satans prisoners, & held captiue by him att his will.

The objections against which, that some worthy persons haue made, are no other then what mine owne thoughts haue often anticipated, & did somewhat discourage me in, but not divert me from this undertaking. For as to the first. As we cannot expect ~~any~~ much furtherance, so we need not feare any opposition from the High Sheriffe or Gaylor, the thing being so innocent, & plaine practicall books so remote from Censure & Suspition, that there is little probability of their being kept or cast out. Besides I doubt not but upon request, the Bps approbation & allowance may be obtained. I desired the same of the Bp. of Gloc in his life time, & he allowed it. And I heare now one Mr Hunt is High Sheriffe of Shropshire, & that he doth countenance good things. And Mr Glover of Stourbridge tells me that Sr Philip Foley, would write unto him (being his freind & acquaintance) to further it.

And if that old observation, virtutem praesentem odimus, be verefyed in our dayes. and Envy like the Hawke preyes only on the living. We may make use of the books of those worthy Divines, whom Death hath hid from ye envy of the malignant world, as Perkins, Bolton Sibs Preston &c. who were taken away before Ecclesiasticall wrath & broiles were come to the height, & the present age (however they carry themselues towards others of the same Spirit) are ready to build their Tombes. The 2d Objection, [That most of the prisoners will not reade but abuse them] I doe acknowledge to be very weighty, & that which hath beene the greatest discouragement to me in this undertaking: yet not such as to incline me wholy to lay it aside. Because 1 Provision is made in some measure by the Presse mentioned in my last (which I desire you to keepe by you) for their Security. For there may be but one or two Books left out att once & the rest locked up, wch Course we haue taken att Worc. 2 We may procure the Letters of some persons of Quality to recommend the care of them to the Keeper of the prison. 3 If in short time they should be iniured & worne out, the Charity of some good Christians or other will yeeld such a constant supply, that at least there will be ever one or two of the smallest volume, which will be done with very small charge, the Shelues & Chaines being there ready. And surely those that renew their Childrens Primers & Gramars when spoiled by their folly, might do a little towards ye renewing of these books, if the Interests of God & their brethren had an equall roome in their hearts with their owne. For my part I do resolue by Gods assistance, that the ~~4~~ prisons in ye 3 adiacent counties shall not want such a book as your Call to the Unconverted whilst I liue, though I am att the charge of renewing them every yeare; And if my heart deceiue me not, I would do more, if my children (as yet but meanely provided for) were not to be thought on. Something of hazzard & adventure I do acknowledge is in this, But ~~yet~~ if it be but as the casting of our bread upon the waters, yet we shall afterwards find it. We must not be too carefull in observing the winds & clouds, lest we loose the opportunity of the seeding time. And where we haue a faire probability of doing good without stepping out of our places, or hazzarding any thing proportionable to it, we are to attempt it, till the providence of God by denying successe (& not our owne feares) do giue us a discharge. Thus Deare Sr I haue taken the boldnesse to open mine heart unto you submitting these my proposals to yor better iudgment, being more acquainted with yor elaborate endeavours for the good of Soules, then to think you need any one to cutt out work for you, or any arguments to incite you to any thing that you are convinced to be yor duty. But whereas you diſtribute (as I heare) many good books for the good of Soules, I humbly conceive, that if you did order ſome carefull & diſcreete perſon, to diſpoſe ſuch a Book as your Now or Never; or the Call to the Unconverted to a priſoner that would willingly reade it, & communicate it to his fellowes, It might (through Gods bleſſing) do much good. For there they have much ~~good~~ time lying upon their hands, & ſcarce know what to do with it. And in their affliction they are more humble & docible then at other times. And if there were but 2 or 3 of ſuch books, and 20 or 10s left with ſome honeſt and truſty perſon in Kidderminſter or Shrewſbury, (which laſt place would be beſt) I would take a journey to Shrewſbury, (though it be neere or above 40 myles from my habitation, & gett a Preſſe & chaines made there, & placed in the priſon; & then I should not doubt of effecting it in every County in our Circuit. But I leav all to yor Chriſtian prudence. Beſeeching Almighty God, who hath made you ſ great an Inſtrument of good to many Soules, to uphold & further you in all good, that you may live to do him more ſervice here, & receive an ampl reward hereafter. So prayeth

yor unworthy Brother & Servt in Xt

Tho: Jackman

Newent. July. 24. 1672.

[illegible]

8

These
To the Reverend & Worthy
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of the Gospell

[illegible] present

LETTERS.
fol. 9. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Febr. 13.

Honoured Madam

I must no longer deferre my thanks for your last kindnesses and great concernment for my welfare, of which I crave your acceptance, although but an inconsiderable part of the duty I owe you. I am informed that some whose intentions were good, have done you a considerable injury; It goes about from one good family to another that mr Baxter is in great Streights, it may well be suppos'd that a Collection hath been desir'd for him, by whom it is hard for me to imagine and upon what occasion, only this I know, that when the last yeare a contribution was desir'd towards the great charges of building the meeting-house, that occasion was left unmention'd to severall, and the more prevailing argument of mr Baxters great necessities was made use of, which I told you not before because I knew how much it would trouble you, it being then over besides. How meane a thing this is and what an abuse of good Gentlemens charity, it will but too plainly appeare to you, and I was loath to represent it to himselfe, but leave it ~~leaving~~ to your discretion to use what means are possible for the redressing of it. I have been (I blesse God) pretty well since I came down, my swelling abated soone, without using the prescription: I shall not at present give you further trouble, but only beg my duty to mr Baxter & my service to mrs Ver-muyden & mrs Humphreyes, and rest praying for your health and preservation

Your much obliged servant

W B.

4

I mention'd the busyness of ye law to Sr John, and he gives no Encouragement at all to that, nor any thing else at such a distance after so many yeares already spent another way. for my selfe I know what mind to be of. I know I may well here as long as I have a mind

For
mrs Baxter at her house in
Blomesbury square

2

London

(324)

FE 16

Reverend Sr.

I have always looked upon it as a great and rich mercy, and many times [illegible] com-placency, especially when I consider, yt god hath determined yt [illegible] and [illegible] Dec 17 26 [illegible] under [illegible] of God I saw [illegible] of sin, [illegible] and yt right [illegible] saw before, soe yt you may [illegible] unworthiest and [illegible] to his [illegible]. 1 Cor. 4. 16. [illegible] grateful acknowledgement hath been in my heart, ever since ye time, yt god did secretly and sweetly say to my soule, awake to righteousness, and sin not [illegible] life. Now the [illegible] reasons [illegible] yt I might beg an interest in yor prayers [illegible] for mee among others, yt I might not faile of this grace, nor let any root of bitter prophaneness spring up, [illegible] received yt I. soe I may walke in [illegible]; and yt you would not faile in doeing ye worke, yt god hath called you to, for ye winning of soules, former successe should quicken you stil to worke: and indeed I see, to my great comfort, yor industry and pains taking for ye good of soules, yt if you may not in publique, yet in private and in print, one way or other to bee doeing ye lords worke, and serving yor generation: soe yt I among others am bound to give you hearty thankes for your late booke, the reasons of ye xhian religion (wch I received from Mr Brian of Shifnal) and how seasonable as wel as reasonable is this, specially in an age soe addicted to speculative as wel as practical Atheism. And this helps mee to consider of gods wise providence

and watchful care over his church and truth, yt in al ages hath
stirred up some, and made them as Bulwarks for truth and piety;
as of old, Elijah agst ye Baalites, Athanasius agst ye Arrians,
Luther agst ye [illegible]: so yt if it had not been for
[illegible] ye Enemies [illegible] wee had not seen
[illegible] as seldom
[illegible] a prejudi-
[illegible] , &
[illegible] cleaving,
[illegible] note
[illegible] I blesse god
for you, and [illegible] continue
[illegible] ye church, yt shal
[illegible] of him, [illegible] prevaile
[illegible]
[illegible] hands of
[illegible] profession

George [illegible].

11

These For ye Reverend
and highly valued
Honoured Friend Mr
Richard Baxter

[illegible]

(325)

These ffor ye Reverend
and his much valued C
Honour[illegible] ffriend Mr
Richard Baxter

are

LETTERS.
fol. 12. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverend & dearely beloved brother much honoured in our Lord Jesus.

6 Your exprest good acceptation of my poor lines & proposals for a christian & brotherly complyance, & peaceable walk-
together in the way of the gospel, so far as we have attained, I have wth gladnesse received, & heerby returne
acknowledgments of your love wth all thankfullnesse. And why may not these, & all the rest of our differences be tempe-
red wth such a spirit? the time is coming yt the sea of glasse shall be handled wthout such intermixture of fire
such as are overcomers rev. 15. 2. oh when shall we be overcomers! oh yt the present fires of Gods furnace might so
mollifie & melt ye Juvenile ardor of inconsiderate zeale (of wch you give a gentle touch) yt it may no
be blowen up into such paroxismes as are so prejudicial to peace, so scandalous to the gospel of peace &
so contrary to the Spirit of Jesus christ! this, this is one of the great remora's why christ delay
that brightnesse of his coming wch shall shine downe Antechrist into destruction. though withall, the
very sweet savor of the crosse, the spreadings of the grace of christ, the raisings & excitings of the faith an
patience of the Saints, & the multiplications of Gods Israel under these present pressures & calamitys,
are no small beame of ye glorious coming of Christ according to his owne word, then shall they see the Son
of man coming in power & great glory. The Saints taking of theire liberty, is a greater effect of the
power & glory of christ, then if it were given them. we stand by in a corner of the world, & admire
at the grace of christ wch is so illustriously powred forth upon the Saints, & we see the word
of christ accomplished, yt the adversary standeth & beholdeth it wth amazement, & knowe not how
to hinder it.

The poynts you please to bring under present animadversion, as remaining under some (appearance at least
of) difference are 4. And by yt time I have done, I beleive [illegible] yt wil be of very little consideration
yea nothing, as to hinderance of brotherly communion either in the same church, or in the com-
munion of churches.

1 The first is touching our ministerial office. of wch I formerly had said. that if one thinketh yt a Minister is
made in generall, by the presbytery, afore he be called by any particular church. another holdeth yt his
ministerial office & relation is essentially founded in the call of a particular church, where he doth
administer, I see not yt this difference of opinion should hinder such christians from any act of ec-
clesiastical communion, or churches from any acts of communion of churches. wch moderation & comply-
ance you accept well. yet you please further to say upon this poynt thus.
“ that the work of the ministry is first on the world (to disciple nations & baptize them) & next on the chur-
“ to edifie & guide them, I am my selfe past doubt. & yt these are both ordinary parts to continue to the end of the
“ world. & yt some ministers may be wholely imployed in one part, & some in the other, & some in both. & yt
“ neither the call of the Infidel world, nor of the private members of any church is necessary to the col-
“ lation of authority to (goe teach the nations & baptize them) yt is, to make a minister in generall, but on-
“ ly to appropriate him in special relation to themselves. &c.

A I allow of all this, I differ not. only give me leave to distinguish, & declare in what sense I allow it.
1 some were immediatly called by christ, not of man nor by man. gal. 1. 1. such were all the Apostles. and
their commission was first to the world. & out of the world to gather churches, & yn 2arily yr wk to feed them.
2 some were called by man, viz. by the Apostles, to assist ym in this great work such were Evangelists. act. 15. 37. 38. 39
and these also had the world for theire first object, & the churches were 2ary.
3 some have no other calling but by ~~an~~ ordinary men, in an ordinary instituted way. these are called by the
church, & ordained by the presbytery. these have the church for theire first object. act 20. 28. & the
world is 2ary, it being a constant part (as you rightly say) of our ministry to convert soules to christ, as well as to
feed the flock of God.
4 some officers have the mission of the church in wch yr officials, to send ym forth to the work & gather churches. act. 13. 1. 2
in wch they preach to the world, yt the world are theire first object, in the discharge of yt mission. when yei minister to the church
yt the church is theire first object, to wch yei administer. The ascension of christ doth gift men. eph. 4. 8.
The institution of christ doth autorize & impower men, to preach & baptize. mat. 28. 19. 20.
The churches call doth personally apply this office, & power, to yr person. The churches mission doth impower
or yt yy yt are sent, in an ordinary way, either to preach to the world, if sent there unto. or to performe ministerial
acts in the communion of churches, if sent there unto. The acts of private church members. & the
acts of a church, wch is a publik society, the spouse of christ, are two distinct things. therefore what you say
yt the call of private members of any church is not necessary to the collation of authority, to goe teach &
baptize. I dissent not.

2 The 2d poynt, you propose as a stated question viz. whether the members of Councils are only delegats of churches? wherein though
you are pleased to say, yt we more differ, yet I must needs say, yt I discerne very little or no difference at all.
“ wch you say. the officers of neighbor churches, may ordinarily meet, wthout any delegation, or cognizance of the
“ churches, if yei consist of officers only (as yei may doe) for all the Pastors may (& ought) to consult for a
“ right management of yr office. as it is yr office to preach & administer &c: in wch yei need not be consult
“ the people, nor seek to ym for a particular consent. & so to govern the church. &c. you shut up yt paragraph
“ thus. I cannot imagine what reason can be given to prove it unlawfull for Pastors ordinarily to meet
“ for consultation only about theire common work.

A. I fully consent to all this. Elders of churches may & ought to meet for such purposes, wthout any consent or de-
legation from the churches. & we find a pattern of such a meeting. gal. 2. 2. & we have found
blessing on such meetings here in Newengld. Only whereas you call them a first order of Councils.
according to my sense & meaning, in my proposal about communion of churches. The Councils I propose
in the exercise of the communion of churches, where the matters treated upon are such as concern

whole church, & it may be sundry of, or all the churches as ye case did. act 15, & w^n churches exercize comunion w
matters y^t concerne the whole church, or many or all the churches, in such cases the Council is to consist of delegat
fro ye churches, y^t are either concerned or consulted. wthin you doe expressly concur & consent w^th, & therefore in the
2 poynt y^r is no difference.

3 The 3^d poynt you call the truely great difference such as you thought should never have bene betwixt us. & well you
might so say of it, if my opinion were indeed, such as you here represent it, seeming to interpret my words to
beare such a sense. chiefly in 2 branches. When I say, the catholik visible church are not united by a cov-
enant, & therefore a member thereof is not a subject of the seale of the Covenant. But a particular visible church
wch is united by a covenant, & ye the members y^roff are only the subject of the seale of Baptism, wch is a visible seal
of a visible covenant, as well as of the invisible. fro ye w^ds of mine it is (as I suppose) you collect these two
poynts. 1 y^t I hold y^t the catholik church is not united to the Father Son & holy gh: by the covenant of grace
2 that the nature & use of Baptism is not to seale up o^r faith & christianity, but only to seale up the particular
church making covenant. against these two poynts you doe very plentifully & strongly argue. & yet wth a sweet-
nesse of candor towards me, w^m you take to be intangled in these two errors or rocks
A. I doe most kindly accept your godly favor. & shall (according to my poor model) breifly declare my faith
these poynts. I beleive the catholik church is united to Christ by faith. they are in covenant wth the Father
Son & holy gh: by the covenant of grace. that this their covenant estate is made visible, by their pro
fess. & visible obedience to the rules of the gospel. that the use of Baptism is to seale up this inter
est. it is the seale of ye righteousnesse by faith. & therefore are we baptized into the name of the Father,
of the Son, & of the holy ghost. & nothing but apostacy cutteth us off fro our baptismal interest in the co-
venant of grace. I fully concur wth you in all this. &c.

But the question (as I conceive) is not about the nature, use, & end of Baptism. But about the visible order of
dispensing of Baptism. in w^t order & station the dispensor is in. & in w^t order & station the subject, party
to w^m it is dispensed, standeth.

Againe, touching the covenant. 1. there is the invisible covenant of Faith, whereby we are all united to Christ,
by wch we are invisibly united together also in the mystical body of Christ. & this state is made visible by o^r visible
profession of relig. & confession

2^d. there is a visible political church-making covenant, by wch we are visibly united into gospel church order.
this is sometimes (viz. in more reformed times) more explicit. but in more dark & apostate times more impli-
cite, & appearing only in some acts of publick comunion. this visible political covenant may sometimes be ma
after the dispensation of Baptism. sometimes together wth Baptism, at the dispensation thereoff, as it was wont to
be (& it is like, is still) in the administration of Baptism in England, w^n an explicit covenant is expressed at the
administration. And (as you truely say) Baptism doth not make the party baptized a member of the p^ticular
church. yea, it p^rsupposeth him to be both a member of the catholik church (as you say) & of a p^ticular
church too (as I conceive) That the dispensor must be a lawfull minister of the gospel, is agreed on all han
But in w^t ecclesiastical estate the recipient is to be in is the only question. Our churches doe generally receiv
this doct. that the infants of beleivers are borne under the same state y^t ye parents are in. if the parent be a
beleiver not yet ecclesiastically confederate, his infant is borne in the same state. if the parent be also
ecclesiastically confederate, so is the infant also. or w^n he confederateth, his infant confederateth wth him.
these infants we baptize, & traine up at church [illegible]. What ever be the nature, use, & end of Baptism
it, yet in respect of its visible & orderly dispensation, it is a Political ordinance. and as the dispensor, so
the party to w^m it is dispensed, must be in political order. wch is only found in visible church state, not in
catholik church state.

Here I acknowledg is some difference, but not such as should hinder o^r comunion, either in o^r church administrations, or
o^r comunion of churches. the presbyterians, & some congregationals, as you say, baptize infants as others, as ap
perteining only to the catholik church. our congregational churches baptize y^m as apperteining also to p^ticul
visible churches. The difference is about the qualification of the subject of Baptism. & y^t in poynt of extern
ecclesiastical order. now though every truth is sacred & venerable, yet this is (in some respects) such a tantillum
as y^t it can afford no matter of apologie for such high paroxismes. w^t if I think touching the baptizing of such
or such a party, fieri non debuit, yet factum valet. he is a baptized beleiver. if a Papist be converted,
acknowledg him a baptized beleiver, yet there were fouly foule errors in the admi[illegible] [illegible]. Oh y^t the
Lord would at last p^rswade the heart of his servants to moderation & patience toward such as differ fro us. & let
paint the rule by degrees as we can.

4 The 4^t & last poynt wch you animadvert upon, is about brethrens judging, as you expresse it. wch poynt being thus stat
& limited. 1. y^t only such as are duely manifested to be beleivers, be admitted into the exercise of spiritual
2. y^t y^y doe not act as rulers, but as ruled, in an obediential approbation & consent unto the [illegible] of the
Rulers. I doe not see any difference, for to my best understanding I consent unto all you say upon the poynt.
& y^t you expresse about distinct voting in Synods, I doe not understand to w^t end such motions
about distinct voting in Synods should be induced, seeing we agree, y^t the matter in debate is such as concerneth
the whole church or churches.

Thus, reverend & dearly beloved brother, I have finished (my complyances first y^e, rather ye replys) unto your
judicious & loving animadversions. & the God of love & peace be wth you, & blesse all your holy labours.
so prayeth your

unworthy brother &
fellow labourer
John. Eliot

Rec^d: this 25^t of the 4^t. 68.

To the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospel
of Jesus Christ

these present

fol. 13. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.
BAXTER
LETTERS

for the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospel
of Jesus Christ

these present

Sr

Having seen yor Letter published by Rog: Lestrange I take it to be my d
to give you a second admonition, & then leave you to ye judgm
of God: For lying and malicious slandering are sins wch will ma
death a sad and miserable change: and you and I have but a
little while to live. And first I will truely repeate to you the
matter of fact. I was at Longford a few weekes with ye soldiers
before you came to Lindsell. They oft saw each other (abou
30 or 40 at a time) without any execution, save yt once
Longford men tooke 6 or 7 prisoners as they were going to Lind
sell (2 they escaped out through a sinke hole save one or
two) I resolved to stay there till they released my Fa-
ther whom they causelessly kept in prison. One day 3
soldiers that came from Col. Riches Regiment in the army, wh
were stouter than the rest, said, we heare that they have
gott at Lindsell one Capt. Jennings to command their horse, wh
hath been a Soldier in Scotland after a fencer. let us go try
his fencing. Capt. Holditch commanded them, and they went out
& found that Lindsell foot kept ye hedge between the two fields
I came after them, & saw your horsemen a far off, but they
in ye field next Longford till the foot soldiers had beaten you
out of the hedge and made them fly when you endeavour
to secure their retreate. I went no further, but in ye
field mett them bringing one footman prisoner, and
bidding him lay down his arms, and he would not but sh
at them with his musket & Capt. Holdich shott him dea
While we were thus in ye field about this man, the t
pers were fighting with you in the other field. I retrea
with ye foote, and knew not but that you had all fled f
to Lindsell. When I had been about halfe an houre or
houre in ye house, the three Troopers before mentioned
in (of whom Herdman was one) and one of them named T
mas (I forgot his surname) boasted that he had dismou
ed, wounded and stript you, and shewed only a coate and
Medall, and they themselves divided ye third as a simple fe
low and said that he called you Papist & said ye Medal
was your Crucifix: they made a scorn of the poor fe
low for being so ignorant. Thomas offered ye Medall
sale and no one offering him more I gave him 18
This was as I remember about Novemb. 1643 or 1644.
as neare as I remember about 1647 in April I came t
Sr Tho: Rouse's. Mr Somerfield living or sojourning
the house in ye discourse one day named you. I a
him whether he knew you and how to send to you
he said, yea. I told him I had a Medall that was ta
from your neck in fight, and I supposed it some

of [illegible] and might be of use to you hereafter, I could find in m heart to send it you; it cost me but 18d: Doe saith he, and I will convey it. But I told him I was afraid lest you would mistake it for an insulting or boast of victory to your disgrace, and therefore was loath to seeme so inhumane: He told me, No he would undertake that you should not take it ill. I demurd at this a while, but assoon as I believed him, I desired him to give it you with my service: what you talk of his keeping my watch was merrly jocular. I never had a watch but one false one awhile and he tooke it to mend: you know he was a jocular man, and if he be yet living and have ye face of a man (though he was a boone Cavalier) he will witnesse this between him and me to be true. Mr L'Estrange falsly saith that I said to you in my Letter that Sr Tho: Rouse's Chaplain will take his oath that I never touched or spake with you: I wrote no such thing to you: but only what past between Mr Somerfield and me, he was present at. And now Sr that wch I again averre is, that I was not the person that saw you, meddled with you or spake to you in my life: I was not neare you but in another field: I never saw you in my life to my knowledge. You quibble upon yt word of acquaintance, I can say no more of any man in America or Ethiopia, but yt I never saw him nor he me to my knowledge: in a crowd or among strangers how know I who seeth me or whom I see? I never saw your medall till ye souldier shewed it in Longford house: And though Mr L'Estrange talk of my bad memory, I most perfectly remember all this: And here I offer you to take my oath of before any Judge or Magistrate. Now ye question is, whether you or I be ye Lyar: if it be I, I am most heinously guilty; because my calling doubly obligeth me agst it, and because offering my oathe, it would be perju and because looking for my speedy change, I should be mad to sell my soul for nothing. What get I by it? or what hurt do I escape by it? It is not to hide any guilt, for I openly confesse yt I was on ye Parliaments side, and encouraged souldiers in ye warre in ye yeares 1642 & 1643 & part of 1644: and why should I with perjury deny this one action if it were true? And certainly I know better than you whether it be true or not. Now what is it yt emboldneth you to tell ye world that I lye? 1. I suppose you will confesse that you never knew or saw me. 2o You say All their men reported it to be me

LETTERS.

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If you meane all ye Parliaments souldiers, I am sure it is false
for I saw ye foot come off; and I have reason to be confident
no one of them ever told you such a word: For is it likely yt wh
they had wounded you and left you as speechlesse or halfe dea
that you and they should be discoursing who it was yt stood
by you: And is it likely yt they who made a jest of ye fellow
yt called your medall a Crucifixe, would tell you which you
lay gasping yt it was I? or that they would never have
told me of it? If you meane it of all your own souldiers
I believe you: its like they told you what they thought
and you have believed them till now. But did ever a man
of them know me? I was a stranger to them: I knew not
one man of them: and how should they know me? And will
you tell ye world as true, all yt strangers to me tell you by
conceit? 3o And you detect ye lie your selfe; for you say
it was a man in black: whereas I wore no black, but
a light grey. Its so long ago yt I think few witnesses are
alive. I remember but Tho: Dolittle of Kederminster
neere you. And if they be not lately dead, Mr Lloyd of
Aston, father to Sr Rich. Lloyd, and Mr Rog. Evans a ju
stice of peace by Oswestrie, and Mr Parsons then of
Wem, now in London, all knew yt I wore not black
my gown in Coventrie.) I conclude therefore with this
friendly admonition to you: as ever you care what
comes ~~[illegible]~~ of your soul, dy not in ye guilt of these
published lies and slanders, by which in this age (an
which if ye devills work to destroy love, and by mu
all hatred to breed intestine warres) you have openly serv
him to ye hurt of many, whom you can no other wis
cure than by penitent retractation. I had hoped
when experience had brought us all to repentance
our mutuall injuries, and we joyned to bring in ye K
upon publick professions of mutuall love, and renun
ciation of revenge, and ye King shutt up all with ye act
Oblivion, we should have lived in brotherly peace
cord: but ye seed of ye serpent and of Cain will not
peace to others nor themselves, but by ye three gr
of Diabolism, Lying, Hatred and Cruelty, keeps up con
all distractions and confusions in ye world. For my part
heartily beg forgivenesse of all ye wrongs yt ever
to any by thought, word or deed, so I pray god as in
Liturgie to forgive our enemies, persecuters & sla
rers and to turn their hearts. That except men repe
will all perish. I rest. Your faithfull Monitor 15 Ri: Ba

ffor Major Thomas Jennings at Wike
neere Pershore in Worcestershire

Reverend & worthy Sr

I have lately taken some paynes in a treatise called the
ministration of, & communion with angels. Besydes Scripture & reason I have
much leaned upon the authoritye of some eminent writers, as Ushere, Clarke,
Manton, Hall, Bucanus, Polanus, Zanchius, Dies, & others: & amongst
the rest I have cited yor sayinge in Saints rest, part.2. c:7. for my part
I beleeve that gods workes on the world are usually by instruments, & not
immediate, & that good angels are his instruments in conveyinge his mercyes
both to soule & body. This hath occasioned a godly learned brother to rayse
some obiections agaynst some passages in the treatise, which I have answered,
& sent to the presse as an Appendix: I suppose upon sight of my answere
hee is satisfyed that good angels are sometymes gods instruments in conveyinge
his mercyes both to soule & body; but that gods works on the world should bee
usually by instruments, & not immediate; & that good angels should bee
usually gods instruments in conveyinge his mercyes, hee is not yet convinced.
An other learned brother ioynes with him, sayinge, that angels may bee
imployed by god in some strange deliverances, recoveringe of health, suggestinge
good motions &c: But that these thinges, or the like in particular are ordina=
rily or usually to bee ascribed to their ministry, it can not bee proved.
Hereupon for their satisfaction, & others as well as mine, I resolved to make
soe bold, though altogether unknowne to you, to desire your paynes for yor
best proofes, whether Topicke, or demonstrative, of yor tenet. Indeede many
of the experiences in my treatise hanges upon yor opinion, which if well
proved from Scriptures, or other good arguments, it would cleare all.
If you please to take soe much paynes as onely to review the Appendix, &
to give mee yor arguments for the proofe of yor opinion, you might therein
bee serviceable to gods Church, & I should acknowledge myselfe yor great
debtor for this, as for all other yor labours. In hope to heare from you in
some convenient tyme, I rest

Yor unworthy brother in the worke
of the ministry

Isaac Ambrose

Garstange Novemb: 22.
1661.

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17

To the Reverend, his highly
honoured friend & brother,
mr Richard Baxter,
minister of Christ in
London, these
present.

fol. 18. of Baxter Letters in vo

Reverend and much honored Sr

9

I understand by yor lre to my Cosen John Woodbridge that yow have sent two bookes viz. Dr Castles Polyglott Lexicon, & the first of Mr Pooles 4 volumes of the Criticks as yor guift to our university Library, & am informed by others that the bookes togeather wth a lre directed to my selfe are safely arrived att Boston, the letter is not yet come to my hands, but detayned there (I suppose) vpon the re dayly expectacon of my comeing thither wch hitherto, the weather & other occacons hath prevented. It will not be long I hope before I goe thither, & then god willing I shall dispose of them according to yor order, & in the meane tyme was willing to give yow notice of wt I understand concerning them, least heareing nothing by this conveyance, yow might thinke, they were either miscarryed or wee too ungratefull for soe great a beneficence, be pleased for the present to accept ~~of~~ of my humble & hearty thanks on the behalfe of my selfe & our Colony for this yor Loveing and liberall guift. Sr wee sympathize wth yor selfe & the rest of gods people with yow in this tyme of their suffering, & lowe condicon & should much reioyce to heare of some moderacon or mittigacon of their sorrowes. & such libertyes & inlargemt as whereby they might yet be more serviceable to god & his people in their generacon It hath pleased god, through his great goodnes, even hitherto to preserve us free from the like sufferings, though wee have not beine, nor yet are free from our tryalls & troubles, for soe our god sees it good for us. A company of Quakers wee have in some Townes, wch neither lenity nor severity will prevaile wth to keepe in order. & a company of Anabaptists as hardly to be ruled as they, & in severall respects more dangerous to the state & wellfare ~~then they~~. A great pte of the Country inclineing to Morellianisme or rigid independency. those yt professe the Congregacionall way, are not all alike minded in some necessary & essentiall poynts of Church governmt. And those that goe under the notion of Presbiterians, who plead for order & that rule & governmt in the Church should reside in the officers. are by very many accounted not ffriends to the governmt of Christ I mencon not these things either to blemish or accuse the people of god here, yt be farr from mee; but as wee earnestly desire soe to shew yt there is great neede of the contynuance of yor prayers for us, & yor best counsell & advice as occacon & opportunity may be offered. & now that god would please to give wisdome & mercy to his people there & here, & strengthen forth yor life & the hands of such as may be further serviceable vnto him in this houre temptacon is the humble & unfeyned prayer of Sr

Yor Loveing affectionate though unknowne ffriend & servt.

Simon Bradstreet

Andover — 18 ffebruary 71/

Be pleased to present my salutacons & due respect to Alderman Ashurst & pdon my giveing yow this trouble.

18

(329)

ffor
The Reverend and my much honred ffriend
Mr Richard Baxter preacher of
gods word in London
these psent

Leave this lre att Aldrman Ashurst
his house att the golden key in
Aldergate streete to be delivered
ut supra

Sir   Dartmoth no: 6 1688 Tuesday

10 Before this comes to yr hand you will know yt ye Dutch fleet, yesterday in ye afternoon Entered Torbay consisting of 300. Sails, and Immediatly began to land yr men at Brixam key of wch I have given an accompt by severall Expresses to ye Secret: of State to ye Ld. of Bath and ye Sheriffe of ye county And this Evening have dispatch another to whitehall giving an Account wt was done last night and this day there are landed 3000 foot 11000 horse ye P of orange is there in person wth many English grandees. one of his declarations was brought to me last nights which I served to ye Secrit. of State his Dr Bryn an Ferguson both preach this day one in Brixam and ye other in ye camp uppon ye hills neare Brixam key lis, ye they are 60 Saile of ye fleet come safe to Torbay allsoe this day wee have on ground 10000 swords, and that there are in all upwards of 400 saile in Torbay they report that they had advise before ye came out of Holland that a Squadron of ye fleet had landed 12000 men at newcastle here is no militia nor any force to withstand ym in ye country, a little time will tell yt methods they will take some devise they will send about many of their fly boats and hoys for ye Securitys which will give trouble - Joh. White

Just now a messenger from Brixam brings me an accompt that some ~~[illegible]~~ 4000 of them are marcht this afternoon for Newtown and to morrow intend for Exeter that there are already 300 listed that severall of their vessells of artillery are sailed for Topsham Barr to land their cannon as neare Exeter as they can and that all this day they have been landing men and horse.

21

Reverend Sr July 14. 70.

I have recd. yors, & contrary to expectation
finde my selfe concerned to make some
returne. The thing yt in my letter to yu
I aimed at was to acquaint yu wth the
various apprehensions & discourses of persons
of different perswasions touching yor con-
formity, & yt (not knowing wt way
wee might so speedily & fully bee in-
formed) yu would in two or three lines
upon the account of yor own name, as well
as the truth, bee pleased to signify to mee
how things stood, yt so I might bee able
to satisfy others, & put a stop to the clamor
raised amongst us. This is the true state
of the case, & the thing I both intended
& expressed. yet, yu have been pleased so
to understand mee, as to take mee for
yor adversary (a thing I never so much as
thought off) as divers passages in yor letter
evidently show, charging those who dis-
sent from yu (amongst wch, no doubt
I am comprehended) wth ignorance, pride
uncharitableness. Worthy Sr, I exceedingly
wonder how yu came to bee transported
into this mistake & displeasure. Was my
solicitousness for the early vindication of
yor name, wch I have ever been ready
to rise up at the mention of, a sufficient
reason wherefore yu should reckon mee
amongst yor adversaryes, & reflect upon
mee, as one of them? As for the Con-
gregational men, I never was one of
them, nor intend to bee, & therefore

shall leave them to answer for themselves.
But, for hearing the prayers, I know
there are many persons in these Nations
yt are neither ignorant, prejud, nor unchari-
-table, agt it: & such, yt I believe, were
Hildersham, Ames, Parker, or any other
you mention alive, they would defend
the negative proposition agt them. Nay
some who were well acquainted, with
some of the eminentest of those Non-
-conformists you name & through their
intimacy wth them, knew much of
their minds, are of opinion, yt had they
been alive at this day, they would, thou-
-gh the variation of circumstances, have been
clearly of another mind themselves, as
well as multitudes of Non-conformists
are at this time, who judg far otherwise
of things yn they did 30 or 40 years
ago. As for yt you alledg afterwards, whe-
-ther of weight or not, I leave those who
shall undertake your book to consider wch
I wish wth all my heart, none of
the Non-conformists may ever do. Should
some eminent person amongst them take
it in hand it might prove one of the
saddest providences yt befell us these many
years. How strangely would it disettle, &
sadden friends: & confirm & rejoice ene-
-mies? wt musick would it be to the
common adversary, to heare Mr Boulter say
yt the abilityes of ministers & people are
no greater now yn they were 30 years
ago; & yt it is the ignorance, pride, un-

-charitablenesse of the seperating Non-confor-
-mists, yt makes them think so: & then,
to heare another answer him in lan-
-guage every jot as high & provoking? No-
-thing, doubtlesse, would bee more gratefull.
Good Sr, whiles you plead so much for
love & concord towards othrs, do not neg-
-lect it towards yor fellow sufferers, who
come far neerer to you in principles,
affection, & practise yn they do. Yt
I may not needlessly multiply words,
wt I did, was out of sincerest respect
to yor reputacõ & name without so
much as a thought of designe upon you.
If you please to take it so, I shall not
think my labor ill spent: if otherwise,
I shall acquiesce, but shall learn this
lesson from it, yt I shall beware how
I concern my selfe for the future to
much in other mens names. [illegible]
The former part of yor lettr I give you
thanks for & shall make use of it
for the end for wch it was desired:
for the lattr wch I do really think
you wrote (as you yor selfe say of the
whole) in hast, I shall crave leave to
keep it to my selfe, till I find more
spirits fittr to bee wrought upõ by such
kind of arguing. Thus wth the tendr
of my most humble service, I rest

yors, Jo: Wilson

For his ver hon^d
friend Mr Rich: Baxter
these

3

Leave this at Mr Tytons
at the three daggers in
fleet street.
London

Reverend & most Beloved Sir,

Although the frequency of our neighbours goinge & returninge, Hath given vs
2 oportunities, of Hearing of your competent Health, to our great Comfort: And
your rememberance of vs in your letters testified your respects to vs, yet
because wee were not Ignorant of the multitude of your Important Imploiments, wee
were the more remisse to this Converse, least wee should vnnecessarily ab
vnto your buisines; But now think meete this to present you with our respe
And were you willing to Heare, it should (as wee Haue iust cause) p
ꝓfesse what wee owe; & should wee say, Even our owne selues, wee shoul
not exceed our warrant; But bear with vs in assuring yow, that wee
look at it as duty to own yow, as the crown of our reioycing & our ioy.
Had wee answered your precious pains, wee might Haue been yours
in the day of the lord Jesus, which great shepard of His sheep, H
Hath comfortably ꝓvided for us in your absence, especially by the ꝓfitable
labours of good mr Waldron; yet are wee very apprehensiue, of the need
of your presence, especially in this iuncture of affaires, for Howeuer our
danger is not so great by seducers, as when through gods mercy, wee H
Enioyed your ꝑsonall inspection, especially then needfull; yet Haue
the flouds of vngodliness, made vs afraid: & therfore if the work
of your great master, require your further attendance therin, in
the place yow now are, wee Hope & beg for a larger share in your
Prayers, that wee may bee kept blamless, in the midst of a ꝓphane,
and Crooked Generation, among whom wee liue: That so your coming
to vs, (which wee most earnestly desire)(may bee withall convenient
speed) may bee ~~[illegible]~~ with ioy, and not with greife, which
will bee to vs vnprofitable; & that this to vs vncomfortable, wee Hope
to others ꝓfitable interruption, may quicken vs to prize, & ꝓfit by your
pastorall ꝑformances, over vs and with vs, which to vs will be refreshing
to yow wee know not grievious, & to many an occasion of glorifying
god in vs, & for vs, who dayly pray for yow, and Howeuer vnworthy
wee are of it, wee earnestly desire, the Continuance of your
tenderness & relation to

your most engaged friends & Neighbours

Tho: Doelittle.
Edward Butler.
Philip Doelittle
Nevill Simmons

Edward Chamberlin
Abraham Plimley
Simon Potter
Nicholas Pearsall

Tho: Hunt
Laurence Pearsall

Will Mountfort
John Allen

[illegible]

[illegible] of your great master, require your [illegible]

[illegible] and Cherokee Nation, among whom [illegible]

[illegible] unaccountably [illegible]

[illegible]

your most obliged friends & Neighbours

[illegible]

Abraham [illegible]

Philip [illegible]

[illegible]

fol. 25 . of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To the Reverend our much
esteemed freind mr Richard
Baxter, minister of the
Gospell these present in
London.

3

leave this with mr ffrancis
Tyton, at the three Daggers
over agt St Dunstons Church
in ffleet streete to bee delivered
as abovesaid.

9-11
18-0
1-7-11

Sr

2x I intreat you acquaint the E. of Powis, (after
my thanks for his great favours) that seeing his
Lordship believeth me not, as to my weaknes & the
danger I shall be in by cold, I will hazard my life
in coming to a Judges Chamber: And [illegible] Mr Gibbs first
misinformed me as from Sr John Baber that I should
come off without bonds, & others since that an
hundred pounds should serve, & you now tell me
it must be two hundred, (one for me & one for
my sureties), lest I should seeme to undervalue
his Majesties & his Lordships favours, I will
submit to 200l bond; (For all that my sureties
are bound in, I am bound in, who in conscience
must indemnify them: And I am not so disho-
nest as to engage any poore man, lest I should
be disabled to indemnify them; nor any stranger
to whom it will be more injurious than to friends:)
But beyond these two forementioned hazards
I cannot goe. I am bound at Hicks Hall in 400l
bond: That & this will be 600l: I am not able
to pay any such summes: I am bound here to
the Marshall in 300l or 500 marks (I forget which)
to be a true prisoner & not to goe out of the Rules:
If I should have a verball warrant, that is no
discharge of my bonds, till the bonds be cancelled
or given up: And 900l (yea or 500l) is more than
500 marks: Therefore I am disabled from come-
ing to the Judge, till I am quitt from those bonds:
If it be said that those bonds shall not be sued
against me, the Promisers may meane truly, but
cannot secure me: For it was publickly declared
in Court against me on the Bench, That there is

not ~~an~~ honest man in England that taketh me not for a Knave: And if every honest man in England so take me, its like they will so use me: And if others would not, the Courts of Justice are sufficient. I perceive that the dispatch of all will yet be no speedy busynes. I could have got off the sale I made of my estate for twenty nobles, before this busynes made me finish the bargaine; and now I would I could come off for 50l losse in it. And my debts being paid there will be left but 350l for my maintenance of my own; And that much will not pay the charges of my fees & Sollicitor, & secure me from ~~halfe~~ these bonds. When I know from my Lord that I am secured from my bonds to the Marshall & at Hicks Hall, I will run the hazard of coming to a Judge if I be able: Though I am in danger of disappointing him when I have named the day, having few houres of so much ease as may enable me, & those few mostly in the night. I rest

Yor servant Ri: Baxter

Nov. 17 1686

To mr Beriſford

3

Honod Sir.

I returne you many thanks for yor booke I received of Mr Underhill from you, & another I had from him. you are pleased to persue mee with your favours and follow mee with your kindnesses, they find mee where ever I goe. I must acknowledge yt pares gratias agere non possum. referre nequaquam. But specially for the care you have of my soule & that you are soe faithfull a friend as to ~~my~~ acquaint mee what others may have occasion to be jealous of. I can blesse God for wt I meete withall, in my worke but it is the unfeigned desires of my soule & upon my bended knees I doe heartily beg that they might bee incentyves to duty and ~~&~~ not provocations to pride, that they may encourage mee in my worke and not puffe mee up. I will not goe about to free my selfe from their suspicion but shall take it home & make me more suspect & watch my selfe. I know I have the seede thereof & can feele it stirre sometimes. a reproofe from a friend nay a reproach from an enemy is a kindnes & welcome to mee yet upon serious search of my owne heart & by ~~a~~ a due watchfullnes over my soule I find a more tendency in mee to sit downe in despondency at the sight of the smallest of my parts and graces to carry on and goe through my worke. that some times I am thinking to preach not more, because of the sight of my great ignorance others may see my best but they cannot know my worst. they may see wt I have but I see more what I want. wherefore I doe importunately beg of you that you would fervently beg of god that I might not despond or be discouraged on the one hand, nor proud & lifted up on the other but that god would keepe mee in an even equall frame of spirit, & yt what I have I may blesse god for, wt I want I may pray to god for. I would not be proud of any thing god hath given mee, least god should blast it to mee or take it away from mee. I know god hates a proud looke (much more a proud heart) as well as a lying tongue. —— The successe which I finde by my endeavours is much beyond wt I could expect, & I see much of god in choosing of my texts for mee one in order to another as well as in the enabling of me in any measure to handle them. I did much delight in pressing terror & to be as bitter against sin & showing the danger of a naturall state & the misery of unpardoned ones. as I could, to fire men out of their spirituall slumber & carnall security, & it were my prayers that god would let mee understand the ~~[illegible]~~ were my labours, though it ~~[illegible]~~ were but upon one soule, but wn god had done yt I grew more ~~[illegible]~~ in a holy πλεονεξία & fell begging for more and god hath wounded them. god hath startled them. god hath awakened them. that I have many complaining weeping Maryes, & many bemoaning Ephraims in my congregation that now I doe apply my selfe frequently to ~~[illegible]~~ them, that I may not adde wound to wound where the soule is wounded enough. I can see many weeping eyes and I hope there is many bleeding hearts in my congregation. & because that I perceive there are some that begin to mind their soules and looke after god & glory & that I might provoke others. I am now & have beene about 10 weekes in answering the jaylors Question. what must I doe to be saved. and there begin with the first working of the spirit of god upon the heart of him whom ~~at~~ he will save & soe purpose by the guidance of gods spirit to carry them home till the soule comes to be engrafted into Xt. and I suppose this will be profitable unto all. who are comprehended under these three sorts.
1st. such as have none of these workes upon their soules to convince them that they have not
2d such as have them at present, to direct & guide them. 3d such as are past them & are in Xt for their confirmation & building up. I meane conviction. contrition
etc Some there are that come to me & acquaint me with the state of their soule. frequently tempted to leave the ordinances, & much adoe to hold on in the way of duty through temptation. frequently tempted to selfe murder. troubled with blasphemous thoughts
etc can take delight in nothing. weepe almost their eyes out, & I hope their sins quite out. other owne mee for their spirituall father wm god doth not worke

upon in soe violent a manner, but more calmely, yet I hope as throughly. God grant I may not be too ready to speake comfort before their wills are throughly willing to renounce their sin, their selves, their all & to take Xt upon his owne termes of Lord & Saviour. & gospell grace upon gospell conditions. Sr. I blesse God for you, & I hope this will encourage you to doe the like for others [as] you have done for mee, & god grant that ~~the~~ Labour of Love might not goe without this reward that you might obtaine the end you aime at in wt you doe. The Lord continue you long for the service of his Church & guide your heart in all yor studyes in the way of truth. Soe prayeth

Yr very much obliged friend

Tho: Doolittle.

Yr paper shall be diligently looked over if they [illegible]

Alphage

Jun: 3o. 1654

Honored Sir

4 you being the minister above all the world
that god has made an instrument to beget
me by the preaching of the gospell to a through
beleife of the truth one great request
I here desire that you would be pleased to
preach a sermon of these words this is the
will of god even our sanctification and
allso be pleased to preach a folowing sermon
of those words comme lord Jesus come quickly
I request you would be pleased to open the free
nature of all christian love to christ both of
the love of complesence and of good will and
of the love of desire pray Sir do not thincke
me troublesome in this my request for interupting
you in your owne course of study for my Soul
thirsteth to have a sweeter draught from
the well of life the lord Jesus and my Soul
is perswaded that these ~~to~~ scriptures will
not be lost upon more of your congregation for
if my expectation fails me not there is that
this day ly in the woumb of providence that
crys aloud to your whole congregation saing made
use of these truths now the god and Father
of our lord Jesus christ bless you Soul and
body and make you as sucksessfull in the preaching
of these sermons not only to me but to your
whole asembly as you were in preaching that
sermon when god opened my heart to receave
his truth so much for this time one thing more
desire to know whether a love of good will to christ may
ot atain to a love of complacence and delight

29

fol. 30. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

This
ffor mr Schuester in
Charter house yard
deleuer

(396)

31

x

Tiff

The Reverand Mr

Mathew Silvester

These.

5

William Jolliffe Esq &c —
To the Governor

2807

Deare mr Silvester

will you and mrs Silvester dine with me
to morrow at one a clock it ~~being~~ sacrament
day you shall be truly welcome
I am glad the impression sells so well
as it doth I hope there will speedily be
another impression if mr Baxters life
be you will ~~not~~ write to the order my
Lord

I am not incouraged to present
the Lords with this book ~~wch~~ which containe
many memorable passages of this ~~boy~~
but shewing the respect you had for
the author ~~and~~ as well as the honor
I have for you incourageth me to
take the boldnes to ~~tell you~~ present
you blessed mr Baxters life

I am most faithfull
Ann Olde ~~Sd~~

To B of Salisbury
To mr Baxter Walton
welly
To mr Whit
To my Lady Derby To [illegible]

To mr Bycowen by alendon
To ~~William~~ Jolliffe Esq
To the Speaker

6

Most reuerend Sir

This I write not to draw any answere fro you but to giue you an account that I haue extracted out of yr letter the maine materialls and wrote them to Mr Stoupe — I thought alsoe fitt to giue you an account of the entertainement yt my discourse vpon the legats power hath had My lord d Aubigny the Queenes Almoner was so taken with it and at ye notion yt he could not contayne but presently went to ye Archbishop and presented him with one desiring him to read it After our three french Ambassadours haue had ye reading of it whereof ye most eminent for judgement his name Marquesse of Comminges had a great desire to speake with me and confer about it but least praesentia persona should minuere famam rei I excused my selfe by a letter to him, he looked vpon ye booke and ye designe as striking the Popedome at ye roote and sayd if I could persuade ye world yt ministers haue no other authority then yt of persuasion the controuersies between rome and vs would be soon at an end for then the Popes power in France being lookt vpon as an earthly dominion, the King would soon shake it off and the dependance ~~of~~ on Rome being broken off and with it the tyes of proffit honour and richesses ~~to~~ that goe to and streame from rome all ye doctrines of Rome as purgatory transubstantiation &c yt haue no credit but from ye earthly rich pompous empire of ye Pope would be soon out of credit

Sir I looke vpon two mysteries in ye world namely to be thought on and to be studyed on the first is yt of piety wch of all men you doe promote

the other mystery is yt of iniquity
and is the earthly Kingdome of
the man of sin under Kings and nations
but colored over with the painting
of a spiritual Jurisdiction and
Ecclesiastical Monarchy of J: C
to cheat ye world with to make
his imperium undiscovered The task
of plucking off this vizzard is faln
to my lott ~~the~~ and upon ye shoulders
of the meanest of men but yet taken
up by me because no other men would
meddle with it had it been undertaken
by you , you would have as effectually beaten
~~do~~ down that mystery of iniquity as
you have successfully advanced the
mystery of piety I forgot to tell you
yt a great man in France lately having
read ye book wrote to a friend of mine
yt ye Pope could by no other meanes
~~b~~ be pulld down of his seat then yt
I have taken and indeed to goe about
to refute ye Romish errors as tran
substantiation purgatory and 100 other
for to pull down ye man of sin is a very long
and tedious way and will availe little
as long as a spirit of unholinesse
and carelesnesse of ye things of God
ruleth in the world and therefore Kings
and rulers must be dealt with ~~or~~ by
the hold wherein they are tractable only
even by their wordly Interest, To perswade
a King of France to rid himselfe of
ye yoake of ye Pope must not be sett upon
as Felix by St Paul and told of ye
temperance Judgement and ye like
for this way would make him tremble
and send his Pr away . but he must

be told yt as long as ye Pope exerciseth a
Jurisdiction of ye same nature as his
in ye ~~me~~ boroughs of his Kingdome he is
but a titulary King and hath but a preca-
rious power, to such notions such as he
will hearken as agreeing with his
worldly Interest. Now see what an
easy thing is it to show to ~~y~~ such a King
and to ye world yt what power of Sanction
ye Pope exerciseth in France or elswhere
is temporall and civil formalitie
though materialitie I deny not but yt it ~~be~~ is
Ecclesiasticall Divin as is all
religious & Decalogue and therein lieth ye grand
cheat in of ye man of sin to have divided powers
causes iurisdiction yt at least he might
have one classis to fall for his share: but
Sir I trouble you I would fayn persuade you
to give succisivas horas aliquas from yor
great task of promoting piety (as you have don
allready in ye Key to unlock Rome) and throw
yor darts at that man of sin thus fitted to
ayme only at the Imperium Papae in Imperio
alieno None in ye world can doe it more
happily then you
June 29 1665

I am yor very humble Sr
L du Moulin

ffor my Re
friend Mr
Richard Baxter

At Acton

March 30.

Most Honour'd Madam

7

Having been long since out of hopes of becoming serviceable in the kind which in the beginning of my life I had propos'd my selfe, I signify'd unto you when I was last to waite upon you, my willingnesse to begin a new course, and as it were to sow in the time of harvest, but since my return hither so many discouragements represented themselvs to me in the way I then design'd for, that being tired with the thoughts of it, I resolv'd to take comfort in ye mercy of God towards me, and to rejoice that through his providence & your charity it was so well with me rather than to concern my selfe because it was likely to be no better. As to what you please to propose to me; I ~~might~~ easily be wonne to such a studious life were there nothing desireable in it but the pleasure of the employment, and your encouragements are so great that I must professe my selfe, when I consider what a constant charge I haue been to you all my life, more asham'd to accept of them than I able to expresse the sence I haue of so great a kindnesse. I cannot but be apprehensive how many yeares I am like to be an extreme burden to you, for so it must be if I ever aime at any thing considerable in a profession where a man is so much considered for his outside and garb. I greatly esteeme Dr Ridgely and had rather be with him than any other I know, only it would be some satisfaction to me to be inform'd upon what terms you think it fit for me to be with him, and upon what considerations you conceive him willing of mee. I would be glad to be less scrupulous, but my whole future life depending upon my present resolutions, I hope my Curiosity will be the more Excusable. I Enquir'd of Sr John when I might be spar'd, but he seeming not to like I should have his son, told me he would referre the matter to his coming to London, which he said would be a fortnight hence, when he would discourse with mr Baxter about it; what he intends to say I know not, one thing I suppose will be that I have render'd my selfe necessary to his son, but I can make the contrary appeare, and that there will nothing more be necessary than that my Successour be some little time there before my coming away thence. I have a desire that mr Bradford be the man if he be willing, for he is a fitt scholler and of a good temper and my friend; If he think well of it, it will be convenient for him to speake with Sr John when he is in Town.

— I shall but crave my service to mrs Vermuyden, & my duty to mr Baxter & your acceptance of it for your selfe, from

Madam

your most oblig'd servant.

W. B.

For
The Honoured m^rs Baxter at
her house in Vernon-row in
Bloomesbury-Square
London

8

Reverend Brother in our deare Lord Jesus Christ

It is farr from the designe of these lines to give flattering titles yet I cannot but say that the saints have infinite cause to blesse the Lord for those eminent gifts wherewith he hath liberally endued you ~~[illegible]~~ and much more for that faithfulnesse wherewith he hath inabled you to imploy and improve them to his glory and the benefit of his church your paines and writings have been very usefull to multitudes But as for your Holy common wealth it hath not satisfied many sober prudent persons who have looked upon it as a greate hindrance to the wished successe of your other excellent workes how often hath that booke been objected when your other bookes have been commended and therefore I am glad that you yourself are now convinced of some things to be reversed in it though I cannot certainly say that I understand what that is which you call the secondary part of the very scope you say you wrote it against the militarie fury and rebellious pride and tumult of some one would think then that the maine scope of it should be to discover and check that rebellious pride and fury but this you recant not I know not therefore what it is unlesse it be all those theses throughout the book which lay the grounds of the late war against the King and the particular defence of it in the last chapter and indeed that intimation that you doe reverse much of or most of what more then one have accused seemeth to imply that it is the war that you doe repent of for those things in the book which lay the grounds of or iustify the said war are I suppose the things which have been most accused and yet if it be the war that you doe repent of I admire that you doe not speak in more plaine termes that all may know it seeing you have so publickly acted in it your self have encouraged so many to it and written so expressly in maintenance of it You know full well the unconceivable guilt of innocent blood and the woful condition of the professing party in regard of their acting in or else approving of those warres against the king in case they should be found unlawfull when the greate judge shall make inquisition for blood and what necessity there is of some effectual meanes to convince them of their sin and danger truely I doe much desire to know what your present apprehensions are about that war for mine owne part I have made it a considerable part of my businesse (next to my maine businesse of preaching) to search into the grounds of that war I have perused Husbands collections also most of Mr Prinne's writings Mr Herbert Palmers Scripture and reason for defensive armes and what you have said and ~~upon~~ the most impartiall judgment that I in my poor weak capacity am able to make is that the parliament and all that assisted them or approved of what they did in that war against the King were guilty of those greate sinnes of sedition and rebellion and of all the blood which hath been shed and mischiefes which have followed and that all those troubles which have befallen the professing party are the expressions of the wrath of God chiefly for those sinnes which will never be remitted till those sinnes bee acknowledged and repented of I was once indeed as zealous for the war as most were according to my low capacity but since I have for the space of these last 11 years set my selfe to examine the grounds of it I dare not think of standing before the dreadfull tribunal of God under the guilt of that war I have continually looked death in the face for these last 3 yeares having been troubled

37

with a distemper in my throate such a narrownes that I have
been in danger of suffocation every meale I have eaten though
through the greate mercy of my deare Lord I am now better then
I have been though not free from danger still So that I have
had cause to be serious and no sin hath ever more heavy
upon me then those warres 1 notwithstanding all that hath
been said for it I cannot at all se it proved that ever the parliament
was properly invested with any part of the supreme or soveraign
power by the constitution of this kingdom 2 I think there
are very probable arguments to perswade that should we
suppose such a constitution could be proved it was an
unlawfull constitution and that God approves of no other
government but where the supremacie is onely in one person
3 suppose part of the soveraigne power was in the parliament
and that it may lawfully be so yet I am fully satisfyed that
the king did not so invade that supposed part of soveraignty
as to give any just occation or ground of taking up armes
against him or did any thing else which would justify a
war against him 4 suppose the parliament lawfully
injoying such a soveraigne power and suppose the king
had given just grounds of resisting him and so in a strict
it might be supposed lawfull yet it was no way conform
to those evangelical precepts of parting with our owne
for peace sake of not resisting evill of forgiving injuries
patient suffering of meeknesse long sufferance not rendring
evill for evill and many the like 5 suppose some civil liberties
and priviledges had been really invaded yet for the vindication of
them to run the hazzard of not onely those outward calamities
and ruins ordinarily attending war but also of all that sin and
wickednesse of all those divisions factions animosities errours and
irregularities which a wise man could not but foresee could not
but be very unsutable to a gospell fram of spirit 6 yea after
all the search I can make I cannot se but the parliament was the
first assailant and that it was the king who was on the
defensive side The reasons which have fixed me in this apprehension
of the warre though very satisfactory to me yet I mention not
because I doe despayre of saying any thing which you have not
considered of already Certaine it is we have cause were it
possible to weep day and night over the dolefull effects of that war
most evidently appearing amongst us to this day ah how are the
debauched wretches of the world hardened in their impieties when
they look upon those actions of the professing party to be as bad as
their owne prophanesse is not say they rebellion as bad as drunkennesse
how are they rendred uncapable of profiting by the sermons bookes of persons
of those they looke upon as traitors and when we solidly prove to them
that that which is the true religion teacheth not sedition disloyalty rebellion
but the quite contrary that it makes its professors faithfull loyal subjects
meek obedient to magistrates why then sure will they say your way of
religion is not the true religion because your actions have been so directly
contrary to what you say true religion teaches men to be nay doth
not tend to make tendernesse and conscientiousnesse odious yea ridiculous
to such rational wicked men when they se the very same reason preto

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he dare not obey the command of authority because he sees
no ground in Scripture for it yet when time was he could
take his sword in his hand and kill his brother and fight
against his King when he did scarce with any colour
pretend to any scripture warrant for it only upon
the invitation of the parliament can we ever think
that it will satisfy such a man or reconcile him to
professors to tell him of a passage or 2 in Grotius
or to tell him of the Kings answer to the 19
propositions or to quote such scriptures as are
those will the men of Keilah deliver me
as the Lord liveth Jonathan shall not die let
every soul be subject to the higher powers
alas it cannot be imagined that such things
should convince them it even makes my
heart bleed to think of the wounds that sad war
hath given to the church of God in England
and to the real power of godlinesse
~~by these warres~~ and yet no man almost layeth it
to heart or thinketh there was any evill in them
but I shall but interrupt you in your more serious
studies by these confused lines but I am
bold to put you to the trouble of reading
these lines out of a desire that seeing
I can doe so little for the service of the
church you may doe that which I cannot
doe, if you are indeed convinced of the evill
and sinfulnesse of these warres as your
revocation of your politickes seemes to
suppose what good may you doe by a
fuller discovery of your judgment and reasons
of your conviction how may you stop the
mouths of cavillers against that sweet way of
holynesse which you so eminently hold forth
how many professors may you bring to a sight
of that sin in which otherwise they are in
danger to dy impenitent how much more
successfull may you make your other heavenly
and excellent writings to be and in special your
late most seasonable and excellent treatise of the
cure of church divisions to which I beg of the
God of peace and love that he would give a happy
successe on the sad face of christianity for want
of unity peace and love the mercifull Lord blesse all
your indeavoures for the reducing them again to be
esteemed according to their excellency and necessity but
I know not whether you will be able to read these lines
my eye sight hath been alwayes bad but of late yeares
is waxed so dimme that I have much adoe either to
write or read and when I have written I can scarce
read it over againe I should esteeme it a high favour
if I might but receive a few lines from you in answer to
these I know you can easily find wayes to send a letter
to Tamworth to be left with Mr Joseph Battman living there
for me and it will come safe to me cease not to pray for me so

Leicester
shire 5
miles from
Tamworth
from Norton juxta Twycrosse alias
Hoggs Norton July 10 1670

your affectionate though unworthy
brother in christ Josiah Whiston

my eye sighte is so bad I can hardly write to make sense you must spell out my meaning

38

These
for the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter late
minister of Gods word
at Kederminster

Honoured Sr

Wigan Sep. 19 — 71

Your very kind & good letter I did some while since
receive, & return you my heartty thanks for the same
which I had indeed sooner returned but that I was wil-
-ling to stay till after my coming back from Worcestershire
where at last I have had an opportunity of performing
my promise & accomplishing my own desires, in spending a
Lordsday amongst your people at Kederminster. I cannot ea-
-sily tell you into what a confusion of passions I was
cast when I came into your pulpit. & perhaps you would
bee displeased with mee, should I but attempt to tell you what
disturbance I did for some time feel from that sorrow &
shame which then seized on mee to stand in a place where
you so oft had been to speak to a people who had so
often heard you thence, ~~yea~~ & that with so great & won-
-drous successe, speaking to them; yea to stand in that
place where you your self still —— But however it bee
the God that rules in the world is wise & just & good) And yet
on the other side I must acknowledge my self warmd with more
pleasant affections both from the just apprehensions I had of the
temper of your people (those who were more peculiarly yours)
& also from that affection & seriousnesse which did appear
very lively in the countenance of the Congregation. Even
now there is great joy in keeping Holy day with the multitude
of serious humble, heavenly Christians, the greatest certainty
that this earth affords: oh then Dear Sr what will that
eternall Sabbath bee which the whole assembly of heaven shall
celebrate together in the most blissefull presence of that God
& Saviour whom there they shall adore & praise!
On the morning that I came from Kederminster Mr Foley, with
some of the people, renewed to mee the motion of bein
-turer there; but you, Sr, very well know, & so I acquainted them, that the
circumstances I am in are at present such, that I cannot well satisfy my
self in removing. And though I know not any people with whom I could
converse with more pleasure & more gladly goe up with to the house of God
yet there is scarse any place (in great sincerity I speak it) for which I
judge my self less fit & where there is less need of that sort of plain
preaching which alone is to bee expected from mee. When I am I blesse
God my opportunities of service are very great; beside the too large parish
with which I am in some sort chargd, there are few holy daies but I
am engagd to preach somewhere about it, & I have the Bishops free leave
& encouragement thereto. There is nothing, Sr, I more earnestly
beg of you than that you would afford mee a continuall interest in your
praiers that I may bee emploid with affection sincerity & successe in
these great & honourable works which I am cald to, that at last I ma
see the face of our God with joy in the great day of accounts. I ha
great hopes of visiting you ere long at Totteridge. for I am under an
-gation to be at Croydon one Lordsday this year. & I hope I may beg
my journey about three weeks hence. The Bishop designes for Chester the
next week. Dean Bridgeman being to bee consecrated Bishop of Man the
Lordsday after his coming thither. with my humble service to good
Mr Baxter I remain

Dear Sr
Your greatly obliged
& most affectionate
friend & servant
Jo: Rawlet.

These

ffor the Reverend my Honoured
ffriend Mr Richard Baxter

Leave this with Mr Simmons
Bookseller at the three Crowns
over against Holborn Conduit
to bee sent as above

London

3

LET
fol. 40. of Baxter Letters in

(34)

Reverend & Honrd Sr

20 I am much obliged by yr ingenious pains yu have taken to informe mee; And can promise yu a great deale of impartiall care in considering yr Reflections. I proposed those propositions not as assertions, but as enquiryes & Ile assure yu I am not yet determined in mine opinion about ym. I am, with as much caution as I can now forming my conceptions & conjectures about those matters ~~ob~~ into a Discourse, in which I shall fully consider yr Animadversions, & therefore I send yu not my particular Answere now, intending to desire yr perusall of those papers I am preparing when my notions are ripened, & putt into discoursive forme. At present therefore I shall only say, That ye great matters yt hange upon those propositions, & yr Councell & Dissent, will oblige mee to bee very wary. And if I am mistaken in my Deductions I am resolvd, yt confidence & obstinacy shall not aggravate my error. I write now in haste, & can adde no more but my most affectionate thanks & acknowledgmts with ye assurance yt I shall ever continue

Bath
Aug. 6.

Sr the most affectionate of yr
Honourers & Servt

Jos: Glanvill

For the Reverend
Mr Rich. Baxter
at Acton
pd.

To bee left at at ye 3 daggers
in Fleetstreet for Conveyance
London.

Edw. Fowler

Ever Honoured Sr

Having been absent from home these twenty days, and through Gods goodness being well returned this afternoon, I received yours of October the 7th but just now; and I with all sincerity profess that I am at a loss for words to express how deeply sensible I am of my Obligation to you for it. The most blessed Christian Spirit you have discovered in your many Learned and Elaborate Treatises, and now in the very Excellent lines you have honoured me with, I Exceedingly reverence and love you for; and do magnify that Divine Grace that hath not onely blessed you with such large measures of that Spirit, but also raised up such an Instrument for the propagating thereof, and the killing of those deadly fewds and animosities that this worst of ages abounds with. Oh that your unwearied labours in this best of works might be crowned with answerable success! and that all Christians would at length be so convinced of the amiableness and necessity of a meek forbearing & charitable temper as to endeavour to demonstrate the truth of their Christianity by nothing more. And I heartily pray, that I who am (I thank God) very greatly enamoured with such a temper in other persons, and can with sadness bewaile the generall want of it, may be more solicitous about maintaining it in life and vigour in mine own soul, and may recommend it to others by my own Example as well as doctrine. But I must with sorrow and shame confess that the sourness of other mens spirits doth too too often leaven my own; and I am conscious to my self that in the paper I took the boldness to present you with, I gave you too just an occasion to be jealous over me with a godly Jealousy, though you have not intimated any such sense of any passage there. But however the matter of your Excellent letter, and the caution & advice you have given me, speaks the admirable charity of your disposition, & how much you are bent upon doing good; ~~[illegible]~~ and nothing could have come more seasonably to me, or been better suited to my needs. And I trust that I shall by the blessing of God reap such advantage by it as may induce me forever to blesse that happy providence that hath directed you to the writing of such lines to me; and as may abound both to your and mine account. Sr I do assure you that I never took any favour more passionately kindly than I do this of yours; and I shall greatly rejoyce may I ever have an opportunity of testifying my thankfulness by some reall service. I am now Extremely tired with my journey and have besides much business upon me, so that I write these lines in great confusion, but I could not satisfy my self to defer to another week to let you understand how very gratefull I am for this great expression of your charity, and that I shall ever esteem my self upon the account of it

Most worthy Sr

Your most Exceedingly Obliged Servant

Edw: Fowler

Northil ~~October 4~~
November 4 1671

For the Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter, Minister of the Gospell
at his house
in
Totteridge

Leave this with Mr Symons at the
3 Crownes at Holborn Conduit
Bookseller to be sent with speed

For the Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter, Minister of the Gospell,
at his house
in
Totteridge

Leave this with mr Simons at the
3 Crowns at Holborn Conduit,
Bookseller. to be sent with speed.

Vol. 6.
BAXTER
LETTERS.

Virtutum tuarum fama, Vir Reverende, ad aures meas ante aliquot annos pervenit, nec omnino me latuerat quam honorifice de me et privatim sentias, et publice loquaris. Verum quia, ut audio, scripsisti Anglice tantummodo, cognitio autem linguae vestrae, quam ante quadraginta annos qualemcunque Londini adeptus eram, e memoria mea desuetudine obliterata est, parum commercii mihi est cum libris vestris, nec hactenus contigit ut quidquam quod a te prodierit, oculis usurpaverim. Ea de causa, quamvis nonnunquam ceperit me impetus aliquis ad te scribendi, ut honorem, quo te prosequor, testificarer, et ut significarem, quod me publice laudasti, ingrato non cecidisse: (Etsi enim tenuitatem meam agnosco, non dissimulabo tamen non esse mihi fibram adeo corneam, quin laudari amem, a te potissimum, laudato viro:) Attamen quotiescunque id in animum induxeram, vel occasio literas ad te mittendi, mihi suppeditata non est, vel me repressit aliquis metus ne quid de me suspicareris. At quod hucusque distuleram, Vir reverende, expressit a me indignatio concepta ex lectione literarum Domini Simonij ad me, in quibus vidi nescio quem male feriatum hominem, (etenim eum ne de nomine quidem novi,) scripsisse ad minorem Molinaeum, Amyraldum de te, deque scriptis tuis loqui valde contemptim,

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adeò ut si verum esset quod ille, quisquis est, dicit, iustissimam causam haberes cur gravissimè mihi succenseres, meque iudicares indignum ijs laudibus, ijs que benevolentiae tuae significationibus, quibus me prosequi ac decorare voluisti. Illico igitur calamum arripui, & nulla interposita mora, scripsi ad D. Simonium Gallicè quam velim à te legi atque intelligi posses, ut qualis sit animus erga te meus, liquidò cognosceres. Tibi verò, Vir Reverende, hanc epistolam destinavi, in qua quanta possum bona fide, & luculentis verbis, testor atque pronuntio, falsa illa omnia esse, & è mendacij officina profecta, quae vel audivisti vel legisti quasi dicta de te à me, secus quam oportuit. Non enim te novi nisi de famâ, quae de tua pietate atque eruditione & eloquentia egregiè loquitur, nec aliter erga te sum affectus quam ut decet erga virum multis laudibus ornatum, & praeterea de me optimè meritum, & cui eo nomine multum debeo. Noli ergo quaeso, Vir Reverende, quidquam istiusmodi credere, & ubicunque id vel occasio feret, vel necessitas postulabit, ostende hasce literas, meâ manu, & [illegible] animi mei sententia conscriptas, ut post hocce testimonium, quid de te iudicem, nemo dubitare queat. — Vale, Vir reverende, et communis ille noster doctor atque dominus, qui nos redemit sanguine suo, cum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, tum tui peculiarem curam suscipere dignetur. Quid de rebus vestris existimem, scire potes ex Epistola quâ Paraphrasim meam in Psalmos, Serenissimo vestro regi dicavi. Itaque nihil hic addam, nisi quod qui ad te scribit, est tibi,

Vir reverende

Ad omne obsequium paratissimus

Amyraldus.

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Ad Reveren
Dom. Dom
S. Theolog
& fidelem
Christi M
[illegible]

To our worthy good friend and faithfull preacher of Gods
word Mr Baxter at Bridgnorth present these,

Worthy Sir

These may certifie you, That whereas Mr George Dance our Vicar hath condiscended by an obligation of 500li to bind himselfe to give way and leave that a godly learned preacher of Gods word be chosen to be Lecturer, and to permitt and suffer him freely to preach in the parish church of Kidderminster without interruption or contradiction of himselfe or Curate, and alsoe to allow for the mayntenance and incouragement of such a preacher or Lecturer, the summe of threescore pounds per annum, and him to be elected and nominated by us whose names are subscribed and some others, we therefore having both heard a good report of your selfe, and some of us having had experience of your abilities and godly conversation, would intreat you to take upon you this service, and labour, and with what conveniency you may to come over for your further approbation and tryall, that satisfaction (soe neere as possible) may be given to all, which we suppose would be very convenient in many respects, if on Thursday next in the morning you could be here to exercise amongst us, it being the first day of the quarter specified in Mr Dance his Covenants, and a day wherein is offered the advantage of a publique assembly, and also our market day, and also a day wherein we desire a weekly Lecture; all which concurrances doe cause us to present these our desires unto you, and intreate your resolution herein by the bearer hereof, that soe we may give notis beforehand. Soe hoping that the Lord, who hath opened this dore of entrance will also direct your way unto us, we take our leave, and are

Kidderminster this 20th
of March 1640
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Your friends, affectionately
desirous of you

Rich: Hill
John Ffreeston
John Dolittle
John Corbin
Robert Greene
Edward Richards
Thomas Ware
Edward Walden
Thomas Longmore
Francis Bowyer
Robert Whittell
Abraham Plimley
Simon Harrington
Thomas Reade

Vol. 6.
BAXTER
LETTERS.

fol. 46 of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

May 15th

Honour'd Sr

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I had not defer'd my writing till this, but that I waited for some intimations from a correspondent there, who uses not to conceale what he thinks may either pleasure or concern me. Sr J. (it seemes) has been pleas'd to venture to say & yt to more than one (and perhaps insinuated something like it to you) yt he imputed my folly (so he terms my new design & my leaving him) to some great desire of marrying. What I shall say is this. That in ye generall I quarrell not with a married state, but when lust & impure desires are the motives to it I looke upon it as a crime differing very little from fornication it selfe (I meane one sort of it), it depraving ye mind as much & sinking it as farre into ye condition of ye most vulgar tempers & of brutes. of which are already all such as are so impudent as to pretend a necessity in that kind. As for my own particular (I speake it not by way of boasting. but compelled by you) I am farre from engag'd in, or inclin'd to such folly as you mention & I believe never shall be, being now I hope past a child. Yet I shall not presume to foretell what I shall be for ye future. It may satisfy you that my present temper & intention is

some otherwise than some persons have imagin'd or your selfe fear'd. True it is that had I at first been old enough to understand ye conversations & foresee the thoughts of some I might perhaps have escap'd this petty censure I shall endeavour to do my duty to ye Gr. and though

X

I find yt ordinarily men will remaine un-
pleas'd as farre as there is a disproportion
betwixt them & ye person whose busynesse
& interest it is to please them. I will not
conclude him to be of that temper; but
if he be, I shall neither wonder at it, nor
think much of it. I haue written once to
him, but in generall terms as to a stran-
ger, to whom I would not empty my selfe
at first, least he should think me fond or
over eager. If he should condescend to write
to me (which it may be he thinks su-
perfluous) I would expresse my selfe
more freely. I should not stick to pro-
mise for five or seven yeares, but that
I think it not so well advis'd to give
ones word for ye longest time without any
possible foresight of future circumstances
or casualties, or any apparent cause.
When I shall haue past ye 4 yeares for
which I engage, I hope I shall be fitter
to judge how much longer it will be con-
venient to stay. I aime at neither plea-
sure, wealth nor fame, but onely ye quiet
& enjoyment of my selfe in a conveni-
ent employment, without a parasiticall
depending upon others, that I may
haue leisure to meditate on my death
and ye better life. I do not therefore question but I shall pro-
secute that study with diligence & much delight. I adde but
the renewall of my thanks for your great kindnesse & my
service to Mrs Baxter, Mr Vern: & Mr Hamden if he be
still there. I am Sr Yor most oblig'd servant W. B.

fol. 47. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(345)

For
The Reverend m^r Baxter
at his houſe in Vernon
raw in Blomsbury
Square

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London

MA
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Reverend Sr

5 By a letter wch I received some time since from
Mr How, I had encouragemt to hope that you
would please to joyn wth him in an Epistle to
be prefixt before a Discourse wch I sent up concerning
the Immortality of the soul, wch he told
me was then in your hands to peruse, I humbly desire
that the Epistle may be hastened, that the
presse stay not of it, I have wrote to Mr How this
post about it, I desire a line or two from you &
beg your prayers for

Sr yr affectionate ffriend
& servant

Tim: Manlove

Leeds Octob 3d 96/

To

The Reverend
Mr Sylvester
at his houſe
in Amen Corner

London

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Gratiam atq; Pacem Domini noſtri,
6 Jeſu Chriſti!
Inq; hoc melliſſimo Salvatore noſtro Pater dilectiſſime,
filiali cultu devenerande,

Quamquam mihi Germano corporis tui faciem nunquam in hoc miſeriarum valle videre, animæ tamen lineamenta, ab ipſo Fidei atq; charitatis noſtræ auctore ducta, haud obſcure ex libris tuis in linguam noſtram tranſlatis. Spirituq; Chriſti plenis intueri licuit. Quam obrem (licet alia atq; alia habeam quæ me retraherent obſtacula), amor tui, Vir in Chriſto æſtimatiſſime, quo te ab eo tempore, quo ſcripta tua intimius dabatur introſpicere, ſum complexus quin et ipſe præſtantiſſimus veſter Douglaſius, (quem ad oras noſtras non plane fruſtra devolutum eſſe facile agnoſco) ſtimularunt me, ut te hoc ſermone literarum compellarem, eumq; tibi affectum, quem apud nos in Germania clariſſimum tuum nomen et pia inveniunt ſcripta, aperirem: non quod

inordinatos movere affectus velim, sed ut mecum gratiam divinam
ob hanc εὐλογίαν πνευματικὴν in spiritu gaudens extollas, largioresq;
precibus tuis à Patre misericordiæ omnis fructus nobis impetres.
Non eadem rogaverim, hortulanum ut plurimum, cum quas ipse sevit,
rigavit, amputavit, arbores fructus ferre vidit oculis, tacito efferri gaudio;
ob peregrinas non item. Verum, qui indolem Spiritus Christi, qui
in te est, perspectam habet, Vir integerrime, non diffitebitur, fore,
ut non minus lætitia perfundaris intima atq; Domino tuo
persolvas grates, certior factus tua de sementi in nostras
has regiones sparsa, suis non carere fructibus, messemq; Domini
inde incrementa capere non intermoritura. Inprimis autem
Deo meo immortales debeo habeoq; grates, quod iisdem tuis
penetrantibus scriptis opus sanctificationis atq; renovationis in
me alterius promovere non sit dedignatus. Primus autem, quem
ante sex et quod excurrit annos lectitabam librum, erat ex nostra
lingua dictum Nun oder Nimmer, s. Nunc aut Nunquam, occasione

disti Eccles. 9.v.10. elaboratum, qui adeo excitabat spiritum, ut, si deinceps modo nomen tuum venerandum inscriptum aspicerem libello, desiderio eiusdem afficerer. Dein egregium opus de Quiete Sanctorum comparavi. Ex quo quid vera praestet meditatio cognovi. Hoc excepere utilissimi tractatus de Abnegatione nostri, de vera Conversione, de Crucifixione mundi cruce Christi. Item de Conversatione cum Deo, de Unico Necessario, cuius titulus: aut Sanctus aut bestia. Porro de vita Fidei et praeparatione eiusdem cibar. Et quod inprimis ponerem, Manuale pauperum, bis in nostram linguam translatum. Cuius insignis utilitas, excellentissimo in Pietate Viro, Spenero nostro, Electoris Sax: iam Concionatori aulico (cuius in aedibus ipsius colloquiis convictuque fruor) valde probatur. Taceo cetera. ô venerande Pater, certe plures te in patria mea amant, quam tibi noti sint. ô quantum olim ex hoc amore gaudium! Ego quoque impense te diligo. Copia si daretur faciem tuam videndi, penetralia cordis mei tibi recluderem consiliisque tuis atque monitis sine dubio fruerer vivis. Si autem me diligis, er [illegible] Xpisto, venerande Pater, ora pro me, ut Ecclesiae Dei salutari fiam usui, et in Regno Jesu Christi, Filii Dei, videam gaudiumque beatorum tecum fruaris aeternum. Ceterum commendo te Jesu nostro, qui sanctum et irreprehensibilem te conservet usq; ad extremum vitae halitum, id quod exoptat

Tuus, Venerande Pater, ad
Preces et officia charitatis

Dabat: Dresdae.
d. 11. Jul. Ao: 1688.
in aedib. Concionatoris Aulici Supremi,
Dom: Speneri, SS. Th. Doct:

Petrus Christophorus Martini.
S. Theol: Cultor.

P: S.

Quantum à te excitatum iri gaudium, putas: Venerande Pater, si responsa quaedam à manu tua acciperem, cordeq; ex tuo sanctificato in meum quaedam effunderes dona spiritualia? Dom: Brunsenius aut Scriverius noster, quibus Spenerus noster haud ignotus, optime tuas transmittendas curarent literas, modo inscriptio jubeat, ut in his tradantur aedibus. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, tecum sit in aeternum, Amen.

Mr Underhil

These are to certify you, that I haue receiued a letter from Mr Baxter, wherein hee promiseth ~~letter~~ (hauing perused my Exercitation) that so soone as hee hath receiued a letter from mee (which I doe together with this to you send him) hee wil together with an Epistle of his to bee prefixt send my Exercitation to London in order to the printing thereof; but withall hee certifyeth mee, that hee is perswaded, that you haue so much worke & so many copyes of other mens in your hands, as that you wil not forthwith set upon the printing of it, as hee doth desyre. Hereupon I haue thought good to acquaint you, that if you doe desyre & expect my Exercitation (according to my former offer thereof unto you) it is necessary, that you should together with my letter herein enclosed send ~~word him~~ a letter to Mr Baxter, & therein promise to him, that immediately upon the receit of my Exercitation from him you wil take order without delay for the printing of ~~them~~; whereupon Mr Baxter wil send ~~them~~ unto you for that end within a very short tyme; or if your worke bee such as that for present you cannot forthwith commit ~~them~~ it to the presse (as Mr Baxter doubteth) I shal desyre you to certify Mr Baxter therewith, in which case as I shal interpret myselfe free to offer it unto ~~a~~ some other Stationer, so Mr Baxter wil commit it accordingly unto one, who without delay wil undertake the printing of it. Not doubting, but that ~~without delay~~ forthwith you wil write your mind unto Mr Baxter, that so hee may know, unto whose hand to commit my papers I commend you to God, in him resting

Stanton
Mar: 29.
1654.

Your louing friend
Thom: Hotchkis

I doe perceiue by the title-page of some of Mr Baxters bookes, that one Mr Roybould ~~was~~ is a ioyner with you in the ~~[illegible]~~ Whereupon I ~~haue~~ think meete to request you, that if you undertake the printing of my Exercitation, Mr Roybould may ioyne with you in the same: for ~~hee is~~ as I ~~doe~~ think Mr Roybould to bee a friend of Mr Baxters, so had I taken notice at the first of Mr Roybould's ioyning with you in printing Mr Baxters bookes, I should doubtlesse haue ioyned Mr Roybould with your selfe in the offer of my Exercitation in order to the printing thereof.

x

turn over

Letters whoſe Anſwers
were not kept

For Mr Vnderhil these.

Worthy Sr

I have received yor: letter, but as to my sending Mr
Baxters my desire or resolution about ye printing
of ~~it~~ your booke yt I must intreate you to excuse mee. For all
though ye Author & Subject with Mr Baxters
approbation speakes it very well worthy of any
Stationers acceptation, yet such are my ingagments
to Mr Baxter & my dependance in a great
measure upon him yt my reason will not suffer me
to meddle or treate with you about it; either to accept
~~it~~ or reject it, in regard also yt he is pleased
upon yor: motion to become a party both in ye booke
& advice about it & thought not fitt to right to
mee: In summe I shall not oppose my Judgment
or will to his in such thinges, but give you hearty
thanks for yor love to me & pray you to take in good
part this my indeed no answer to yor letter. I rest

Your hearty ~~[illegible]~~
lover and servant
T. U.

April 1654

Letters whoſe Anſwers
wer not kept

For Mr Vnderkil these.

Worthy Sr

I have received yor: letter, but as to my ſending Mr
Baxters my deſire or reſolution about ye printing
of ~~it~~ your booke I muſt intreate you to excuſe mee. For all
though ye Author & ſubject with Mr Baxters
approbation ſpeakes it very well worthy of any
ſtationers acceptation, yet ſuch are my ingagments
to Mr Baxter & my dependance in a great
meaſure upon him yt my reaſon will not ſuffer me
to medle or treate with you about it, either to accep
~~it~~ or reject it, in regard alſo yt he is pleaſed
upon yor: motion to become a party both in ye booke
& advice about it & thought not fitt to right to
mee: In ſumme I ſhall not oppoſe my judgment
or will to his in ſuch thinges, but give you hearty
thankes for yor love to me & pray you to take in good
part this my indeed no anſwer to yor letter. I reſt

Your hearty ~~[illegible]~~
lover and ſervant
T. U.

Apri: 1654

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Temorby Sept: 15.

[illegible] have bin ready at all times to set pen to paper to write unto you, and to render you my thanks for yr great civility, and kindnes to me, when last in London, but have bin hitherto hindred partly by busines sometimes intervening, and partly by forgetfullnes at other times; but now I resolve to break through all difficultys [illegible] you wth a few lines, to give you my hearty thanks for yr great kindnes then showed me, and to intreat yr helping hand in clearing up unto me some difficult points about justificacon, wherein Mr Baxter seems to be mistaken. I believe you fully agree wth him therein; and wherein I dissent from him are very able to show me my mistake. No man had a more venerable esteem of Mr Baxter than I had, both for his exquisite learning, & excellent Piety. yet reading his four disputacons agt Mr Blake, Mr Burgesse — I am forced by the evidence of truth to dissent from him in some things, viz: his condicionality of faith to our first justificacon, and works to the second. That they were all out in yr understanding I am fully satisfyed: and give him great advantage agt ym. And truly I am almost as fully satisfyed of Mr Baxters mistaking also. Some of yr were confident but dark assaults, and I am ready to think yt he makes also as confident but dark replys. I think Mr Baxter is in the right, yt not christs Righteousnes, but christ himselfe is the object of justifying faith. wee receive christ by faith for Righteousnes: Rom: 10: 4: nor is christ to be divided in the act of justifying faith, but whole christ both in respect of his two natures divine & humane in one person, and in respect of [illegible] offices, as King, Priest, and Prophet. True faith closes wth christ in all these, and so unites wth him. But here I think he mistakes in making faith the condicon of our justificacon. whereas faith seems to me to justify as the instrumt of our union wth christ, and union wth christ is the immediate condicon of our justificacon: for from union follows communion, reconciliacon, justificacon, adopcon, sanctificacon, & glorificacon: for christ justifys his members: onely they and none but they. And this seems to be the meaning of the Ap: Rom: 8: 1. when in former chapter he crys out, o wretched man yt I am — I thank god through Jesus christ — verbum sapienti. But his good works to be condicons of our justificacon, makes me think tho he be very confident, yet he is very dark, and cloudy in his nocons about these things: for our Saviour christ says, first make the tree good, and the fruit will be so too. Matth: 12: 33. — 7: 18: now wee are made good trees, when by faith wee are implanted into christ, and made Trees of righteousnes, the planting of the Lord, yt he may be glorifyed. Esai: 61. 3: so then as good fruit justifys the goodnes of the tree, so good works the goodnes of a christian. That he is by a true & lively faith implanted in Jesus christ, yt he is a lively member of his body, united to him, and made one wth him, bone of his bone, & flesh of his flesh as the Ap: speakes. Eph: 5. 30: and so from this union flows communion of all his Benefits, justificacon, and sanctificacon to the purifying of hearts & lives, and bringing forth of good works, fruits of obedience —. And whereas Mr Baxter in his 129 page answers Mr Burgesse, that our first repentance, desire, love — all these are but necessary preparacons, and dispositions unto faith, wch I think he says somewhere is [illegible] obtained, nor quickly wrought as some men thought. So that he [illegible] seeme but to cavill wth Mr Burgesse in his answer to him. So then [illegible] wee are united to Jesus christ, justifyed & sanctified [illegible] good trees to bring forth

works, as good fruits. Eph: 2: 10. And accordingly the five & twentieth of
Matthew, and second of James must be interpreted, and all other places of the like
nature: Abraham and Rahab by their works were justifyed to be true believers.
Trees of Righteousnes, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorifyed.
John: 15: 8. Some think I differ very little from Mr Baxter. And truly I care
not how small the difference is, so wee hit the Truth. But I cannot think but
we differ very much. Els Mr Baxter would have saved himself a great deal of
labor, and many words in his disputations. And I am persuaded his adversary
and he, specially Mr Burgesse, might far more easily have compromised their
differences, and come to an happy agreement. I observe Mr Baxter, when he sets
out wrong in a controversy, and wants the right notion, thinks with multitude
of distinctions to help himself, then beats the ayre, toyles himself to no pur-
pose, being more intangled, and farther bewildred than before. And for his distinc-
tions, let him please himself as long as he will with them, but truth will gaine but
very little by them. I know he follows the Schoolmen therein, who were the
great corrupters of truth and all divinity: the props & stay of the Antichrist
of Rome, helping him to maintaine his wicked errors, heresys, Idolatrys, &
blasphemy's. And I finde his multitude of nice distinctions serve to no other
purpose than perplex the truth, and make it far more intricate, and to
confound his readers understanding. And these are not my thoughts onely,
but the thoughts of many others. A man that has the clear notion of the
truth, may more clearly, plainly and far better without them, convey the
same to another's understanding. And besides all this, christ and his Apostles
use no such way of nice distinctions in conveying the truths of the
Gospel to our understandings. And in my minde to distinguish without the
word is a great vanity. Nay farther he that speaks is to speak as the
oracles of God speak both for matter & manner. 1 Pet: 4: 11. A great
cause of error is, when wee leave the word of God to follow men's fables: for
then they come to build Babels. And this folly began betimes in the
church of christ, & the Ap. would not have us wise above what is written.
And happy would it be for the church, if men had that venerable
esteem of the word as they ought, and would regulate their know-
ledge by it, and affect no other knowledge but what they read therein.
To speak freely, multitude of distinctions without the word help me to un-
derstand divine matters, or help my spirituall understanding as much
as to throw an handfull of dust into my bodily eyes to help them to see
naturall objects. Mr Hanson is lately dead. I pray let me have your
thoughts about these matters: but as briefly & fully as you can. I
know — brevis esse laboro obscurus fio. but yet grata est brevitas.
I am not altogether of St Augustines minde who hated brevity in
a hard question: for he that distinctly and clearly understands, can
easily with few words, & briefly communicate the same to another's un-
derstanding. let him stay till he fully understands himself, and then let him
communicate it to others. for sat cito si sat bene. My hearty service
presented to your self, and your good wife, and my old friend Mrs Pock. I remaine
[illegible] and remaine, your very loving friend & servant, Wm Laughton

fol. 55. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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For mr [illegible]
Baxter in London
these

Leave this at mr [illegible]
Allsops [illegible]
at the [illegible] in the Stocks
market [illegible]
[illegible]

55

For Mr Matthew
Silvester in London
these.

SE 20

Leave this at Mr Benjamin
Alsop's bookseller,
at his shop in the Stocks
market over agt the
great stander in
London

Honoured and Deare Sr
My present affaires not suffering mee with conveniencie to wait
9 you with Mrs Vaughan, I could not let slip so good an oppor
of presenting a few lines to you, both to testifye my [illegible]
and to ~~bles~~ expresse my great joy, yt that Good God, who
[illegible], hath suffered his and his Churches enemyes so far
to deprive us, of so good a Shepheard, yet yt hee is pleased
there crueltye, to support your spirit, and to strengthen y
might according to his owne most mighty power, that hee
to sweeten yt bitter cup to you, & to ~~[illegible]~~ mixe so mu
shine, with so great showers of raine, yt have falne upon you
this is the Lords owne doeing, & it is marvelous in our eyes, &
God graunt, that these his favourable and mercifull dealings
may encourage ~~of~~ us yt stand & looke on, to maintaine in o
the same principles ~~of~~ of courage and resolution for his cau
truth, and then no doubt, but wee shall experience the same com
table incomes, if ever hee bee pleased to call us to the same sufferin
which how soone or how late hee may doe, hee alone knows. The truth
of it is Sr the cloud gathers apace, and the storme arises, and if
God doe not ~~[illegible]~~ put a bitt in to these mens mouths, and a hooke into there
nostrills, I believe though ~~as~~ you are the first, yet you will not bee the last
object of there malice and crueltye, for tis not Mr Vaughan
man, but Mr Vaughan as Christian, and as one that desires
to keep close to God in his word, & not to let sinners goe on in
there wicked courses, unreproved, that they strike at, & no doubt but
they who will bee followers of you, as you are of God shall not
escape there smartest blowes, that they can lay upon them, how ever
the will of the Lord bee done, is it any more then Christ hath
foretold us shall come to passe? nay is it any other fare then
Christ himselfe found at there hands, and they yt had the face
to persecute the Lord himselfe, shall the servant expect
any other entertainement at there hands? if they yt did so to the
Greene tree, will they not much more doe it to the dry? Oh Sr it
is some comfort doubtlesse to an afflicted Saint, that his Master
went before him in sufferings, & that what happens to him, is no
more then what the whole Armyes of Gods people have experien
before him, ~~[illegible]~~ Stephen was stoned, Paul and Silas lockt up in
the stocks, Peter in the Prison with thousands of others who were
buffeted, defamed reviled, & made the filth of the world and
Cor 4 12 13. the ofscouring of all things. & though the foolish world wonder yt
they yt stile them selves by the names of Christians, should yet feele
Gods severest strokes, ~~&~~ & from thence as foolishly conclude, that
they are no such favourites in the court of heaven, as they would
pagood reason believe they are, yet a Christian whose eyes, by the application
of that spirituall eye salve, are truely opened, hee sees a great
deale of love in all these dispensations, & with the bee sucks honey
from these bitter hearbs, hee knows by divine teaching, yt whome
God loves hee rebukes ~~&~~ and chastens, & that hee grinds
his people in the ~~[illegible]~~ mill of affliction, yt so hee may bee fi
bread for his Masters teeth, hee knows that the way to the Lan
of Canaan is through the wildernesse, & yt it is by climbing
yt hee must come to the top of the Mountaines of Spices, Alas
should not God now and then throw us into the fire, ~~[illegible]~~
our Gold would become drosse, & without these bellows, the sparke
of grace, would bee in danger to decay; ~~[illegible]~~ but I must the
my selfe, I know your awakened soul does not need much jogg
I doubt not but these are your continuall meditations

x

and that the good Spirit of God, is continually setting such Mannah as this is
upon your Table to feed upon; and therefore I shall quitt this subiect: Sr I
am heartily sorry yt Satan has shut the doore against you so soone, I was in
good hopes yt you might have set at liberty by your preaching, some who
are in more dangerous prison, under a more cruell Jaylour then you are,
But when the old Serpent leaves his cunning, hee will bee a Devill no longer
[illegible] yt some of your acquaintance, will have cause to blesse God for this
[illegible] towards you, & yt as the Apostle Paul sais of himselfe Philip.
1. 12 13 14, so it may bee said of you, yt the things which have happened
rather to the furtherance of the Gospel & yt many of the Brethren waxing
confident by your imprisonment, will bee bold to speake the word without
feare: But I forget my selfe, The good God preserve you in health, prolong
your dayes, & restore you to your libertye both corporall & spirituall which
& shall bee the prayer of your unfained and obliged ffriend
and Servaunt

Grantham Decemb 1:
1617

Richard Hollingworth

These

For his much esteemed ffriend
Mr Henry Vaughan at
the Castle in
Lincolne

Reverend Sr

Though I have but little acquaintance with you, yet perceiving the candour of your disposition & conversation, have emboldened myself to write to you, understanding yor intimacy with the Rev: Mr Baxter deceased; & now not to seem to apply myself about a concern of mine, that lies among his papers; the 30. occasion thus, Mr Baxter writing a preface to a book of one Allein, about the Covenants, I disliked ye book, & more his Epistle wherein he asserted, yt the seed of Cain, Saul, &c. had more originall sin than they had from Adam. I told him in an Epistle to him, yt I liked not some, who would make open Contention, before they desired private satisfaction; he wrote me a letter in answer to mine, wch gave ~~me~~ him as little satisfaction from me, as he said he saw cause to remove from his former asserted conclusion, I wrote to him, dined with him, yet better satisfaction yn before, now hee is dead; I knowing yt you may be concerned about his study, & papers, desire yt if you have found, or may find any such papers, you would please to take them into yor custody, & give them to Mr Blackwell in Watlin's street who can easily convey them to mee, & if you will please deliberately to weigh the matter, & give mee yor thoughts of this matter, I shall look on it as a favour, I know hee would not lose such a price, because I hear many years he received a letter of mine, about ye Glastonbury-thorn, wch hee put amongst his papers, published in his book about spirits lately, I shall take it as a favour, if you please to show such a respect, mean while commending yor self, family, & labours to ye blessing of Almighty God I am & shall be

Tho' unworthy, yet yor faithfull
Brothr & fellow labourer
Sam. Winney

Bristoll
Aug. 8. 92

These

To the Revd Mr Sylvester

minister of the Gospell

Leave this with Mr Blackwell

in watling street to bow

Churchyard

London.

Mr Winny & Mr B. Lttrs
relating to the Sermons for
Mr Winny.

Sr

yrs of this 23th of this instant I have received wherein you desire that I would let yu understand what I did remember of the discourse my much honoured friend Mr Marsden Deane of ~~Kilkenny~~ Galloway had in relation to mr Baxter of Kidderminster and that because some of ye friends doe so much wonder at yu for reporting any such a thing concerning Mr Baxter as if it was impossible for yu to have any author of yt report. Sr if I did thinke it might any wayes tend to ye disadvantage or prejudice of ~~Mr~~ Deane I must tell yu plainly I would never answer yu in this particular (tho yu bee one ~~whom~~ whom I shall alwayes give a most particular respect) for wt was said was at a table and far more to declare any thing (except treason) spoken in such a society and at such a time I doe most naturally abhor tho hee was my notorious enemy, yet I would never name him by any thing delivered at a table talke, much lesse him that is a friend and one of ye clergy too. notwithstanding because I am confident, that ye happiness of ye times will not admitt Mr Deane to suffer because Loyall so also am I assured that sd Deane himselfe would permitt mee to satisfy yu in yr request because hee is a man of truth and so speakes nothing but wt hee knows to ~~bee~~ bee truth wch feares not censure, therefore I shall confesse to yu that ye Deane did declare himselfe in those words (in effect if not in terminis) that yu mentioned in yr last to my selfe, and that was that hee himselfe

59

was present at White hall and there saw Mr
Baxter of Kidderminster upon his knees
before his Majesty to begg the petition in writing
ye Bishopricke of Hereford and that one Colonell
Birch (commonly called for distinction Black Birch)
was then with him and that his Matie denied
him his petition; wch sd deane did declare that
~~hee~~ ~~he~~ saw and heard with his own eyes
immediately after sd Baxter did rise from off
his ~~knees~~; this Sr is in answer to ye request
and therein I am certaine I am not ye only
~~spectator~~ auditor for I have spoken with severall of
ye company that doe well remember wt I have
here written to bee nothing but reall truth as it
was related by my worthy friend ye deane,
whom to suspect in ye least in a matter of this
nature both his ingenuity as a schollar and his
profession as a clergy man make me to abhorr
and therefore lett nothing here bee made use
of other letter prudent of him nor of

Sr yr most humble
Servant
Nathan Woolerand

May 27th
Dublin
1661

of Baxter Letters in volume

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These
For Sir much honrd
friend Colonell
John Ashhurst
at Lokes in
Queenes County
Ireland.

m.r Dunbabins Letter
to me

Reverend Sr

All due respects prmised. Not yt I delight to draw
the saw of Contention but only for fuller & cleere satis-
2 faction, am I imboldned thus to write vnto You; You know
wch wee left not
the great Question was, whether wee might joyn wth idolaters
especially to engage wth them & in a warre when God himselfe
is against them; Famous Mr Mede vpon ye Revelacons is of yt
Opinion yt ye powering out of ye Viol vpon the Sun is for the
pulling downe of ye House of Austria that illustrious house
and wee joyne wth ye King of Spain where they are Generally
Papists who have been great persecutors of ye Protestants was
not Jehosaphat sharpely reproved because hee joyned in affinity
wth Ahab & wt successe had hee, it was like to have cost him his
life & his ships were broken at Ezion Geber I did further
instance when I was wth you in ye case of Amaziah who had hired
a hundered thousand fighting men out of Israel mighty men
of valour yet was commanded to send them away because God
was not wth them you replyed yt was an extraordinary case
they had a comande from God at yt time wee have none such.
for answer to that The same reason of ye command should
hold wth vs yt was given to wthhold them, sayes ye Prophet for
God is not wth them neither can wee say yt God is wth Papists for
they are idolaters and wt communion sayes ye Apostle hath light
wth darknesse Xt wth Belial ye Temple of God wth Idolls! And it is
evident wee have many Papists in our Armie & wt good can wee
expect from them especially if they bee true to their own prin-
ciples, nothing but treacherie; If wee doe make vse of them let them
goe in a Brigade by themselves, that it may appeare wt service
they do vs; How can wee so hartily give thankes for a victory when
sake
it is not so evident whether it was for ye Protestants or Papists, yt
God sent it Those things if they were cleered vp might give
satisfaction to many, If you please to give mee your further
thoughts of those things I shall looke vpon it as a great favour
and for ever remain

Yor loving friend
Edmond Godwin

These
ffor his very worthy friend
Mr Silvester minr of
Gods word.

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Worthy Sr./

3 Tho' I have noe other knowledg of yu yn
& sitting undr yr Ministry sometimes as I occasionally co
Londn, yet yu having been an Acquaintance of a dear f
of myne, who I doubt not is a glorifyd St in Heaven, I a
-couraged to be an humble Petitionr to yu for yr Opini
Case of Conscience wch I labour under. Providence ha
placed mee where there is a worthy conforming Minist
it my duty to joyn wth him in ye Ordinary Ordinances, wh
am very well satisfyed. But having some Scruples upon
my joyning wth him & my Neighbrs in taking of ye Lord
my constant Course hath been to ptake of ye Ordinance f
of a nonconforming Ministr. Now unless Mr Gow: mi
Opinion abt taking of it sitting hath any weight in it, I
well satisfyed abt taking it kneeling; whose Opinion
(wch I suppose yu may have mett wth in one of his books) viz
sd Luke 22.30 in ye discourse our Saviour had wth his di
immediately after they had taken ye Sacramt. That they sh
on Thrones judging ye 12 Tribes of Israel, yt therefore
was to be used as signifying our sitting wth Xt to judge
But St Paul rehearsing his Comission abt ye Ordinance
recd it from Xt & mentioning nothing of ye Posture to be u
this doe much satisfy mee (now) yt ye Posture is indifferent. Ho
pray (Sr) let mee have yr Opinion as to this point.) But my
Scruple ~~[illegible]~~ is both in respect of Scandal & likewise in p
of ye Ch. of England Laying ye Ordinance soe much in Com
Now as to Scandal I am a little afraid yt in case I comunica
Publick some of my Relations (Women) yt joyne wth mee in the
Ordinance may follow my Example & perhaps wth a doubting
-science. yn I shall be highly censured & lookt upon as a Aposta
& yn as to ye other part of my Scruple, as I have ill Neighb
(some of ym I mean) whom I must comunicate wth in case
take it in Publick & who I cant reckon to be good Xtians
I have been told by a great Divine yt we ought to forb
joyning wth ye Ch. of Engld in this Ordinance to bear our t
-mony agst it for laying it ~~ye Ordinance~~ too much in Com
whethr this will hold water I kno not. Sr I am in dou
doe. pray doe wt yu can to satisfy mee & ye good Lord dir
I intended to have consulted Dr Bates & yr self abt this ma
last at Londn but several occurrances prevented mee. if yu w
consult wth yt worthy Persn yu would much obblige mee
be assured of this yt wt yu comunicate to mee shall ne
known by any yt it comes fro yu. (my frd & yrs yt brings
to yu may give yu some acct of mee.) Sr yu being a Mi
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[illegible]
live at [illegible] in

These
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353

(358)

LETTERS.

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3

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o yᵉ Revew. M

l. this pᵈ sent

Revnd Sr:

6 A Gentlewoman of an Ancient & Honorable family Mrs Anna Dorithea von Madem born in Courland, & marryed to the ffamily of the Koshuels in Prussia, a Woman of Extraordinary Piety & of much reputation amongst the Gentry & all other who knew her in those parts (and well known to the Late D of Brandenburg, from whose E Highness She received Severall Remarks of Extraordinary favour &c) This Lady having layn sick (and Bedrid) for a long time under such a distemper as none of ye Physicians in all those parts could cure, At lenth an Angel appeared to her at her beds feet, & Asked her if no man could cure her? She Answerd No: Then Replyd the Angel, I am sent by God to Heale you, & Orderd her to prepare some slight thing, & told her That should cure her. & Vanished; She got it made, & in few days perfectly Recovered. This is well known to All ye Country in Those parts, And if I am not greatly mistaken This Relation is inserted in That Book which this Gentlewoman afterwards Published Entituled A ~~Wour~~ Spiritual Wound Balsom for ye Jewes, Proving yt Christ was ye true Messias, from the Accomplishmt of all the Prophets who foretold the Particulars ~~of~~ which actualy came to pass in his State of Humiliation &c This Book is Extant in High Dutch & Low Dutch, & Translated into English which I have read. And hath

x

& hath been the happy Occasion of ye Conversion of Several Jewes. It would fill a small Book to relate the Singular Piety of this Gentlewoman whose Name is mentiond with Honourable Remembrance by many Persons of Quality (& others) in Several of ye Dukedomes in those Parts.

My Wifes Uncle (Captain Koshuel) ~~to me, as he hath also to many Persons~~ ~~affirmed~~ ~~yt he~~ was in this Gentlewomans House (being her Brother) together with all her nearest Relations when She lay on her Death bed, (at Kosaken) who were Ey & ear Witnesses of her Aure End. She made ~~Several Ministers also~~ wch was to ye Admiration of all who ~~beheld her~~, were then present, Having in a holy Rapture Spoken near 2 houres on or Saviours ~~words~~ last dying words on ye Cross, She desired a Psalm to be Sung & when they came to those words — I stretch forth my Armes to Embrace Thee my dearest Lord &c. She raised herself up & opening ~~her~~ both her Armes to Embrace her Beloved, Sang those words with a Strong & clear voice, & immediately Dyed in ye Embraces of her dear Saviour in whose Bosom She had lived for many Years.

This Captain Koshuel (a Person of great Integrity & Reputation) told me (amongst Several of those unto whom he hath related ye same) yt he chanced to cast his Eye into a Room that Joyned to her House (wch She had built for her Chappel, (& where She spent so much of her time in her Devotions &c) & y^{t} at this time (being ye night before She departed) he plainly saw (to his great Surprize & Astonishment) this ~~Sister~~s his Sisters Angel all in White kneeling at her Table in that Roome, where She was wont to Pray, & beheld y^{t} it was the Same Aspect of his Sister who then lay on her DeathBed, But with this difference only y^{t} her Angels Countenance was of a bright & [illegible]ining ~~Ray~~ Lustre ~~Aspect~~, as was also her whole Garment; And this Relation I had from his own Mouth, at Kosaken, & it is received ~~for~~ without any doubt, from a person of such an unsuspected Reputation; This Gentlewomā was Sister to Capt. Korhuel, & Mother to my Wife.

Given under my hand this 7th of Sept^{br}. 91.

Who am Sr Your most Affection^{te} Serv^{nt} &c John Sadler.

To
The Reverd Mr Baxter
his most Hond ffnd
Present.

Sr,

I have oft thought of writing to you, but fear lest it should lead to strife hath made me forbear.
5 I do it now, and leave the successe to the God of peace. It is concerning our two meetings, which
were one, and I think should be one again. When the libertie was given in 87, they met to=
gether: and that Sumer, I did sometimes serve them. There was three sorts of professors met to
gether: and some of every sort did so much desire me, that I know not why it may not be
said of me and that meeting, as Adonijah said of his brother, and of his kingdome, viz, it was
his from the Lord. And I have reason to think it had been so, had it not ben for an ill instru
ment that caused the division, and hath abused the Ministers of Christ in more places than this.
My own singular affection for Theobalds meeting may signifie something for proof of my
forementioned perswasion. I was desired at many places, that Sumer. I was importuned very
much to go to some places: that of Cambridge especially, where I was importuned by many
letters, and by many intreaties, and tears, when with them, far beyond what I will mention.
But my inclination was for Theobalds meeting rather than any other. I thank God, I had
no hand in the division of the meeting: nor was I here then, or for much time after the divi-
sion. This partie had another with them: when he and they parted, I was importuned by them, &
came to them. I have waited long for an appearance of the God of peace in this place, in
this case. The sad consequences of this Schisme are so considerable, they are not to be made
light of. It opens the mouths of the profane, to reproach the way of God: and even God him-
self. It hinders the great and glorious work of conversion of poor sinners to Christ, who must
be converted or damned. It hinders the edification, and consolation of Saints. It gives Satan
great advantage to sowe tares among the wheat: to set that root in the heart, that
beares gall, and wormwood, bitternes, backbiting, anger, wrath. And were here none of
these ill fruits, yet this is not a place for two meetings. For houses stand thin: and good
inhabitants to hear, are thinner. Some are Quakers, under strong delusion. Some go to Church
to hear organs. And some lay at home like heathens, and go no where to hear what is good.
So that all our hearers will not make one good meeting: and yet we are two, and at double
charges for two places. Sir, Unio est unio: let us seek for this Pearl: and bring a divided flock
under one Shepherd. In order to this union, I will desire, and offer. I desire you to advise
your partie to unite in peace, and love: and to leave them to that end: and then I have rea-
son to expect it: for when you was absent under some ilnes, some of them seemed to desire it
as supposing they should not enjoy you. But if you continue still to serve them, that will
keep open the breach. This Schisme is so contrary to God, and to his great comand, Love, and
to the Salvation of souls, that I dare not for the fear of God, let it lay open at my door. And
therefore, if the former way will not do, I offer, that if both parties will agree to unite
under you, I will leave them that they may do so. And if I knew what more to desire, or
to offer, I would do it. I have written these few lines, after many prayers to God for his
counsell in this case. Let it be the desire of our souls, to know, and do the mind of God in this
matter: and to be where he will, and what he will, and to do his will in all things: there
is nothing like it. My dayes have ben very evill. I desire prayer for me and my poor chil=
ren, that God may be our portion. I have heard a good report of Mrs Hamilton to me un=
known. Please to present my service to her, with this piece of my work in print, which
she may peruse at pleasure. If you are disposed to write to me, I pray send no other
way than by the Peny Post. This is all at present, from Your friend

Jan 19. 90.

J Waite

X

A copie of a letter ſent to
Mr Hamiltone.

Bramston
April. 30.

Most Honourd Madam

6

I receiv'd yours yesterday, & I
now return you my thanks. I had another from
Sr John Bernard some dayes before, signifying
his consent to my writing to ye Dr of my com-
ing to him at Midsomer, but I could easily
discern by his concisenesse & disdainfull way
he would have me see he was considerably
disobligd by me. I am not sorry he is absent
this time, & when he returns I shall endea-
vour to comport my selfe as shall befit me.
It will be some ease to me, when I am come
off decently & cleaverly. I have written to ye
Dr ye last weeke if it be miscarry'd I must
write again. Though I am not very fond my
selfe of ye honour of ye Universitie, yet be-
cause I know how uncapable the far greater
part is of judging of a person otherwise
than ~~by~~ as he is recomended to them by o-
thers or by the fame of the place or society
of which he is, I think I should not slight
any thing that may make for my advantage
that is in it selfe no harm. I intend no
more than to enter my name at St
Johns Colledge having some acquaintance there.
It is almost ye first civill interrogatorie
in all peoples mouths, sr, of wch university are you
& of what house? the answer to which advances one
mightily in ye opinions of such especially as have
neither ability nor opportunity to enquire further.

To eaſe my hands assoone as I might of cumbrance
I haue ſent up ye few bookes I had here in two
crazy trunks & a deale box, I haue directed them
to mr Baxter & they come to ye Red Lyon in
Aldersgate=Streete on Wednesday night. I doubt
they are too weighty for mens backs: They will
be a trouble to you. The Carryer is here paid.
And now I am again put in mind of remembring
my thankfullnesse to you & mr Baxter. & I
cannot omitt ſaying that as I find my ſelfe
happy & bound to give God thanks that I haue
ſuch as you ſo deepely engag'd for my good.
So I wish for ability & opportunity of ſhewing
my ſelfe gratefull. I ſhall but beg my
ſervice to mrs Vermuyden, & ſubſcribe
my duty to your ſelfe & mr Baxter.
I am
Madam
Yor very much oblig'd

J. W. B.

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For
The Honoured Mrs Baxter.
at her houſe in Blomesbury
Square.

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London

Sr.

In a Letter from mr Crowe, I requested that favour of you to take a view of the short answer I returned to mr Baxter; & Desired you, if you saw I wronged the truth, or let fall any passages unbecomming a minister, that you would please to deale faithfully & informe me of it. this day I said I would send for it, & accordingly have appointed this messenger to waite upon you for it. & withall have sent one of my bookes, (corrected in the chiefe faults) if you please to give it acceptance, I shall thanke you; being willing to bee informed if in any pointe I have gone against the truth. I would bee of the number of them with Paul, who can doe nothing against the truth, but for the truth. 2 Cor. 13. 8.

Sr I shall give you no more trouble now, hoping you will pardon me, that upon the first time of my acquaintance I should venture to trouble you in this kinde. But I thought it a providence that you should bee so neere, being one so able to judge, & of so healing a spirit. with my service & due respects presented to yor selfe with yor deare relations.

Ridgwell.
22: Aug: 71.

Sr.
I am.
yor servant.
G. Firmin.

I thinke sr, had mr Baxters title page beene, His reviewing of his owne treatise of heavenly meditation, upon the Exceptions &c. (if hee must needs put my name into his title page, though I never mentiond one Letter of his name [illegible]) then it might have gone of better, & the Reader might not have judged me one that had excepted against the Duty of heavenly [illegible] meditation: which now his title plainly carries, in the judgement of other ministers as well as my selfe. / To except against the Duty of heavenly meditation, is one thing. To except against his treatise, or some thing in his treatise about it, is another thing.

For the very reverend &
his much honoured friend
Dr Manton, at Mr
Cutts in
Clare.

B

Reuer:nd and most dearly Beloved

Whatever the workings of o[illegible]
haue bin for your returne unto us [illegible]
we bin almost (if not altogether) silent, apprehe[illegible]
singular usefulnes in that Place; We haue share[illegible]
in the comon benefits of yor labours there, but haue [illegible]
8
those peculiar advantages we formerly injoyed, [illegible]
Gods dispensations, in his Goodnes & seueritie, he ha[illegible]
diminished us & inriched others, And although thro[illegible]
Gods mercie we haue not bin without these [illegible] and
precious helps (especially by mr Waldern) as might make
the tongue of the dumb to speake, yet are we very sensible
of or want of yor personall guidance, especially in this
juncture, when wee haue so much cause to suspect a
storme, either to scatter us (we being without or vigilant
& tender Pastor) or so to divide us, as may cause great
thoughts of heart; For enquiry hath bin made of the
Churchwardens for the Comon prayer booke, by such
formerly did; & we beleive (if there be opportunity) w[illegible]
againe make use of it with its appurtenances, & there[illegible]
we conceive nothing is so likely to impede it as yo[illegible]
presence, wch (notwithstanding the pantings of or soules f[illegible]
it, we canot so suddenly expect as or emergent necessit[illegible]
require, in regard the tyme of yor attendance on his
Matys is so nigh, yet wee most earnestly importune
you, that nothing in the world (except absolute necessit[illegible]
may one day retarde your coming, wch we hope & pr[illegible]
we may so improve as that it may be both joy & ne[illegible]
with greife wch wilbe unprofitable to us, And that
in the meane tyme you will not onely help us by
yor prayers, but as a further testimony of your
(we [illegible]) indissoluble pastorall relation, you w[illegible]
afford us timely & full directions for or unani-
mous & regular behaviour in the worship and
service of or great Lord & Master, that instead of
the songs of the sanctuary there may not be how[illegible]
& that we may be kept harmelesse in the midst of
a perverse generation, & we preserved unto the
coming of or Lord Jesus, unto whom we comend
you, & intreat that you will comend us, as yo[illegible]
tender the soules of

Kidderr August 2. 1660. your most affectionate friends

Edward [illegible]
Abraham Plinley

Thomas Hunt
Laurence Pearsall
John [illegible]
Thomas [illegible]
[illegible]
John [illegible]
Thomas [illegible]
Nicholas [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Linden
Henry Jackson
Thomas Tayler
Henry [illegible]
Edmund Spencer
Edward Woodward
Thomas Potter
Will: Elmer
James Walker
John Hill
Elik Rid

William Hayward
Richard Potter
Richard Hemminge
Thomas [illegible]
Robert Hayes
Tho Doelittle
William Reade
Edward Butler
John Bretell
John Reynalds
William Hayward
James Hinley
William [illegible]
Hen: Wheeler
Ricard [illegible]
William [illegible]
William Doelittle
Thomas Bellamy
John Radford
Phil Doelittle
Thomas Birkes
Edward [illegible]
Edward Woodward
Edmund [illegible]
Will. Powell

To the Reverend our highly
Valued Pastor Mr Richard
Baxter these

No 1

Reverend Sr

Those high & deare respects I have for yourselfe both as a faithfull minister and a gracious saint, have at last, after some conflicts & reluctancies prevailed with me to present these 9 rude lines to yr hands, & prostrate ye humble designe contained in ym at yr feet (ye Lord in mercy incline & engage yr heart to an kindly acceptance & entertainment of ym.) I question not but at ye first view ye nature of ye argument, as well as ye name of ye author, will seem very strange & harsh to you. & truly Sir if I could have excogitated any scripturall or rationall medium other fully to have satisfyed or silenced my conscience it should never have become guilty of this daring boldnesse & presumption: but truly Sr ye businesse is of yt grand & infinite concern, both as to yrselfe & ye eternall condition of many christians amongst us; as well as to ye name & honour of our deare god, & ye credit & interest of our protestant religion, yt neither conscience nor charity would suffer me any longer to stifle my troubles & convictions. but before you ~~proceed~~ proceed any further to ye view of this important affaire, let me humbly begg of you in ye name of god, yt you will set yrselfe seriously before ~~[illegible]~~ his all seeing & heart searching eye, & make use of ye most suitable & powerfull considerations to get an deep and awfull sense & apprehension of gods most holy and glorious presence upon yr heart, wch may duely dispose & capacitate yr mind rightly to receive & judge of what I shall presume to impart to you; & withall lift up yr soul earnestly to god yt he would be pleased to prevent all ye workings of prejudice & disaffection wch may make you either impatient throughly to examine, or unfit rightly to determine of what I shall offer & propound to you: I having now premised this submissive request, shall ~~now~~ proceed to ye case it selfe, wch I shall as plainly and briefly as ye nature of it will admit, impart to you in sum & in short I am wholly dissatisfyed about ye lawfullnesse of ye late civil war, wch was commenced & carryed on by ye parliamentary party against our late king, in wch both yrselfe especially & also ye generallity of seeming christians in this nation were apparently engaged. I doe strongly feare yt there lieth a world of sin & guilt ~~& wrath~~ unseen & unfelt upon yt professing party, upon ye account of those grievous mistakes & miscarriages ye were justly guilty of in yt bloody enterprise. if it please you patiently to accompanie me in this relation I shall lead you truly by those severall steps by wch I came to this discovery. In ye begining of yt unhappy quarrell though I was so young as not to be actually engaged on either side, yet both my relations and education, but especially yt respect I then had for serious christians & professors (yt generally joyned with ye parliament) did fully sway & incline my mind & affection to yt party, though alas I understood little either of ye just grounds & causes of ye warr, or of those proper rules & principles whereby it was either to be justifyed or condemned. & in this full determination of affection to yt party I constantly remained, till within these few yeares; though I observed yt after I came to some maturity of judgment & reason, upon reading severall texts & places of scripture, yt did most strictly forbid & severely threaten opposition in subjects against their kings & governors, some doubts & suspicions ~~of these~~ would be started ~~in~~ in my mind, how were ye carriages & proceedings of ye parliamentary party in ye late warr consistent with those precepts & prohibitions, yet ye great opinion I had of yt party, nor ye course of my studies would suffer me duely to pursue & examine ym. but about some seven yeares agone, & whilst I was endeavouring in my chamber upon ye day of my monthly fast, to humble & afflict my soule before god both for my owne sins & ye grievous miscarriages of this church & nation, & to deprecate gods heavy wrath & displeasure from myselfe & his afflicted people amongst us, & yt I might more deeply ~~affect~~ affect my heart with ye distressed & deplorable condition of christians & professors in this nation, I set myselfe to recollect how grievous & how numerous those miseries & calamities were wch ye did groane & gasping under, & upon a circumspect view in this essay I presently discovered many fearfull & signall tokens of gods heavy displeasure upon yt professing party, & yt both in temporalls & spiritualls; for I perceived yt of late ye had drunken as deep, & in many particulars much deeper of ye full cup of common calamities, as any others; besides in spiritualls ye had many bitter & deadly potions put into their hands wch others did never see so much as sip or taste of. I observed also yt ye genuine spirit of christianity & religion & ye power & practise of true godlinesse was in a manner quite devoured & eaten up amongst ym, either by earthlynesse & flesh pleasing, or by pharisaicall formality & lukewarmnesse, or by mistaken zeale & opinionativenesse, or by affectation & selfishnesse. I saw also yt god signally suffered a strange & fearfull spirit of errour & heresie & of bitter contention & division to break forth & rage amongst yt professing party, whereby ye were taken in prey by each other. I perceived also how yt party amongst us were of late become a common by-word & ludibrium to turkes & pagans, a vile scorne & opprobrium to christianity, & an awfull stumbling block & scandall to ye protestant profession; & yt ye hearts & words, ye tongues & hands of all sorts of people were sadly set against ym. I observed also how all their glorious hopes & designes ye had been for so zealous for, were ~~[illegible]~~ signally cursed & blasted; & what ye mostly feared & hated was advanced & inflicted on ym, & under all these & ~~[illegible]~~ many more such manifest tokens & plagues of gods direfull displeasure upon ym, I observed ye were generally possessed with a spirit of [illegible] security & stupidity, & [illegible] of approaching vengeance. & after I had thus taken a view of [illegible] extraordinary evidences of gods displeasure upon ym, I considered with myselfe [illegible] so infinitely gracious & mercifull as not to inflict such signall dreadfull [illegible] and [illegible] extraordinary [illegible] professing [illegible] were at least proportionable & answerable to ym [illegible] but for signall & extraordinary ~~[illegible]~~ miscarriages yt could ye find out, those grievous offences in yt party, whereupon I set myselfe seriously to search, as much as whilst I was hot in their pursuit, those [illegible] in yt party, wch had brought such grievous afflictions upon ym, & of their undertaking in ye late warre, did present suspicions (wch I mentioned before) about ye unwarrantablenes upon ye very first view of ym, I perceived yt if yt professing party in a very ghostly & startling visage to my mind were in a mistake in yt opposition, ye must needs have contracted ye guilt (wch generally joyned with ye parliament) miscarriages thereby, yt all their other sins ye were chargeable withall, were but motes & peccadilloes in comparison of ym; for if yt warre were unjust & unlawfull, ye were yn guilty of insolent disobedience & rebellion, of dreadfull perjurie & ye violation of many solemne oathes & protestations, of cruell wrath & revenge, of dreadfull murders & of ye blood of some 200000 souls, of injurious theft & rapine, of robbing & spoyling halfe of ye goods & lands of ye nation from their rightfull owners, of vile hypocrisie & dissimulation, of audacious wresting & perverting of scripture, of most cursed scandall & infamie to their profession, & of unparallel blasphemy against ye name & honour of god, in fathering those & many more such hellish brats & monsters upon god, in professing & protesting yt it was his cause & quarrell, & yt he did excite ym to it & authorize ym in it. these & many more such prodigious crimes of ye greatest size & magnitude, I saw would be certainly ~~[illegible]~~ found in yt hostile attempt, if it were unjust & unwarrantable, besides an world of other mischiefs & miseries, errours & heresies, blasphemies & delusions, divisions & contentions wch it was ye manifest cause & occasion of, therefore when I discovered yt there might needs be such an infinite weight of guilt & wrath upon yt professing party, if ye were in mistake in yt quarrell, I was resolved by gods help & assistance to use my utmost endeavours to find out ye full truth & certainty in yt case & because I well know how naturally & insensibly interest & affections doe abuse & corrupt both ye minds & judgments, & ye reasonings & relations of all parties in their own case, therefore I purposed not to fish at first in such dark & troubled waters, but to ascend higher & as neare as I could to all ye fountaines of truth in that case, where I might find ye streames cleare and unmuddyed. & accordingly I first set myselfe seriously & earnestly to search ye scriptures, & to see what I could find in ym, yt might either make for or against yt civill warre, & there I did not pick & chuse, but heedfully perused both ye old & new testament, & as I was able ~~[illegible]~~ diligently weighed & compared all those places, wch might have any reference to ye present controversie & here to my great satisfaction I found all ye waters of ye sanctuary (as to this particular) running fully & strongly in one channell, for by this first search I plainly discovered yt all power & authority wch is committed to or exercised by men, is originally derived & conveyed from god, & so yt its noblest forme [illegible] & abstract from ye arbitrary choice & consent of men but from ye divine care & constitution of god, who therefore is stiled ye god of all principality & power, & ye powers & jurisdictions wch are exercised by kings & emperours though injurious & infidels, are said to be ye [illegible] ordination & constitution of god. for by scripture I find yt god hath not only given to all bodies & beings their proper parts & members, but also hath set ym all in their proper place & order, some above, & some under, some uppermost & some lowermost, some to lead & some to follow; & accordingly by his primitive constitution hath endowed ~~every~~ part as well head as taile with strength & vertue suitable to its place & order, and as god hath placed all ye parts & members in ye naturall body under one ~~naturall~~ head wch he hath fitted & enabled to direct & rule ym, so also hath he placed all ye parts & members of ye body politick under one political head, wch he also hath enabled & impowered by his primitive institution, with supreme authority to rule & govern ym, & not suffered ye parts & members of humane society to come out of his hands as a confused chaos or indigested heap, without political forme or figure, wch is ye very strength & support, ye safety and beauty of political bodies. now ye way & means whereby god at first did introduce & constitute political power & authority in humane societies I find it was by & through ye vertue of paternall relation. for as Adam & ye successive heads of his posterity before ye flood did naturally obtain & exercise regall power by vertue of ~~their~~ his paternall relation, so also Noah & ye severall heads of families yt sprang from his loines after ye flood, did by their severall families & posterities constitute severall kingdomes & nations & rule & govern ym as kings & princes by ye mediation of ~~[illegible]~~ their paternall power as ye 10 of Genes. doth sufficiently evidence & then is it yt kings & fathers are synonymous termes both in scripture & profane authors. & as ye word of god doth duely witnesse yt ye political power & authority of ~~[illegible]~~ princes ~~was~~ at first introduced & constituted amongst all nations by vertue of ~~[illegible]~~ perpetual & ~~[illegible]~~ paternall relation; so also it manifesteth yt it was continued & conveyed from one generation to another, by vertue of birth right & succession. for scripture doth declare yt god hath ordained ye son to succeed ye father as well in his power & dominion, as in his patrimonie & possession, so yt by ye primitive lawes of scripture & nature ye people had not more power & right to convey authority yn ye had at first to constitute, unless it were by their obediential submission & consent freely & thankfully to accept of those whom god by ye law of nature & providence hath endowed with ye power to rule & govern. further I observe from scripture yt when god by his unerring providence did suffer yt line of succession either to terminate or be cut of, he did yn by his signall & divine providence substitute some other person into yt place & power, who also conveyed ye same by ye former channell of succession to his posterity. againe I observe from scripture yt ye supreme power & authority wch god at first did introduce & constitute in humane societies by vertue of paternall relation & convey & continue by vertue of birth right & succession, was an single & monarchicall power, committed to & placed in an single person. for ye forme of government wch ye scripture doth either authorize or allow, promise or confirm, is only such as is exercised by kings & princes. for in all those times & places to wch scripture relates wee doe not read of any settled or approved kind of policie committed to men but only regall & monarchicall, so yt neither aristocracie nor democracie have ye least footsteps or foundation in scripture, but are only some particular cor=

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fol. 73. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

corruptions & deviations from ye primaive constitution, wch god by his [illegible] providence hath permitted in these later ages in some places & countreys, for ye punishment of ye prince or people or both, for these unmentioned species of government were not primitive & from ye beginning, but are novell & of a late originall, not from ye gracious providence & constitution of god, but from ye factious humours & wickednesse of men, as ye histories of their severall originalls (if compared with scripture) doe fully evince. furthermore I learne from scripture yt this primitive power & authority wch god hath committed solely to kings & single persons is supreme & far above all power & right yt ye people upon any plea whatsoever can justly pretend to, & is next & immediate to god himselfe, whose sole vicegerents & representatives ye are upon earth, & whom all their people & subjects of what state or ranke soever, are most strictly enjoyned & obliged to obey & submit to, as members to their head & children to their parents, for scripture doth fully witnesse yt god hath a most tender & speciall care of kings, & of their majesty & authority, & a most severe wrath & indignation against those yt dishonour & disobey ym. & therefore I find yt god by his royall law hath placed kings next to himselfe & their persons, power & rights next to his owne, & therefore not only ye disobeying but ye speaking evill [illegible] of their power & dignitie, is reckoned by god amongst ye most vile & horrid kinds of crimes, & threatened with ye most direfull & grievous kinds of judgments. againe I clearly learne from scripture yt this supreme power & authority wch god hath endowed kings & monarchs withall, is sacrosanct & inviolable, of a matchlesse & irresistible nature, & such as no degree or state of subjects upon what pretense ~~[illegible]~~ or provocation soever, may with force oppose or withstand, without incurring ye direfull guilt of eternall damnation. for scripture evidenceth yt god hath put noe power or right into ye peoples hands to draw or use ye sword against their equalls or inferiors, much lesse against their kings & supreme governors, whom god hath sat far above ym, & only under himselfe, & therefore ye can have no judg superior or equall to ym but himselfe. therefore I observe yt god in his word hath not only severely threatened but also signally inflicted most direfull vengeance against those yt have opposed or resisted their supreme governors, though under ye most specious pretensions & pretences, of wch Korah & his confederates are a most prodigious instance. & furthermore I observed from scripture, yt evill & wicked kings have ye same supreme power with those yt are good & religious, for as it is not ye grace & vertue of kings yt either constitutes or augments their regall power & authority, so neither is it ye defect or want of it yt doth destroy or diminish it. so yt homage, obedience & submission are as due to ye one as to ye other, & opposition & resistance is anti-scripturall & damnable as well against ye one as ye other. for I learne [illegible] yt god by his wise & just providence doth suite & proportionate ye carriages & conditions of kings, to ye merits or demerits of ye people, so yt when god sets impious, idolatrous, or oppressing princes over any people, it is not to excite their courage & valour by opposition & resistance, but to excite & exercise their patience & repentance towards god, under a sense of those provocations yt have justly procured yt punishment. so yt those subjects wch rise up against [illegible] their ill princes, ye wholly crosse & act contrary to gods ends & designs by ym, & not only spill their physick, but turne it into poyson, & their affliction into iniquitie. & further I observed yt though most of those kings yt ye old or new testament makes mention of or intimates were very oppressive & unfaithfull in their office, & very irreligious & idolatrous towards god, & very cruell & outragious towards his people under ym, yet we never find ye least comand or counsell, or ye least permission or allowance from god by any prophet or revelation, either to withstand their wicked & idolatrous practises, or by force to defend ym selves against their cruell rage & fury. neither doe I find yt ever any of gods faithfull ministers & messengers (yt were commanded to declare ye whole will & mind of god) did ever in ye least blame or reprove ~~for~~ any ~~[illegible]~~ of gods people or others for ye neglect or non use of this meanes (wch surely ye would & had beene bound to have done, if it had beene any way of gods prescribing or allowing) or yt any of gods people as such did ever use or attempt it, but yt ye have all along professedly abhorred & avoyded it. wch surely ye would not have done had ~~beene~~ it beene lawfull & warrantable, for yn ye had beene bound to have made use of it & all lawfull wayes both for ye preservation of their lives & religion, & for ye restraining ye idolatries & blasphemies of their princes against god. but on ye contrary having considerably [illegible] I found ye famous examples of gods people both under ye Law & ye gospell, running in such a strong & cleare streame, yt I could not meet with one approved instance from any of ym, yt did muddy or interrupt it. by wch I perceive yt there is but some two or three examples from scripture, yt you can lay any stresse on in this case, to justify subjects opposition against their kings for their owne defence, ye chiefe whereof I have read of ye ~~[illegible]~~ is yt of Davids defending himselfe by force against king Saul. but if I had convenient opportunity to impart my thoughts in this particular, I hope I might be able fully to satisfy you yt this example is mistaken, & shamefully misapplied. for to me it is most manifest yt what holy David did in admitting & commending those people yt came to him in ye wildernesse, when he was thus persecuted by Saul, he did it not as a subject but as a king; for it is evident yt god had yn expressly & irrevocably rejected Saul from being king over Israel, & had also taken away his spirit of majestie and kingship from him, wch was ye badg & evidence of his kingly power, right & title, & also had given him his kingly spirit, & a commission, & chosen, anointed & consecrated David to yt power & place, & not only David himselfe but also Saul & all Israel generally understood yt god had expressly rejected & cast of Saul from being king, & [illegible] a commission to govern & judg yt people [illegible]. but yet though David well knew yt god had [illegible] substituted him into his place [illegible] I had annoynted [illegible] first consecrated, yt he neither would nor durst [illegible] any violent [illegible] Saul [illegible] possession of ye throne [illegible] & patiently waites in ye wildernesse till god [illegible] himselfe in; but submissively withdrawes from Sauls rage to make a faire & plaine way for him to ye throne, & by his owne gracious & righteous providence [illegible] of yt wch he had already given ~~ye~~ him ye evident right to. & whilst he was there waiting upon god in ye wildernesse it pleased ye lord to move & incline ye hearts of some of his people (wch god had given him) to come to him (without his calling or sending for ym) submissively & selfdenyingly to owne & accept him as their king & captaine, & to offer ymselves to be his loyall people & subjects, wch David most thankfully embraced as ye begining & first ~~fr~~ fruits of his kingdome, & by degrees god turned more & more of ye people from Saul to him, wch came to him both when he was in ye wildernesse & at Ziklag, as ye 12 chap of 1 Chron. doth expressly attest, & thus by little & little god bowed & turned ye people from Saul to him as to their anoynted king, till at last he brought ym all to him & brought him into full & cleare possession of ye kingdome. this is ye plaine import & meaning of Davids carriage in this controverted case, in wch sense it fully falls in & sweetly runs along with ye comon current of scripture. but take it otherwise for Davids using violent force as a single subject to defend himselfe against his rightfull soveraigne, & yn it will not only run directly crosse & contrary to ye whole course of scripture & comon sense; but also quite undermine & overthrow ye peace & justice of all kingdomes & nations, & open a wide doore for continuall warre & contention, & turne every assize into sedition, & every execution into an insurrection, & outlaw martyrdome out of christian world, & condemne all ye primitive christians of prodigious folly & selfe murder, in not preserving ymselves & their lives by armed force (wch ye might easily have obtained to a far greater strength yn David had) from ye cruell fury of their persecuting emperours. I hope these few short hints may put you into ye plaine & safe way of rightly interpreting this mistaken carriage of this gracious saint. ye other instance you insist on of Elijahs calling downe fire from [illegible] to preserve him from, & avenge him on ye bands ye king sent to apprehend him, is wholly impertinent to ye present purpose; for Elijah doth no more yn what god allows his servants & people to doe, wch is to call upon god (to whom vengeance belongs) to avenge ym on & preserve ym from their implacable enemies though ye instruments of those cruell kings & princes. for who seeth not yt these two cases are infinitely different & opposite, for subjects to call upon god to preserve ym from & avenge ym on their cruell, persecuting princes & their officers, & for subjects to raise force & armies to preserve and avenge ymselves. ye former ye scripture in some cases doth authorise & allow, but ye latter it utterly forbids & condemns. sed verbum sapienti. by this relation you see I had gone through ye first part of my enquiry, I had fully consulted with ye divine oracle of scripture in this controversie, & found it all along most plainly & loudly speaking ye same language against resistance, without ye least opposition or exception. when I had thus duely advised with ye Lawe & examples of scripture, I proceeded to ye searching & examining of ye Lawes & constitutions of our own nation, to see whether I could find any thing in ye particular forme of our politie, yt might justify our late opposition, & accordingly I purposed to consult fully both with ye statute Law, ye comon Law, ye juridicall records of former customes & usages, & ye best approved law bookes, & histories; yt I might fully & truly informe myselfe of ye proper frame of our government, & of such principles & circumstances as might give light & a full & finall determination in this case. I began with ye statute Law, & perused ye whole statute booke, & diligently marked every particular yt might give any light to this truth. & after I had fully consulted & compared it, I found yt all its parts as to this purpose, were plainly similar & homogeneous, & yt it all along upon occasion ~~[illegible]~~ did most strongly assert & evidence these & such like truths: yt this nation of England is a royall kingdome & empire, & hath of old both at home & abroad beene so reputed & accounted, & yt ye government thereof is imperiall & monarchicall, & yt ye king of England is a royall prince & governour, who hath ye sole supreme power, & authoritie over all persons & states in it, & yt he (& not ye two houses of parliament) is by gods divine grace & providence (& not by ye choice or consent of ye people) endowed with entire plenarie & perfect power & authority to administer justice & judgement to all estates and persons within this realme, & to give a full & finall determination in all cases & controversies. & yt ye whole right & power of sword, of raising ~~war~~ & defending all forces, & of making warre & peace, doth alone appertaine to him (& not ye two houses) by vertue of his royall state & dignitie, & yt all degrees & states of people as well members of parlament as others are bound by their naturall allegiance & by ye fundamentall lawes of this realme to adhere to, assist & defend him & his royall power & dignity against all manner of force yt shall be raised against him. & yt statute Law fully declares yt all such (as well members of parlament as others) which shall compasse ye kings death, or doe or say thing yt hath direct tendencie to it, or yt shall raise or levy war within this kingdome against ye king, or to be comissionated by ~~his~~ him, or shall possesse ymselves of his navy or militia, or shall fortify or keep any towne or garrison against him, or yt shall make sedition in his armie, or alienate ye minds & affections of ye kings subjects from him, all these & such like offenders by ye statute law are declared to be [illegible] [illegible] majestatis notorious rebells & traitours. further I observe yt not only ye coman law but ye statute also declares all to be ye kings & not ye two houses; ye kingdome is his kingdome & not theirs, ye people are his people, his bodies & members & not theirs, & he only is their head & governour & not ym. all ye lands in rebellion are ye kings lands & tenements because yt all hold either mediately or immediately on ye crown. all ye force & strength of ye kingdome is ye kings force & strength & not ye two houses. all ye garrisons and

& forts of ye nation, are ye kings garrisons & forts, & not theirs; all ye lawes & statutes of ye nation are ye kings lawes & statutes, & not theirs; all ye justice & jurisdiction of ye kingdome is ye kings justice & jurisdiction & not theirs; all ye power & authority of ye nation is ye kings power & authority & not theirs; ye peace of ye realme is ye kings peace, & not theirs, & whosoever breaks ye peace of ye kingdome, is sayd to breake ye kings peace, & to offend against ye king & his crowne & not against eyther ye houses of parliament; in short every thing of a politicall nature or interest in this nation is called by ye kings name & not theirs, & doth beare his title & superscription upon it, & not theirs. yea I find ye two houses of parliament have beene so far from claiming or pretending to any part of, or right to ye supreme power & authority of this nation, yt they frequently disowned & disclaimed it, & most fully, freely & solemnly acknowledged & declared, yt ye supreme power & government of this realm, & over all persons & states in it, & in all causes & controversies, doth solely & entirely belong & appertaine to our soveraigne ye lord ye king; whom both houses as such have often most solemnly asserted & avouched to be their only supreme head & governor, & have most frequently & fully professed & acknowledged yourselves as members of parliament to be his most humble & liege subjects, & to owe him all naturall allegiance, fidelity & obedience. yea I find yt ye two houses of parliament have beene soe exceedingly full, & beyond all scruple plaine in their knowledge, beliefe, & profession yt ye king is ye sole supreme governor (& is indowed with ye sole supreme governing power & authority, & ye law constitutes him to be such) ~~without &~~ yt both ye yourselves as houses of parliament, & all people within this kingdome, are without all doubt or scruple ye kings liege men & subjects, & by ye lawes of god & of this realme doe owe him all humblest loyall allegiance, yt ye have not only often avouched & professed it yourselves, but also have advised & voted yt it might be a fundamentall & unrepealable law, yt both all members of parliament & all subjects in this nation should most solemnly & fully upon occasion avouch & sweare it (as ye oath of supremacie doth attest) & yt none should either have any place in parliament, or any office or trust in this kingdome yt should scruple or refuse it. I find also yt ye parliament have fully declared yt ye lords spirituall, ye lords temporall, & ye commons, are ye three states in parliament, & by consequence yt ye king is none of ye three states of parliament, but over & above ym, & also yt ye two houses are ye body of ye parliament, & ye king alone is ye sole supreme head of it from whom only ye derive all their politicall being & power, & by whose supreme influence & authority all their advices & suffrages are elevated into lawes & statutes. in short through out ye whole statute book & series of ye statute law, I doe not find yt either one or both of ye houses of parliament doe ever soe much as in ye least claime or pretend to any part of ye supreme power & authority of this kingdome, but all along most fully & solemnly declare & professe yt both by ye grace & grant of god, & by ye fundamentall lawes & constitutions of this nation it belongs solely & entirely to ye king, & yt ye yt shall assume or usurp any part of it, are notorious traitors & rebells. & as ye whole letter & matter of ye statute law doth most fully evidence yt ye supreme power of this realme is solely in ye king & not in ye two houses of parliament or in any other person or state whatsoever; so also ye ancient forme & manner in wch all our lawes & statutes were enacted, doth most strongly demonstrate ye same; for I find yt till about ye 11th of Henry 6 ye forme of enacting all lawes runs wholly in ye kings name, (it being sayd upon ye advise of ye house of lords, & upon ye petition of ye house of commons (or in phrases of ye same sence) be it ordained & enacted such & such things or be enacted, made & stablished such & such lawes; still along attributing ye legislative enacting commanding power & act to ye king, & only ye power & right of advising consenting & petitioning to ye two houses; and therefore in ye sence & language of our law & of all approved lawbooks ye two houses are sayd only legem petere & rogare, but ye king only legem ferre et dare, ye doe propose & dispose ye matter of all lawes by their gracious advises & petitions; but its he alone yt doth materiam informare by his le roy le veult. therefore ye king & not ye two houses are stiled anima legis. because it is he alone (say ym) yt by his supreme legislative authority is yt to ye constituting of our lawes, wch ye soule is to ye constituting of ye compositum yt doth animate & informe it & gives it ~~life~~ its strength & motion. hence is it yt ye two houses speake ~~only~~ wholly in ye optative mood, & ye king only in ye imperative. ~~& so~~ & this was ye forme of enacting all our lawes before ye 11 of Henr. 6. for from about ye 11th till ye 24 of his reigne I find yt sometimes this old forme & sometimes the new one yt now obtaines was promiscuously used, but since then this new forme hath comonly beene observed. but yet this I clearly observe ~~& none~~ & none can find any just reason to question it, yt when this new clause of ye authority of ye same was superadded in ye forme of enacting our lawes, yt there was yn noe new power & authority superadded to ye two houses, but their right & authoritie was wholly ye same yt it was before when ye enacting forme did run solely in ye kings name & therefore I say ~~& therefore~~ yt this must needs be ye plaine sence & english of this additionall clause (of authority of ye same) yt since both ye king & ye established lawes of this realme have conferred an derivative, inferior, & subordinate authority upon ye two houses of parliament of advising consenting & petitioning what should be enacted into a law, therefore by this their derivative inferior & subordinate authority ye concurre & joyne with ye kings supreme & independent authority in ye establishing of all lawes, as ye members of ye body (especially ye principall of ym) concurre with ye soule in all its externall acts & motions, upon which yet all those acts & motions are not attributed wholly & solely to ye soule wch is ye principall & proper efficient of ym, but to ye compositum; so also those

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[illegible] of ye possession [illegible] of ye throne [illegible] in, but submissively withdrawes from Sauls rage & long & patiently waited in ye wildernesse till god should as he pleased by his owne gracious & righteous providence to make a faire & plaine way for him to ye throne, & by his own hand to give him ye free & cleare possession of yt, wch he had already given ~~ye~~ him ye evident right to. & whilst he was thus submissively & selfedenyingly waiting upon god in ye wildernesse it pleased ye Lord to move & incline (without his calling or sending for ym) ye hearts of some of his people (wch god had given him) to come to him, & to owne & accept him as their king, & to offer ymselves to be his loyall people & subjects, wch David most thankfully embraced as ye begining & first ~~fru~~ fruits of his kingdome, & by degrees god turnes more & more of ye people from Saul to him, wch came to him both when he was in ye wildernesse & at Ziklag to turne about ye kingdome from Saul to him, as ye 12 chap of 1 Chron. doth expressly attest. & thus by little & little god bows & turnes ye people to him as to their annoynted king, till at last he brought ym all to him & brought him into full & cleare possession of ye kingdome. this is ye plaine import & meaning of Davids carriage in this controverted case, in wch sense it fully falls in & sweetly runs along with ye comon current of scripture. but take it otherwise for Davids using violent force as a single subject to defend himselfe against his rightfull soveraigne, & yn it will not onely run directly crosse & contrary to ye whole course of scripture & comon sense, but also quite undermine & overthrow ye peace & justice of all kingdomes & nations, & open a wide doore for continuall warr & contention, & turne every affaire into sedition, & every execution into an insurrection, & outlaw martyrdome out of christian world, & condemn all ye primitive christians of prodigious folly & selfe murder, in not preserving ymselves & their lives by armed force (wch ye might easily have obtained to a far greater strength yn David had) from ye cruell fury of their persecuting emperours. I hope these few short hints may put you into ye plaine & safe way of rightly understanding ye mistaken carriage of this gracious saint. yt other instance you insist on of Elijahs calling downe fire from heaven to preserve him & from, & avenge him on ye bands ye king sent to apprehend him, is wholly impertinent to ye present purpose; for Elijah doth no more yn what god allows his servants & people to doe, yt is to call upon god (to whom vengeance belongs) to ~~ye~~ avenge ym on & preserve ym from their implacable enemies though ye instruments of these cruell kings & princes. for who seeth not yt these two are infinitely different & opposite, for subjects to call upon god to preserve ym from & avenge ym on their cruell, persecuting princes & their officers, & for subjects to raise force & armies to preserve and avenge ymselves. ye former ye scripture in some cases doth authorise & allow, but ye latter it utterly forbids & condemns. sed verbum sapienti. by this relation you see I had gone through ye first part of my enquiry, I had fully consulted with ye divine oracle of scripture in this controversie, & found it all along most plainly & lowdly speaking ye same language against resistance, without ye least opposition or exception. when I had thus duely advised with ye Laws & examples of scripture, I was next pressed to ye searching & examining of ye Laws & constitutions of our own nation, to see whether I could find any thing in ye particular forme of our goverment, yt might justify our late opposition; & accordingly I purposed to consult fully both with ye statute Law, ye comon Law, ye juridicall records of former cases & usages, & ye best approved Law books, & histories; yt I might fully & truly informe myselfe of ye proper species of our government, & of such principles & circumstances as might give a full & finall determination in this case. I began with ye statute Law, & perused ye whole statute booke, & diligently marked every particular yt might give any light to this truth. & after I had fully consulted & compared ym I found yt all its parts as to this purpose, were plainly similar & homogeneous, & yt it all along upon occasion ~~[illegible]~~ did most strongly assert & evidence these & such like truths. yt this nation of England is a royall kingdome & empire, & hath of old both at home & abroad beene so reputed & accounted, & yt ye government thereof is imperiall & monarchicall, & yt ye king of England is a royall prince & soveraigne, who hath ye sole supreme power, & authority over all persons & states in it, & yt he (& not ye two houses of parliament) is by gods divine grace & providence (& not by ye choice or consent of ye people) endowed with entire plenarie & perfect power & authority to administer justice & judgement to all states & persons within this realme, & to give a full & finall determination in all cases & controversies. & yt ye whole right & power of ye sword, of raising ~~war~~ & defending all forces, & of making warr & peace, doth alone appertaine to him (& not ye two houses) by vertue of his royall state & dignitie, & yt all degrees & states of people as well members of parliament as others are bound by their naturall allegiance & by ye fundamentall Laws of this realme to adhere to assist & defend him & his royall power & dignity against all manner of force yt shall be raised against him. & yt statute Law fully declares yt all such (as well members of parliament as others) which shall compasse ye kings death, or doe any thing yt hath direct tendencie to it, or yt shall raise or levy war within this kingdome against ye king, or those comissionated by ~~his~~ him, or shall possesse ymselves of his navy or militia, or shall fortify or keep any towne or garrison against him, or yt shall make sedition in his armie, or alienate ye minds & affections of ye kings subjects from him, all these & such like offenders by ye statute Law are declared to be rei criminis laesae majestatis, notorious rebells & traitours. further I observe yt not onely ye comon Law but ye statute also declares all to be ye kings & not ye two houses. ye kingdome is his kingdome & not theirs, ye people are his people, his body, & members & not theirs, & he onely is their head & governour & not ym. all ye lands in ye nation are ye kings lands & tenements because ye all hold either mediately or immediately on ye crown. all ye force & strength of ye kingdome is ye kings force & strength & not ye two houses: all ye garisons

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& forts of ye nation, are ye kings garisons & forts, & not theirs; all ye Laws & statutes of ye nation, are ye kings Laws & statutes, & not theirs; all ye justice & jurisdiction of ye kingdome is ye kings justice & jurisdiction & not theirs; all ye power & authority of ye nation is ye kings power & authority & not theirs; ye peace of ye realme is ye kings peace, & not theirs, & who soever breake ye peace of ye kingdome, is sayd to breake ye kings peace, & to offend against ye kings & his crowne & not against either the houses of parliament, in short every thing of a politicall nature or interest in this nation is calld by ye kings name & not theirs & doth beare his title & superscription upon it, & not theirs. yea I find ye two houses of parliament have beene far from claiming or pretending to any part of, or right to ye supreame power & authority of this nation, yt ye frequently disowned & disclaimed it, & most fully, freely & solemnly acknowledged & declared, yt ye supreame power & government of this realm, & over all persons & states in it & in all causes & controversies, doth solely & entirely belong & appertaine to our soveraigne ye lord ye king, whom both houses as such have often most solemnly acknowledged & avouched to be their only supreame head & governor, & have most seriously & fully professed & acknowledged yemselves as members of parliament to be his most humble & liege subjects, & to owe him all naturall allegiance, fidelity & obedience. yea I find yt ye two houses of parliament have beene soe exceedingly full, & beyond all scruple plaine in their knowledge, beliefe, & profession yt ye king is ye sole supreame governour (& is endowed with ye sole supreame governing power & authority, & ye law alone constitutes him to be such) ~~in this &~~ yt both ye yemselves as houses of parliamt, & all people within this kingdome, are without all doubt or scruple ye kings liege men & subjects wch by ye laws of god & of this realme doe owe him all humble & loyall allegiance, yt ye have not only often avouched & professed it yemselves, but also have advised & voted yt it might be a fundamentall & unalterable law, yt both all members of parliamt & all subjects in this nation should most solemnly & fully upon occasion avouch & sweare it, (as ye oath of supremacie doth attest) & yt none should other have any place in parliamt, or any office of trust in this kingdome yt should scruple or refuse it. I find also yt ye parliamt have fully declared yt ye lords spirituall, ye lords temporall, & ye commons, are ye three states in parliamt & by consequence yt ye king is none of ye three states of parliamt, but over & above yem, & also yt ye two houses are ye body of ye parliament, & ye king alone is ye sole supreame head of it from whom only ye derive all their politicall being & power, & by whose supreame influence & authority all their advises & suffrages are actuated into laws & statutes. in short through out ye whole statute booke & series of ye statute law, I doe not find yt either one or both of ye houses of parliamt doe ever soe much as in ye least claime or pretend to any part of ye supreame power & authority of this kingdome, but all along most fully & solemnly declare & professe yt both by ye grace & grant of god, & by ye fundamentall laws & constitutions of this nation it belongs solely & entirely to ye king, & yt ye yt shall assume or usurpe any part of it, are notorious traitors & rebells. & as ye whole letter & matter of ye statute law doth most fully evidence yt ye supreame power of this realme is solely in ye king & not in ye two houses of parliament or in any other person or state whatsoever; so also ye ancient forme & manner in wch all our laws & statutes were enacted, doth most strongly demonstrate ye same; for I find yt till about ye 11th of Henry 6. ye forme of enacting all laws runs wholly in ye kings name, were sayd upon ye advise of ye house of Lords, & upon ye petition of ye house of comons (or in phrases of ye same sense) to comand & ordayne such & such things or to enact, make & stablish such & such laws, all along attributing ye legislative enacting comanding power & act to ye king, & only ye power & right of advising consenting & petitioning to ye two houses, and therefore in ye sense & language of our law & of all approved Lawbooks ye two houses are sayd only legem petere & rogare but ye king only legem ferre et dare, ye doe prepare & dispose ye matter of all laws by their gracious advise & consent; but its he alone yt doth materiam informare by his royall assent. therefore ye king & not ye two houses are stiled anima legis, because it is he alone (and not yem) yt by his supreame legislative authority is yt to ye constituting of our laws, wch ye soule is to ye constituting of ye compositum yt doth animate & informe it & gives it ~~life~~ its strength & motion. hence is it yt ye two houses speake ~~only~~ wholly in ye optative mood, & ye king only in ye imperative. ~~& accordingly~~ & this was ye forme of enacting all our laws before ye 11 of Hen. 6 for from about ye 11th till ye 24 of his reigne I find yt sometimes this old forme, & sometimes the new one yt now obtaines was promiscuously used, but since then this new forme hath comonly beene observed. but yet this I clearly observe ~~& none~~ & none can find any just reason to question it, yt when this new clause of ye authority of ye same was superadded in ye forme of enacting our laws, yt there was yn noe new power & authority superadded to ye two houses, but their right & authoritie was wholly ye same yt it was before when ye enacting forme did run solely in ye kings name & therefore I saw ~~[illegible]~~ yt this must needs be ye plaine sense & english of this additionall clause (of authority of ye same) yt since both ye king & ye established Laws of this realme have conferred an derivative, inferior & subordinate authority upon ye two houses of parliament of advising consenting & petitioning what should be enacted into a law, therefore by this their derivative inferior & subordinate authority ye concurre & joyne with ye kings supreame & independent authority in ye establishing of all Laws, as ye members of ye body (especially ye principall of yem) concurre with ye soule in all its externall acts & motions, upon which account those acts ~~& motions~~ motions are not attributed wholly & solely to ye soul wch is ye principall & proper efficient of yem, but to ye compositum; so also those

Laws are not wholly in our late forme [illegible] is ye king who is ye only sole & supreme officia[illegible] of ym; but to ye parliament wch is ye politicall compositum, yt containes both ye king & ye two houses [illegible] authority of both. & in this sense this additionall clause (of ye authority of ye same) is fully consistent with [ye] fundamentall customes & constitutions of this nation, & with ye judgments & declarations of all approved autho[rs]. by these few short hints, you may easily understand wt discoveries I made out of ye statute law as to ye present controversie. from ye statute law I proceeded to ye comon law; & here besides what I met with out of Glanvill, Britton, & fleta, I advised fully with Bracton, Stamford, ffortescue, Lambard, Co[ke], Cowell, & severall others of ye best account. I found ym all unanimously speaking ye same language, [or] to ye same purpose, yt regall & monarchicall government is ye fundamentall law of this realme, & yt ye kings sole supremacie & prerogative is ye principall part of ye comon law; yt ye king by gods [gift] & his natural right before & without ye consent of ye people in parliament, or otherwise, is fully [illegible] king; & yt hee is a most free monarch, & yt to him solely ye supreme power & government of this kingdome [illegible] & yt all power & authority in it, is from & by him, & yt he neither hath, nor can have, other superior or peer, or judge; yt he is ye head of all politicall strength & motion in this realme, ye principall judge & justiciary & yt all things wch belong to peace or warre, belong to none but to himselfe & his royall dignity, & to him alone it doth appertaine both to govern, judg & protect all sorts & states of people in this nation, yt he only (& not ye two houses) hath soveraignty & majestie, against him alone or upon his account (& not against ye two houses) treason can be comitted; yt all within this kingdome (ye 2 houses not excepted) are his liege subjects & ~~of~~ owe him all humble & faithfull allegiance as to their supreme lord & soveraigne, & are bound with their goods, members, & lives to assist & defend him against all force yt shall be raised against him. in short ye comon law doth fully & wholly avouch yt all in a politicall sense is ye kings & not ye 2 houses, & yt all doth depend on & is derived from him, & not on, or from ym. & therefore all things beare his title & superscription upon ym & not theirs (as I before intimated) & its to ye king alone & not to ye 2 houses yt fealty & homage belongs, its to him alone & not to ym as sitting amongst his peers, yt ye last appeals are made, itis he alone ~~& yt~~ not ym yt either by himselfe or his representatives judges & condemnes all, ~~or~~ & itis he alone (& not ym) yt either executes or dispenseth with ye laws. in short I find ye comon law so exceeding full & plaine in attributing all the [illegible] all po[wer] [illegible] & evidences of sole soveraignty & supremacy to ye king alone yt I canot easily imagine wt any man can desire more, or clearer, for his full satisfaction in this affaire. from ye comon law I proceeded to juridicall reports & determinations, & though I consulted with severall b[ooks] of reports, yet I chiefly perused & made most use of Cooks reports, & Hughs Abridgments (both wch were accounted no great enemies to ye parliament) & I found ym very plaine & positive in all such cases as might have reference for ye deciding ye present controversie, & fully speaking ye same both of ye comon & statute law as I have before declared it. all ~~[illegible]~~ determining in so many [words] viz yt ye king of England is ye only soveraigne & supreme governor of this realme, & yt both his proper right & person are sacrosanct & inviolable, yt he is both caput principium & finis parliamenti yt parliaments were constituted both by & for him, & yt he is ye essentiall head of ~~yt~~ it, & yt ye 2 houses [illegible] & ye three states in ym make up ye body of it. & yt these 2 houses without ye presence of ye king are [illegible] of a parliament, a body without a head, & yt their meetings without his presence [are] no more but a meere bunch [illegible], or at best but conventicles, but no sessions. & yt ye levying of warre, arming of ye people, & defending all force in this realme belongs alone to ye king. & yt to one or both of ye houses of ~~parliament~~ [illegible] never (before our late warrs) layd ye least claime to it, upon yt account. all these ~~[illegible]~~ juridicall reports & resolutions are most full & plaine in ~~[illegible]~~ these & such like cases. I afterwards consulted with ye most approved law books & histories; all wch all along upon occasion did most concordantly assert & vindicate ye same things concerning ye monarchicall forme of our politie, & ye sole supreme power of ye king, ye independent right of his crowne, & of ye subordination of the three states of parliament & of all persons & powers under him, & of ye natural homage & allegiance wch all within this realme (as well members of parliament as any others) owe to ye king. ye also informe us when & how our house of comons & parliament as now constituted had its begining & institution from ye crowne, & for what ends & cau[ses] our kings at first did constitute parliaments, & there enlarge or diminish their power & priviledges. after I had gone thus far in this search, & found both statute law, comon law, juridicall reports & all approved law books & histories most evidently, frequently & unanimously avouching these & many more such like truths (wch must needs fully demonstrate ye unlawfullnesse of ye parliaments warr) I afterwards resolved to see what ye abettors & defendants of yt cause & quarrell could plead or produce for ~~[illegible]~~ ye justifying of it. I read over ye first & second reply to Dr ffern, Burroughs, Vic[ars] & very many others, but especially Prynns Soveraigne power of parliaments in 4 parts, whom I perceive was reputed & confided in as ye chiefe champion of yt partie. and after I had fully [illegible] weighed ym all, there was nothing at all yt I could find or meet with in ym, yt I was not easily able to refute & confute by yt insight I gained by ye former enquirie. for their arguments were either nothing [illegible] falsehoods & forgeries or dangerous principles & opinions fetcht from some pagan or antichristian [authors], or [illegible] perversions of some words or examples either in scripture or humane authors, or els ye [illegible] justly upon ~~ye~~ some irrationall & groundlesse presumption, or upon ye authority of some authors yt were ntly unsound in their politicall tenents & principles. I observed also yt Prynne (who was their compiler) and in 47 48 49 & ever since occasionally, fully & wholly confute & contradicted himselfe in every particular yt had any seeming force or strength to defend yt cause. for after yt god by his most just & wise and signall providence had set yt parliamentary party at bitter contention & opposition amongst yemselves, & suffered Prynne & those yt were of his party & profession to be most sorely & shamefully wounded & broken with those very weapons & opinions wch they had forged or furbished to defend yemselves withall against ye king & his champions: this forced Prynne to throw down his new forged instruments of sedition & rebellion by wch he saw & felt yt both himselfe, his party, & ye whole nation were in an apparent danger to be destroyed; & to run to & make use of ye ancient & approved weapons of our established lawes & customes, & thereby if possible to secure himselfe & his party from those cruell stabs & thrusts, wch ye army (& independents & Anabaptists) ~~put~~ made at ym, by those very weapons, wch he in a severall manner had framed & furnished ym withall; & therefore ye yt please to compare Prynne with Prynne, his ~~severall~~ speeches in 47 48 49 and downewards, his defence of ye house of Lords, of ye rights & liberties of English subjects, his narratives of ye nation & many more such & like discourses & politicall essays, ye shall find yt no lawyer or royalist did or could ~~ever~~ more strongly, evidently, & contradictorily oppose Prynne in 42 43, yn he doth himselfe in 47 48 49 & afterwards; and I am sure yt Prynne hath ~~done~~ asserted, & evidenced infinitely more to undermine & overthrow yt cause, yn ever he did to establish & build it up; though I feare yt was not so much his awakened conscience as gods vindicative providence, & not so much his vertue as his fate yt forced those contradictory truths & evidences from him; but whatsoever was ye principle or occasion of ym I know not, yet this ~~from~~ I am most sure of, yt ye arguments & authorities produced by him, do most fully & plainly demonstrate ye notorious falsehood & unsoundnesse of those wch he endeavoured in 42 43 for ye vindication of the parliaments quarrell. After I had thus fully observed what pitifull & vile shifts ye abettors of yt cause were put to, & upon what weake & rotten foundations it was grounded, in opposition to all plaine scripture, Law, authoritie, reason, & examples, my next step was to informe myselfe of ye true & full historie of ye present case, & of all considerable circumstances & proceedings in & about it, & for yt ~~purpose~~ I perused Heath, Baker, [illegible] [illegible], & many others, but yt wch I most confided to, was ye exact collection of all yt passed betwixt ye king & parliamt in 40 41 42 & 43 authorised by ye house of comons own order. by ye due considering & comparing of wch, I clearly discovered yt ye warr on ye parliamentary party was not merely defensive as was commonly supposed, but most plainly offensive against ye king all along & upon his scaffold after. for ye had in many particulars usurpt ye kings supreme authority, alienated ye hearts & affections of his subjects from him, raised & armed ym against him, possessed ymselves of ye kings militia & navie, levyed warr, fortified townes & garrisons against him, & by force kept him out of Hull, & in these & many such particulars ye had comitted notorious treason & rebellion against ye king, & yt some monthes before he did so much as give out any comission for ye raising of his subjects for his & ye kingdomes necessary defence. & as ye were ye manifest offenders & assaulters in yt quarrell, so I find yt ye [illegible] it without just & sufficient occasion, yea at such time when ye had ye greatest occasion & obligation to ye contrary, yt ever any English subjects enjoyed, for never did any English prince doe or say, promise or protest, give & grant, offer & endeavour so much for ye full ease, satisfaction, safety, liberties, & advantage of his people both as subjects & protestants, as yt gracious king did at yt time when ye broke out into violent contention against him. for he had fully taken away all those grievances wch by many were accounted illegall (yt ye necessities & exigences of state through ye advise of his counsell & judges had occasioned) and delivered up all ye known or suspected instruments & authors of ym (though never so much his creatures & darlings) to severe justice, & made more yn sufficient satisfaction for all those pretended oppressions by those unparallell acts of grace wch he passed for ye subjects ease & benefit, & for ye increase of their liberties & priviledges, & by parting with severall ancient jewells & diadems out of his crowne wch were both ye naturall beauty & safety of it. and as he had fully removed & recompensed all those civill offences, so also by his unexampled favour & condescension he had plucked up ~~ye~~ all ye supposed roots of ym, by taking downe such courts & soveraignty, such powers of his prerogative, as (if abused) might have become occasions or meanes of such like vexations for ye future; & by putting a power & right into his peoples hands both by ye continuance of yt present parliament during their pleasure, & by enabling ym to conveane once triennially at farthermost, & by authorising all judges & ministers of justice to free & preserve ye people from all illegall oppressions & other upon their persons or estates though occasioned by any pretended authority from ye king, & by giving away right & power though in never such urgent extremities to raise any revenue from his subjects or presse any souldiers without their consent in parliamt. & as yt gracious & condescending prince had in these & many such particulars taken all just occasions of offence in temporalls & given ym most abundant occasion of ye contrary & had done more to ease, satisfy, oblige & rejoyce his people yn ever was done by or desired from any English prince; so also in spiritualls & ecclesiasticks he consulted, provided & submitted to all possible expedients (yt his oath & conscience would suffer him) for ye full ease & libertie of

tend.

[illegible] consciences, & for ye clipping & pulling ye Bishops wings, & ye pareing of their nailes & claws
whereby ye other had or might ~~[illegible]~~ wound ye hearts & consciences of scrupulous christians, & for ye further
increase & encouragement of ye protestant religion & for ye utter distinction & extirpation of popery
in short for manyfold, so precious & so unparallel wonders & offers of grace wch yt most indulgent king did
ye expresse & exhibite for ye full ease liberty & comfort of his subjects both in temporalls & spiritualls
yt certainly wee might have beene ye first & happiest people in ye christian world, had not our misplaced
the exasperations & uncharitable jealousies prevented us of such a blessing, & thrown us downe
from ye very hight of civill & ecclesiasticall happinesse into ye very depth of direfull woes & miseries
further I observed by ye historie of those proceedings yt as yt warr was undertaken without just
sufficient occasion, so also for unjust & unlawfull ends, & managed in a most unjust & unlawfull manner
both wch I ~~[illegible]~~ could abundantly demonstrate but yt I feare to be over tedious & beyond ye measure of this
paper essay. besides I observed yt after god by his vindicative providence had ~~[illegible]~~ made use of ye rebellious
fury & rage of yt parliamentary partie, for ye punishing & chastising of yt profane partie yt adhered
to ye king (whose debauched principles & practises made ym ripe for such a judgment) yt ye ~~god~~
did manifest most ~~[illegible]~~ signall evidences of his grievous displeasure against yt parliamentary partie
for those their ~~[illegible]~~ rebellious attempts & practises, & such as were most plainly parallel to ye ~~[illegible]~~ repre-
sentatione of those grievous miscarriages ye were guilty of in yt undertaking, so yt he yt is not quite
blinded by prejudice & partiality may see their crimes in yt ~~attempt~~ opposition written by gods hand
upon their crosses in most large & legible characters, so yt as yt had beene their miscarriage in 41 42
was their miserie & ruine in ~~[illegible]~~ 45 46 47 48 49 & afterwards. for ye yt will heedfully trace ye foot-
steps of divine providence in this nation since 40 to this very time, ~~[illegible]~~ ye may easily all along discerne
most numerous & cogent evidences of gods dislike of, & displeasure against those contentious persons
but I dare not expatiate any further, by this generall relation you may easily understand both
what way I tooke in this affaire for my full & firme satisfaction, & also what discoveries I made in
steps of ~~[illegible]~~ my way for yt purpose. after I had taken this long journey & sat downe with myselfe
to compare & compute ~~my~~ evidences I had met with all along in this my walke I was at last
so abundantly convinced of ye totall unlawfullnesse of ye parliamentary opposition, yt I could not tell
wt other I myselfe, or any rationall enquirer could desire or imagine more for his full & finall
satisfaction in this controversie. for all manner of plaine arguments & evidences both a priori
posteriori concomitante, as well as a natura ~~[illegible]~~ wch did so fully & so strongly convince both this
purpose yt though I most willingly would have scrupled or suspected ye truth of what I had
discovered, yet ye evidences were both so manifold, so cleare & so unexceptionable, & ye arguments
on ye contrary had so very few & imperfect, & so apparently weake & unsound, so yt though I were
be dubious yet I could not. and I hope yt if either you yourselfe, or any other will take ye like paines
& follow me step by step ye cannot possiblely misse of conviction in this case. but after I had gone
thus far & with this good successe, yet there was an stumbling blocke yt still did lye in my way
wch was occasioned by ye compliance of ye generality of sober christians & ministers in yt contest
& this all along had beene ~~had been an thorne~~ an thorne in my foot, wch when I came seriously to
view & search into, I hope by gods assistance I got it safely & soundly out. it would be too long to
suggest all ye considerations yt gave me full satisfaction against this scruple. but in short if you
please to reflect upon ye case betwixt ye king & parliament as it was generally stated & apprehended
may from thence meet with a safe salvo ~~from~~ for this doubt. for in plaine English ye question was
propounded to ye people ~~will you~~ whether will you take part with ye faithfull patriots & deare members
in parliament wch you have such singular esteeme & affection for both for their piety, prudence & fidelity
and of ye same partie & profession, & of ye same principles & interests with yourselves, & wch by their eminent care
& zeale for you, have eased both ye purses & consciences of so many bitter grievances, & obtained so many
& so precious priviledges for you both in temporalls & spiritualls, & wch have ieoparded their lives
& estates for yr interests, & wch are attempting & endeavouring ye accomplishment of all ye glorious de-
signes & wch have also ye equall if not ye greater part of ye supreme authority of ye kingdome
& ye kings virtuall power & presence with ym & whom you have solemnly sworne by ye protestation
~~[illegible]~~ defend & adhere to. or will you against ye oath interests & principles shamefully desert & [illegible]
ym & take part with ye ~~king~~ seduced king & his profane papisticall & tyrannicall partie against
ye owne principles interest & religion, to ye endangering & destroying of what soever is deare to you
other as subjects protestants or nonconformists. ye case in truth being thus commonly represented
& beleeved by ye generalitie of christians as well ~~as~~ ministers as people, at yt time, who could imagine
but yt ye greatest parte of professors without a miracle both of grace & providence would cleave
in these circumstances zealously & affectionately adhere to their admired champions & deare minions
in parliament, against yt royall partie by whom many of ym felt such bitter wounds & smarts from
ye feared utter ruine & destruction. this cleare & short way of stating ye question may put you in
an plaine way of finding an full answer to it. Sr I dare not so far trespasse upon ye patience
at

I cannot undertake the decision of this case, because of my ignorance of the Lawes of the land. And he that is conscious of his ignorance in any one thing wch concerneth the case, canot be confident of his conclusion, because he knoweth not how much that one thing is necessary thereunto.

The great question to be decided as preparatory to the particulars is, Whether the Lawes of the land are the foundation of propriety: Of wch my opinion is, That Dominion (yt is, propriety) is naturally antecedent to civil policie; And yt individuation is the naturall reason of its necessity (for every individuall must have his owne individuall food rayment, place, & consequently provision) And yt acquisition is the title or naturall foundation of it: For as the progenie of a mans body is primarily his (owne) so next the fruit of his industry & labor is his owne; supposing he got it rightfully: And donation & contract are the lawfull translation of propriety from one to another: He yt hath propriety, hath a right of disposall, & so of alienation: And all this is antecedent to policie. Though I grant yt in some cases Lawes may forme propriety (as when God divided the inheritance of the Israelites, & when a politicall body jointly acquireth a dominion, & the Ruler distributeth it by Law). But this I suppose ~~it~~ is not the case of England, nor of many nations: And if it were so about Lands at first, yt is nothing to personall estates, nor to translated right. And though all lands be someway held of ye Crowne, yt is not as the foundation of propriety, but as the foundation of order as to the publique judging of proprietys in controversie. So yt ye Law is but ye Rule by wch controverted proprieties must be judged of in foro civili, & not the title itselfe, or foundation of propriety. || 2o And if yt be so, then where there is no controversie, there ye Law hath nothing to doe. || 3o And so another great Question is decided, whether Right in Conscience be separable from right in Law. For [Right in Law] signifyeth either [Right given by Law], (wch we need not have) or els [Right not taken away, or not otherwise disposed of by Law]. Now if ye Law be supposed to take away naturall right, ordinis gratia, it must be ipso jure, or ex sententia Judicis: The former I think is not to be supposed, because I think (if ye Law were never so expresse) it is but the Rule of judging a controverted Right (juris ut in foro judicandi), & not habendi. And judgment there is none yet past in ye case; And in some cases it is lawfull to prevent controversies & unlawfull claimes, when the issue may be foreseen to be contrary to the primary right. So yt [Right in Conscience] may be distinguished from [right in Law] when the Law neither giveth right nor hath yet taken it away.

The next thing to be foreknowne is, Whether the widdow have no further assurance by her acquaintance with her husband, whether he really intended the nullifying of the written will, than a stranger could gather by the words here recited; For uppon her assurance, or unassuredness of his reall mind & will, I should lay the maine stresse of the controversie. ||

And now I answer the particular cases

Ad 1m. If shee were groundedly perswaded yt ye written Testamt was but forgotten, & was intentionally cancelled, & yt his will was otherwise, then it was not Perjury to her at ye barre of conscience, because 1o shee swore as shee thought, & 2o as ye matter truly was in her sense; especially if shee thought yt the Questioner had ye same sense. But if the sense of ye Court was only whether there were any formall Testamt (really or not really his true will) then it was perjury as to ye judgment of ye Court, her answer was equivocating, if shee knew it; And if shee knew it not shee was guilty of negligence in not enquiring first, & consequently guilty of Perjury, though not perjured: as one is guilty of Murder, yt doth not what he can to save a mans life, though he be not properly a Murderer. Therefore it is a sin to be repented of before God.

Ad 2m. If shee be groundedly satisfyed that yt Testamt was intentionally cancelled & not really his will, & if there be no Law wch I know not of, wch taketh away her right wch shee is confident is by his reall will, then yt Testamt is null in Conscience, & no other person hath a right by it. But if shee have no such grounded satisfaction concerning his reall will; or if any Law which I know not overrule it, not only as a Rule of Judgment, but as a Rule of possession, then the Testamt is in force. And one branch of this must be answered by her owne conscience, & the other by a skillfull Lawyer. ||

Ad 3m. This is a case of meere Prudence: On one side the opening of it may be not only her owne dishonour, but scandalous, & perhaps an occasion of contentions which will not soone be ended: On the other side, if it ever be detected by any other, or by accident, the scandall & trouble will be greater. I answer therefore If (suppose the second Questions solution) shee judge the Testamt really in force, then however shee is bound prudently to helpe all to their due: But if not, shee is not bound to tell Brother or any one of it; but only to tell her Brother that shee perceived it was her husbands will that he should be considered, & so to give him as her conscience telleth her yt her husband intended. And if shee judge the Testament in force in point of conscience, & resolve someway to give all the Legacies, yet it is the foresight of ye consequents yt must determine, whether it be best or not, to open the case to any: If it be most probable yt it will be otherwise knowne, it is best to open it; If not, it is imprudent & unnecessary.

Ad 4m. This must be determined as the second is decided.

Ad 5m. If ye debts be reall, & prudence forbid her to open ye case, the remitting ye debts seemeth to me a conscionable payment: Otherwise not.

I have no more to say but that an able Godly Lawyer is fittest either alone or with a Divine to decide the case, & yt I only cast in this in order to such a decision.

And withall advise her if shee be about marrying to take heed lest the concealement of this case from her intended husband prove a fraud & injury to him, & an occasion of further trouble to her.

Ri: Baxter

Sept. 16. 1669

LETTERS.
fol. 77. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

7 Letters

Reverend Sir

yours of the 20th Novemb: I received the last Month after yt hee who undertooke to deliver it unto me from Mr Tilton had forgotten yt he had received it; where it might have been long enough, except I (desirous to know whether you had answered any thing to mine sent by him to you) had enquired of him whether he had heard from you; then he told me yt you had sent one by him to me; & yt one of mine acquaintance had taken upon him to deliver it; & much marvelled yt I had not received it; whereupon I sent unto him, for yr Letter; & he excused the not sending it to me, because he had forgotten that he had it. I relate this to shew you one of the causes of my slownes in answering but this is not all, for I was about to have answered 14 dayes ago, but yt I differred yt worke of purpose till I should see wt the course would be of the revived Comittee for propagating the Gospell; yt I might acquaint you therewth, & from thence take an opportunity to conferre wth you, of yt wch might bee advisable to insinuat unto them; upon the Circumstances wch should bee found considerable in the resolution wch they should pitch upon. but having Endevoured to learne wt their purpose is; I find nothing setled, but a suspension of all proceedings tacitly yeelded unto; after severall debates amongst themselves wherin they are not come to any materiall Conclusion wt to doe: so that for ought yt I can learne they are in the darke as yet, wt they should intend to doe, where they should beginne & how they should proceed. Truly I am sadly afraid; yt it will bee said of us in end too truly, yt the way of Peace they have not knowen yet let not us bee wearie in well doing; in due time wee may reape if wee faint not; & although here perhaps wee shall never see any fruit of these Endevours & peaceable suggestions; yet surely our iudgment is with the Lord, & our worke with our God. in vain shall wee wait for the salvation of Israel from the hils & from the mountaines; our salvation will come only from the Lord & out of Sion

I hoped with you when I wrote last unto you yt God had put a price into our hand, but I am afraid yt wee shall not bee so happie by any thing of their undertaking, who at present manage public affaires; & indeed my last discourse to you was grounded upon this presupposell yt the parlement would seriously mind the worke & by some directive influence upon some assembly or other, lay some foundation to build up the spirits of believers unto Peace & unity & a professed walking together & owning of Each other in yt whereunto they are come; yt upon such a beginning a further worke of Edification might afterward bee intended. wch you, as I conceive, not taking notice of; have for that cause mistaken my sense in some of my expressions & [illegible] & iudged them inconvenient & unsutable for the worke of Peace; I shall therefore first rectifie some mistakes in this kind; & then tell you my opinion of the advice wch you give; & lastly offer something further to bee considered off between us.

And first concerning the mistakes they runne most upon three heads; first upon yt wch I propose the Magistrat should doe in ratifying yt wch the Assembly of the Godly should agree upon. secondly concerning yt Quest. wch I put first to bee debated & the termes of it; thirdly concerning those yt should bee called to the Consultation.

touching the first you seeme to suppose yt I would have the Magistrat blind fold to ratifie whatever the Assembly of the Godly should agree upon; wch is not at all my meaning; for I clearly prevent this by the manner of proceeding in making the Agreement; for I would have the Parlt men to ioyne with some of the deputies of each partie in the Assembly to draw up the Agreement, so yt they themselves should have a hand in making & contriving the termes of the agreement & in giving their assent thereunto

40

thereunto for I think it not an agreement justly ratifiable by the Parlt. except th Godly Parlt. men deputed to the worke concurre judiciously with the other Godly in the termes of the Agreement: as for the inforcing of the Conclusions of the Assembly by the po of the Magistrat upon dissenters; it never came in my thought yt any such power shou bee given to him, or yt any Assembly should bee called unto whose Conclusions all men should bee obliged to yeeld by force, if they would not do it willingly; the expression I use doth intimat only, yt to encourage those who are to meet under their directive power & influence they would bee pleased to declare, yt they would settle something; by sett here I meane to owne by way of approbation as a Christian, & by way of authoritative protection & Countenance as a Magistrat (yt is by giving furtherance thereunto, & removing the lets & impediments which may obstruct the same) something: w to intimat yt nothing is now owned or setled by them, but yt they are Gallio like care for none of these things as Magistrats. now this something I describe should that wch shall be the unanimous consent of all the Godly: my meaning herein being, yt they also themselves having deputed Godly men of their owne members to the Assembly, they having a hand as before I mentioned, in making the agreement, should ratifie & confirme the same to bee lawfull for them who make it, to walke in it for the mutuall edification & yt it shall not bee free for any to molest or trouble them in by any outward disturbance or interruption given to them in the use of the meanes ther

2 As concerning the Question wch I put first to bee debated; I did not premise it (as you seeme to suppose) because I thought it necessary for the determining of the unity wch we seeke among beleevers; yt was not my meaning at all for I fully consent with you yt the Question concerning the Magistrats power in matters of Religion is quite of another nature then yt wch is belonging to the worke of union amongst beleevers; & therefore whether it bee thought upon first [illegible] or last, by the Assembly of Divines or others; I doe not at all think it materiall as to our maine busines; but the cause wherefore I put it in the front was, because I found it a Question agitated by some of the Committee themselves whereby they did obstruct all other resolutions & proceedings wch the former part (in my judgment as to yt deliberation) were willing to set forewards; therefore finding it an impediment laid in the way of calling an Assembly for uniting beleevers; I thought it might not inconveniently bee made a preliminarie helpe to the worke when by the consent of most of the Godly or of all; the Parlt. should bee informed of their duty about Religious matters. As for your observation & exception against the termes in wch I doe lay downe the Question, I allow of it, & is just, for the grounds wch you give, those scruples wch you mention about the Engagement were not then in my thought whe I wrote that Question; I was wholly possessed with the Imagination of Unity wch I presu might bee in those who should bee called to this consultation: but therin I did not weigh sufficiently the present state of affaires, & the different tempers of parties admittable to yt conference to whom a scruple might bee occasioned in stating the Question as I offer it.

3 The third head of Mistake is concerning the Godly of all parties who should bee called together, to consult of their union together. It seemes to me yt you understand my words (who take the scriptures for a Rule) to bee delivered by me as a description of Godly men; but I meane it not so, for it is no adequat Character of Godlines to take the scripture for a Rule but it is only brought in as a propertie sine qua non; wch you might easily have perceived by the words immediatly following in my discourse; nor would I have the Parl to become any further a Judge of their Godlines, then by this Character, yt seeing they take the scripture for a rule of Faith & Obedience they are not to bee counted grossly ungodly; but chiefly I did alledge this to exclude all who might pretend to bee Godly & yet not owne the scriptures for a Rule; of wch I have knowen some; but these I would have them utterly to exclude. then you seeme to conceive yt I would have all the Godly who count themselves Godly to bee called; but yt is not my meaning, you may see by the more particular description of the persons in their qualifications yt they are to bee deputies from their parties, & therefore such as are knowen to their owne partyes to bee men of Peace & parts whom they may trust; it is therefore neither the Parlt. nor their adversaries, nor they themselves yt are to bee judges of their Godlines; but they who are to depute them & give them their Instructions wt to Act in their name at the Assembly. you say yt men should not bee called to the Assembly to consult as Godly because men differ not in judgment properly as Godly & ungodly, seeing these are principally seated in the wills; I answer yt you mistake the aime of calling them together

to consult

to consult & give advice; it is not to reconcile the Godly & the ungodly, or to consult how yt may bee done; but it was in the aime of the Comittee then to have an Assembly of men of all parties knowen to bee truly Godly, to find out by their meanes & unanimous consent some advice how to propagate the Gospell & reconcile the differences of judgment which make breaches & hinder the edification of the Churches: now because Godly men of all sorts agree in their wills unto the Principles of Godlines & owning the ende jointly will not wholly differ in the meanes & wayes of proceeding to reach yt ende, therefore the comittee seemed inclined to have an Assembly of them to give their joint advice to this effect; & I upon this presupposall yt an Assembly of such men should bee called, did offer my thoughts to you of the manner & way how their proceedings might bee ordered to give the ende for wch they should bee called together: & because you tell me yt you gladly approve of the order wch I set downe, I can but thanke you & rejoyce at your concurrence in judgment with me, because I hope yt if any such assembly at any time shall bee intended to bee called, yt the weight of your Judgment for the ordering of their way will sway much with them.

Hitherto I have spoken of the mistakes for wch I conceive you vary from me in yt wch I proposed; for seing I find nothing materiall in your discourse to me, wherein I find cause to differ from you, but this wherein you take my words otherwise then I meant them, or in reference to another scope then I offer them; therefore I conclude yt in case the Parlt should pitch upon such a joint Assembly, you are agreed with me yt they ought to order their proceedings in such a Method as is offered, to settle a course for unity & for the propagating of the Gospell: Now I shall humbly declare unto you my opinion of yt wch you offer in your discourse to me; wherein you doe not as I did presuppose a designe [illegible], & upon yt presupposall suggest yt wch may make it as farre successfull as may [illegible] but you labour to demonstrat wt the designe should bee & by wt meanes & wayes it should bee compassed; you suppose them willing to have the Gospell propagated by the uniting of Churches & the taking away of schismaticall affections by the reconcilement of differences in Doctrine worship & Discipline, & upon this supposall you make a deduction of the way & demonstrat the meanes by their proportion unto the endes, wch you mention; wch I fully approve of should bee proposed: nor doe I find any thing materiall in your way & meanes wch I could not assent unto, or bee willing to scruple at; but to perswade them yt are in place of supreme power to mind this designe cordially & effectually, either by the meanes wch you offer, or by any other likely course; is a thing yt I can not promise to my self; I am afraid for their sakes yt God hath not set them up for any worke of yt kind & of so glorious & blessed a nature: I wish my feares may bee vain, but I see little appearance to hope yt it will bee otherwise: supposing then yt there can bee no such Assembly had of the 4 parties wch you mention wherein the Questions wch you propose may bee taken into consideration & determined, I will offer unto you the last head of yt wch I purpose to speake of at this time, wch may bee further taken into consideration between us: & that is this.

What should henceforth bee intended by the orthodox Ministers of this & of the Neighbour united nation yt they may bee in a capacitie to propagate the Gospell of Christ comitted to their trust unanimously, as it becometh brethren & fellow servants in the household of Faith & stewards of the Mysteries of God?

By orthodox Ministers I meane such as agree in the fundamentall Doctrine of Faith & obedience necessarie to salvation.

By propagating the Gospell unanimously, I meane a sociable agreement how to hold forth the word of life & observe Christs ordinances of worship & discipline to the building up of their hearers in the unity of the Faith; & how to stand as one man in opposing the gainsayers.

By their being in a capacitie to doe this, I meane some way of maintaining correspondence one with another to that effect sutable to the Communion of saints: yt is, wholly subordinat to their interest in one another in spirituall things.

Of this Quere thus opened, I have much to say, but at this tyme am not at leisure to open my self fully: only I shall leave with you some heads of thoughts till further occasion yt you may digest them with your self, & as you shall think fit impart your self unto me.

I think I may justly Quere, whether the Ministers of the Gospell ought to looke so much to, & expect so much from the Magistrat of this age; as they seeme to doe: wt hath ever yet been found in the designe of any supreame Rulers of the States of the world wch was truly directed to the advancement of the Gospell in a spirituall way: wt have been or are the Principles of their state Government by wch they are ledde to mind the interests the interests of Christs Kingdome? has ever any of them done any thing for him without a further designe by him, or his ordinances, for themselves & their owne Endes? but suppose a State should become truly Christian; & upon yt account bee able to manage the affaires of Church Government in the outward visible profession, as the Kings of Israel had a right to doe in ye Commonwealth; as being types of Christ in his Regall office; suppose I say wee had a Christian Magistrat not only willing authoritatively, but able in the spirit; to order his way without any incroachment upon the conscience of believers, or the priviledges of the Churches; towards the discharge of his trust; would it not yet for all this, become the Ministers of the Gospell to maintaine, upon the account of their trust committed unto them, spirituall Communion one with another?

And if in this trust they are not subordinat unto the Magistrat though never so truly Christian; but only unto Christ, yt his Mysticall Body may bee edified till wee all come to the unity of the Faith & of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man in the measure of the stature of the fulnes of Christ; how can they answer it unto him, if they intend not to maintaine some union one with another, for the perfiting of the Saints in their union?

& if this bee a duty mainly incumbent unto them in respect of their spirituall office, the Question will bee further; wt then in this Juncture of time such as are conscionable ought to intend for the performance therof? & how on their part they may make a tender of their service unto their fellow Labourers for a neerer conjunction of spirits & endeavours then hitherto hath been intended almost by any? And to Answer this Quere let me Quere further thus. What should hinder ministers to correspond together in spirituall things more then merchants of the same Commoditie in Bodily concernments to keep a good correspondencie for the advancement of their trade yt they may not, unadvisedly prejudge one another in making their commodities vendible? I say wt should hinder them from intending & maintaining a correspondencie among themselves to make their worke commendable to all men, & to procure so farre as in them doth lye a free passage to the Gospell in the spirits of all men, by strengthening one anothers hands against common opposits, by walking in the same way of order so farre as they are come, by owning one another for true servants of Christ in yt wherin they are agreed; by removing obstacles & stumbling blockes wch offend the weake out of the way with common consent; & by the entertaining of counsels wch may not only prevent further breaches & distances, but open a way for mutuall edification in Love? I say againe wt should hinder these yt are faithfull to their trust from minding these things by some mutuall correspondencie & communication of thoughts tending to further these designes? if some would beginne to compact themselves together in their severall precincts, & strive to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of Peace; & when they have ripened their worke & brought it practically unto some frame; if they would provoke their neighbours to the like Endeavours & as Brethren correspond with them in carrying on the main worke, wherefore should wee think yt God would not blesse their undertakings with successe. in France where the Church of Christ lives in the midst of her Enemies, & hath been for many yeares like unto the Bush wch burned & was not consumed, the believers & Ministers there have been able to practise this, & God hath therby preserved ym & multiplyed them incredibly. & can not wee who have no enemies but our owne corrupt affections; & who have all libertie to cast our selves in wt frame wee please as to spirituall relations one towards another, doe the same freely wch by a kind of necessitie they have been driven unto lest they should have been devoured by their owne furies; & truly I am afraid yt wee scarse will ever bee sensible of this Duty till some such necessitie drive us unto it, & who knowes but yt then it may bee too late. yet I hope yt God hath this blessing in store for us, because me thinkes I perceive in many a strong bent of sodering & compacting themselves together, & of owning each other in that whereunto they are come, & of bearing one wth another till God give in further light. what you can suggest about this matter I would bee gladde to knowe yt I may have occasion to impart unto you wt further lyes upon my spirit in this kind wch perhaps is not seasonable to utter as yet. in the meane time as a preparative to a further conference about the Subiect of mutuall Edification & reconcilement of differences let me begge a favour of you: I have understood yt you have drawen up a forme of Church Discipline & Government wch the parties of whom wee hoped a meeting might bee obtained could agree in wch might bee offered unto them to facilitat their conjunction; if you have any such Draught in a readines, it would bee no small furtherance unto the designe wee labour in; to impart it unto some who may bee instrumentall to dispose others towards a concurrence with you, when they shall see cause to approove of your proposals; & if I may have a sight therof you shall find mee as readie as any to go along with you & assist you with all cordiall endeavours, as it becommeth in the worke of the Lord

Your faithfull servant & fellow Labourer

John Dury

January. this. 6. 1653.
52.

3/2

Dearly beloved Brother in Christ

I received yours of the 5th of this Moneth the last weeke, with the adioyned papers; & then essayed to conferre with Bp Usher about the things wch you desire his iudgement in, but then hee could not bee at leisure to mind the matter as it deserved; therefore wee agreed yt the next Monday in the afternoone, wch was yesterday wee should meet about it; wee met then & conferred; & in briefe the result was yt wee both think it necessary yt the Holy Ghost should bee acknowledged explicitly to bee God, as yt wch is expressed in Scripture; & so if your words wch you would adde to the Article may with your consent runne thus;

I believe yt God the Holy Ghost the spirit of the Father & the Son was sent from the Father by the Son, to inspire & guide &c. wee think it sufficient without pressing any further.

Then wee find in the protestation wch is after the profession of Faith, as the explication of the Creed; these words.

I do heartily take this one God, for my only God; & my chiefe God.

wee think yt the latter clause of this sentence (viz & my chiefe God) to bee superfluous; & subiect to bee misconstrued by those that deny the Godhead of the Son & of the Holy Ghost in a proper sense; for if hee bee the only God it is cleer yt hee is the chiefe.

these are the words wch I wrote in ye Bps presence as our agreement

I begunne to write this letter after Corll Bridges had been with mee intending to have given you a relation only as from my self but when I came to the words where the inclosing line parts the former part of the discourse from the latter, I stopt & went to the Primate & there I wrote the words after some deliberation with him wch you see distinguished from the rest. I shall take another tyme to let you know more particulars; only this I shall adde yt having taken from Corll Bridges the note wch you wrote to him to shew it to the Bp I moved him yt wee should iointly subscribe yt wee agreed upon as our advice according to your desire in the note; but hee declined it, & said yt hee would never refuse his best advice to any for peace & Unity, but yt hee thought it not fit to appeare much for any new Models; this is all at present wch I can informe you of as being in haste upon some necessary businesse wch I did steppe this morning to satisfie your desire by Corll Bridges; but as I said before I hope to get some leisure to let you know mine owne opinion more circumstantially; but before I doe it, I purpose to conferre with some other Brethren & then you shall have the result of all: I beseech the Lord to prosper your worke & preside over all your wayes & to profite your unitee in & through the spirit of his Son in whom I rest

Your most heartily affectionat
Brother & willing servant in
the Gospell
John Dury

as for the place 1 Joh. 5.7 the Bp is very confident yt it is Canonicall; as finding it in all Ancient Greeke Copies & saith yt in all the MSS of St Hierome the preface to the Catholicall Epistles wch by some malicious art hath been left out in the printed Copies doth mention, yt Hierome found it in all the Ancient Greeke Copies wch hee saw in his time

Westminster
this 22 Febr
1653.
52.

79

For his Reverend &
much Honored Brother
in Christ. Mr Ric: Baxter
preacher of the Gospell

at

Kidermister

Reverend and Loving Brother in Christ. 3/~~4~~3

I have deferred all this while to give you an account of the busines, you intrusted mee withall, partly because it hath pleased God for a certaine time to lay his hand upon mee by way of sicknes which made mee unable to act, as otherwise I would have done; partly because, the Brethren were to bee made acquainted with the busines, could not bee got to meet so often, as was requisite to engage them in a joynt prosecution of our designe; partly because I am appointed for a New Journey into Sweden; which since the recovery of strength from the weaknes under which I have been; hath obliged mee to attend other publick occasions relating to the journey which My Ld Viscount Lisle is shortly to undertake. For which Cause also being desirous that your good designe should bee advanced here, aswell in my absence as in my presence, I have intrusted a faithfull, judicious, godly, and learned Brother, with the keeping and using of them for the advantage of your worke. It is Mr Griffith Minister of the Charter House here in London: Hee is a young man of an Excellent spirit; and good abilities, zealous for the aime of Peace; no wayes engaged in any Party; and well accepted of, by all the Orthodoxe; and I chose him rather then any one of greater age; partly because I am perswaded his zeale, will carry him on to act more freely; then Perhapps some others that are counted more leading men, would doe. Secondly because I find that most of those that are counted leading men are commonly byased, with some particular collaterall businesses, and affections; which clodge the freedom of their spirit in carrying on the worke of this kind; and thirdly Christs saying that New wine must bee put into New bottles, may give us some direction in this matter; to cary it on prudently; namely by making use of those that have not received the savour of any prejudice, and therefore are fittest to cary on a New worke; for such as have drawen blood in the Controversies of the times (though otherwise Godly men) I find are swayed with pre-engagements, and cannot take off their thoughts readily from jealousies, and Partiall designements in the manner of their proceeding abou [illegible] cessary duties. before I was weakned in my strength, and so stopt in my way I did procure a meeting of some Brethren; wherein I acquainted them with so much of your proceeding, as I thought them at first capable of; But since I have not (though I have attempted it once or twice) been able to procure a further meeting. I hope Mr Griffith, (whose Note unto mee I send you herewith inclosed) will bee able to procure it; and by this Note, you will see his acknowledgment of the receipt of your Papers, and his willingnes to correspond with you in the busines; if you will bee pleased by Mr Titon's meanes (with whom hee is very well acquainted) to give him an opportunity so to doe.

2

And now I shall bidde you, farewell, and recommending you, and all yo [illegible] es and workes and chiefly this of a Gospell reconciliation of Brethren, unto the Gr [illegible] I shall desire you, to bee mindfull of mee in your addresses to the throne of Grace; where I make no doubt wee shall meet often, so long as wee are in this tabernacle, to bee earnest with the Prince of Peace, that not onely wee may bee made pertakers of this Covenant of Peace; but that the fruits thereof may bee extended by the free passage of the Gospell; unto all the Endes of the Earth. My busines in Sweden will bee to doe good offices between the Nations, that wee may correspond as Brethren in Publick concernements, for mutuall safetie; and tranquillity; and for the upholding of the Interest of the Protestant Cause; wherein God hath made the Swedish hitherto successfull; and wherein I hope ~~you~~ wee shall Endeavoure also to bee subservient; at least it shall bee the heartie desire of

ves house
9th Aprill
53

Your faithfull & affectionat Brother
& servant in Christ John Dury

I made use of another hand to write wt I did dictate because of the remainder of some infirmitie upon mee for wch I am under Physick & I may without inconvenience dictate though not write much.

80

For his louing & much
Honored Brother in Christ
Mr. Baxter preacher of
the Gospell

at Kederminster
in
Worcester-shire

Mr Dury for peace

3/~~5~~ 4

Reverend & Louing Brother in Christ

although I haue not hitherto, after so long time, answered your last, nor thanked you for the communication of yr booke wch Mr Titon deliuered unto me; yet that hath not proceeded from any forgetfulnes of Duty to you, nor from any neglect of the busines whereof you wrote unto me; but from the want of acceptable matter to acquaint you withall in the successe of the businesse in these parts: for in a word I must tell you yt notwithstanding all my earnest sollicitations of it in this citie, I haue not been able to obtaine one meeting about it amongst our Brethren here; true it is yt some haue seuerall times engaged to meet about it, but they neuer all came together, & such as came not being willing to act without those yt were absent the endeavours haue been ineffectuall: my absence from towne also hath been some cause for a season; why yt I could not bee so constant in the pursuit of the worke, as otherwise my heart would haue persuaded me to bee: & besides this interruption another stoppe is come in the way, wch was yt by the appointment of the Counsell of State I was designed to go for Sweden with my Ld Ambassador Whitelock; & although I am now dispensed withall & excused from going with him; by reason of an indisposition of health wch doth plead for my stay at home; yet the attendance wch I owe him before he bee gone, & the offices wch he expects from me to make way for his better intelligence there; oblige me to neglect other matters for the respect wch is due to his publick employment: I hope hee will bee gone from hence within a few dayes & then I shall bee more free to apply my self to these other thoughts wherin I take more delight then in state concernments. in the meane time let me tell you yt the worke & thoughts of Vnion

amongst

81

amongst Brethren are not wholly laid aſide: but
many in a priuat way are drawen forth in their
affections to mind them; & ſome in publick place of
chief authoritie; are ſetting them on upon the Spirits
of ſuch as are counted the pillars of the parties
diſſenting: & I hope y^{t} God hath his hand in the
worke; & y^{t} the orthodox who do owne the ordi-
nances of Christ, & stand for a Gospell Ministerie
will ſee it neceſsary for them; to profeſse their
unity in y^{t} wherunto they have attained to walke
by one rule, & not to breake all Communion for
their difference in leſser matters. you may bee fully
perſuaded y^{t} I ſhall not bee wanting to any thing
wherin I may bee ſerviable in this aime; & w^{t}
overtures Providence shall give unto me, to act
in my sphere, I shall bee reddie from time to time
to acquaint you therewith as ſucceſse shall appeare
in the meane time let me heare from you to
know w^{t} bleſsing God doth give unto y^{r} proceedings,
& w^{t} you would have me to concurre further in;
as my prayers shall go along with yours, for the
good hand of God with you, ſo you may expect
all faithfull & hearty endevours from

Your affectionat ſervant &
Brother in Christ
John Dury

London
this 27th Octob.
1653.

LETTERS
fol. 82. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

3/8 & 5

Reverend & much Honored Brother

4 ſince my laſt to you I have differred till now yt I am
ſtraitned in time; becauſe I am reddie to bee gone from hence
beyond the Seas againe upon the former deſigne of Reconci-
ling the Churches, whereunto beſides the engagement of mine owne //
affection wch is devoted unto the worke I have great Encourage-
ments from abroad by way of invitation; & ſuch ſupport from //
hence as I my ſelf do deſire; but the inducements are chiefly
two: firſt wee have certainly concluded the Peace with the
united Provinces; & their concurrence will not bee wanting
in the worke. Secondly wee are at home in a faire way of
compoſing differences amongſt our ſelves, for not only thoſe yt
are in Authority do indevour it & heartily mind the wayes
thereof; but at my Earneſt ſollicitation the Miniſters of both
ſides viz. the chief leading men of the Independent & Presby- //
terian Brethren have had ſeverall conſiderable meetings
wherin the way of making up their Breaches, & of walking
together in Unity as Brethren hath been laid to heart, & at
laſt five of each ſide have been deputed, to whom the future
proceedings & preparatives of a full agreement are referred.
theſe are Mr Marſhall, Mr Calamy, Mr Aſh, Mr Manton & Mr
Vines on the one; & Mr Caryll, Mr Nye, Mr Sympſon, Mr
Slater & Mr Carter on the other ſide; who have mette & ſet
themſelves in a courſe to proceed which I hope will produce
ſome bleſſed effect; nor doe I think it needfull for me to
ſtay any longer in theſe parts to attend this deſigne ſeeing the
wheele is going, & I hope nothing will henceforth hinder it.
our forrein & Domeſtic agreements then wch God hath thus
farre advanced induce me to renew my attempts abroad upon
ſome ſeaſonable invitations; & to inable me to deale ſomewt
more effectually then I could do in time paſt, I have both
ſupport & countenance from the State; & from the Univerſities
& from the chief Miniſters of the Citie & parts adiacent I
have a Declaration ſuch as I framed my ſelf, wherin they
owne me in the worke & authorize me to ſpeake in their
name yt wch may conduce to the furthering thereof; & now I
am even upon the wing to bee gone becauſe all is reddie,
& a faire opportunitie offered to tranſport my ſelf hence
into the Low Countries. Thus I have given you in ſome haſte
a brief account of my preſent intendments: I ſhall now adde
a word or two concerning that wch in yr laſt to me was
mentioned about the ſinging of pſalmes; I find yt in ſome
of the London Churches the Liberty is taken to ſing other
pſalmes

pſalmes then thoſe wch commonly are in uſe; & the way is taken by cauſing the reader to read & dictate diſtinctly the words wch the Congregation is to ſing; & thus in ſome places Bartons paraphraſe is made uſe of; in other places the New England pſalmes are made uſe of, & ſome there are who at ſome times by their reader propoſe a pſalme of one & ſome tymes of another tranſlation; ſo yt they bind not themſelves to any one conſtantly but take the Chiefeſt out of every one; & although for mine owne part I would not prejudge any mans & Churches Liberty in this; yet I could wish yt there might bee a mutuall agreement in the matter; it is certain yt the ordinary pſalmes are the weakeſt of all the Tranſlations yt are extant almoſt in any language; except it bee in the Lowe dutch; therefore I could aſſent unto the preferring of any other before it; only the ſudden Change is to bee avoided, & I think it ought to bee with ſome preparation of the minds of the people & with the conſent of the Brethren in Aſſociation; who may recommend to their Congregations firſt for private uſe the pſalmes wch they ſhall agree to introduce in publick; yt the Children in the Godly families may get them by heart; & when this hath been done for a certain ſpace the publick introduction will bee eaſie; & this is all yt for the preſent I can ſuggeſt; except you would think of a way to move thoſe who are to meet ſhortly about a fundamentall Confeſſion yt they would recommend unto the Churches a better tranſlation of the Pſalmes then yt wch is in Common uſe.

I beſeech you continue in yr prayers for me & for the worke of Unity among Proteſtants; the buſines is not without ſome hazard together with trouble; but I can feare nothing in a thing ſo ſuitable to the will of God. the Grace of God bee with you & proſper all yr Holy endeavours to his Glory in whom I reſt

James houſe
Aprill 2. 1659

Yr faithfull ſervant
John Dury

I have ſent you ſome
papers herewith wch will
let you ſee the ſubiects wch I must ſet
my thoughts upon abroad. wch I pray you
also to mind at home yt wee may have in
due time the aſſiſtance of yr advice thereon.

3

Letters

Reuerend Sir · 3/6

The letter wherin yow haue expressed your zeale for the public weelfare of Christs Church in this Nation, & your particular affection towards my self, 5 was written by yow. when I was in Sueden; for on the 7th of May when yow dated it; I was then landed within a dayes iourney of Stockholme. yow will therfore not impute my delay in answering; to any slacknes in my desire to entertaine the motion which yow make; for I know none yt could haue been more acceptable; & although instantly upon my returne hither. wch was not long ago, I haue not giuen yow any returne; yet it hath alwayes been in mine eye to conferre with yow upon the subiect wch yow propose, as soone as I should be free from other pressing matters, wch are the Consequents of my late employment; wch now are almost dispatched, & I hope to be henceforth free from the distractions wch commonly attend ym, & so more free to attend other thoughts.

When yow wrote yours, there was a Committee a foot for the propagating of the Gospell, & before my iourney into Sweden I did ioyne with others to offer some propositions to that Committee; now I find the same Comittee is reuiued, & it is now seasonable to agitat something about this subiect in a public way. Let us therfore follow the Counsell of the Preacher Eccles: 11. 6. In the morning sow thy seed. & in the euening withold not thine hand; for thow knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that; or whether they both shall be alike good. I shall not contradict that wch yow offer, concerning the Cause & Cure of our miserable distractions: it is too manifest, that all partyes haue trusted to their strength, and made use of their outward aduantages, to set themselues aboue others in the practise of their way; & haue not endeuoured to gaine their dissenting Brethren by loue & the manifestation of the truth unto their Consciences; unto a Complyance or a Concurrence wth them in their way of discipline and worship. I confesse also yt so long as the way of discipline & worship is not agreed upon amongst the professors; but that seuerall parties runne seuerall courses, our distractions will neuer come to an ende, but scandales will bee

multiplied

multiplied: therfore I conceiue there will be a necessitie of determining this matter; but how to bring it to an issue; hoc opus, hic labor est. The way wch yow propose to haue some few (4 of each of the 4 dissenting partyes) so qualified as you describe them: & so set a worke as you cut out taskes for them; I wish may be liked; but to make it effectuall, many more thinges must come into Consideration; wch I am willing to conferre with yow about, yt if happily wee may ripen these thoughts between us, they may be offered in due time unto others, who are in place, or who may be employed; to make use of them.

yesterday the reuiued Committee did sit, but I could not be there, I was called to another necessarie employment, wch could not be dispensed withall; but I heard the Result of the deliberation between them & the Ministers that met with them. was this, yt the Committee desired the Ministers against the next meeting wch is to bee the next weeke to giue in their aduice, concerning the way of calling together some, who should consult of the way how to proceed towards the Reconcilement of differences, & the propagating of the Gospell: I was told by one who was there present, yt my Ld Generall made a proposall much to the same effect wch you mention in your letter to me; onely that he would haue more taken in then the 4 partyes wch you mention viz. all such as are Counted Godly, though not of any of these partyes: But how this can be done with any hope of successe I know not; & how to exclude any that may bee Counted Godly I cannot well fancie neither: for if any that take the holy Scriptures for a Rule be excluded when they are willing to Concurre in so good a worke to further it, this will be a great preiudice against their determinations whatsoeuer they may bee: nor do I think yt the House will euer ratifie such a way of proceeding, wch will seeme in the first motion partiall; & distant from the freedome wch all that are truly Godly may claime unto; for why (will they say) should any Godlie partie be excluded

excluded from the Counsells of Peace & unitie & mutuall edification in love, wch may be gathered from the word of God? hath God revealed his Counsell, onely to some of the Godly & not unto all? & why should wee suppose that the Godly of these 4 opinions are more to be hearkened unto then others? & if wee intend to propagate the Gospell in the puritie therof, & in the way of Righteousnes to setle the profession & owne it authoritatively; why should it not be done most impartially? to this truly I know not well what should be answered; except it be this; yt because these 4 parties have some what within their Principles & in their way, wherin they come nearer one to another, then the Godly of other parties doe; & yt therfore they are more likely to compose their owne differences sooner, then if they be ioyned with others, yt this may be a iust ground to have them to meet first, & see wt they can agree upon; yt when they shall have done that wch God shall direct them to doe; then the meeting may be continued wth others by certaine degrees, according as they shall be found in Principles lesse or further distant, so that all the Godly who take the Scriptures for a Rule (for I suppose this Principle will be Granted, yt none is to be Counted Godly who doth not intend to order his way by Gods word; or who doth not take the testimonie of Jesus, as it is in the Scriptures to be Gods word) will be admitted in an orderly and graduall way to have the freedome of giving their advice, although not all at one time. And if this answer will not serve to carry the Consultation this way, I know not what will doe it; for to tell them yt these 4 parties will bring in the maine Body of the Nations & yt the rest are but inconsiderable; they will tell us yt heerin wee follow not the rule of Christianitie but of state Policie, & yt wee ought not in such a busines to Consult wth flesh & blood: & although perhaps some of them may have nothing else, but a politicall aime in the whole busines; & for such an ende would have all that are Counted Godly to bee taken in at once, as supposing it an impossibilitie, yt so many

& so greatly differing in Principles, should ever come to any agreement in any one way, or to any regular transaction to beare with one another, without Clashing in their different wayes; yet I think it not altogether impossible to bring this about, if two thinges may be obtained; first. that the Par^{lt} will but declare a reall & full resolution to owne the worke, so, as to oblige themselues to settle something viz: y^{t} wch shall be found the unanimous Consent of all the Godly. Secondly, that they will for the drawing forth of this Consent order the manner both of their meeting & of their Conferring together so, as may be most sutable to the designe of an agreement & least obnoxious to endles debates, to partiall engagements, & to humane iealousies of temporall disadvantages, if these two thinges may be obtained, wch are neither impossible nor unreasonable. I conceive the meeting of all that are Godly, though very many & very farre distant in Principles; may become effectuall to the ende for wch it is desired. But if the Par^{lt} will not seeme to owne the busines further then to appoint a Committee to heare what every party doth offer, & so to discover w^{t} the distances & differences of parties are, it might be suspected (though I will not suggest nor take up any such thought of our Rulers, whom God hath hitherto ledde in a wonderfull way for his Glory) y^{t} this were done only in Politie, to see the weaknes of all sides, & so to keepe them at oddes, according to y^{t} Craftie maxime, Diuide et Impera. But I really hope & beleeue (whatever may be thought of some particular men) that the House doth uprightly intend and seeke the true way of propagating the Gospell; & being Confident of this, I think my self bound, to suggest upon the Grounds wch they giue; such aduices as are most expedient to accomplish their & our desires. Therfore let us suppose their desire to be, to haue all the Godly of all parties taken in at once; into the same Conference, & let us see the possibility of doing it so, as may produce some effect of unitie & concurrence in them; towards the propagating of the Gospell. I say

let us

let us forecast, how it may be poſsible to bring them all to a Consultation; & how that Consultation may be so ordered as to produce the effect wished for. If then all that are godly should be admitted to this Conference, first I think the Parlt should owne the busineſs so farre as to take the directiue power of the worke upon them; & then Secondly to establish by the Countenance of their Authority, yt wch shall be the Result of their agreement, so farre as they shall iudge it tend to peace & edification. as for the directiue part of the Conference; what if it should preſcribe theſe following Rules 1st yt all parties owning the Scriptures to be Gods word, & the only Rule of life & doctrine, should depute in their name two, three, or foure, or more to conferre with others about that wch the Parlament shall offer unto them to be thought upon: 2 yt theſe Deputies should be rationall, pious, moderat, Prudent men; not engaged in any particular Controuerſie; or if engaged, they shall be obliged, to declare & protest, yt they will lay the thoughts therof aside. & lastly if with theſe qualifications they can be such; as alſo haue learning and reading, it will be no worſe, but the want of this last abilitie shall be no barre to their deputation. 3 That the ende of the meeting shall be, not to diſpute and debate, but to declare & Conſult. 4 That the subiect of their Consultation shall be to determine this question; what the Parlt as the supreme Authoritie of the three Nations, ought to doe in their place, for the propagating of the Gospell; & may doe Prudentially to remoue the scandalls, wch are broken forth, in the public profeſsion therof. 5 That to find an anſwer to this question; they shall meet at least once a weeke, to Conferre upon the matter, and to suggest to each other their thoughts; wch each partie may before hand digest by themſelues into Certaine brief Aphoriſmes, & giuen up in writing to one who shall be Choſen as the Collector of their Results or

the

the Scribe of their agreements. 6. That at their meetings they shall beginne with prayer, which by Turnes shall be put up unto God by the Deputies of each partie. 7. That after prayer the Aphorismes, wch each partie shall suggest, as matters of aduice upon the question shall be read, and if any thing be found obscure therin, it shall be explained and enlarged by the partie which doth offer it, in Case any of the other parties doe desire any thing to be made cleare unto them: this explanation shall be drawen forth by a question, & not by any Contradictory objection wch may engage into a dispute. 8. That the explanations shall be with the Aphorismes put to paper, & communicated to some, whom the Parlt shall appoint for that worke, to gather the Harmonie and agreement out of them all. 9. That these who shall collect the agreement, shall be one of euery partie, with some one or two Parlament men to helpe them in that designe. 10. That the whole agreement wch shall be found upon the first Question being Collected, it shall be offered to all the deputies to bee confirmed & subscribed, yt so it may be presented in their name to the Parlament. 11. When this 1st question is answered, a second may be proposed unto them, namely this. What their agreement is in matter of Doctrine, of worship & of discipline. 12. And to draw forth an answer to this question, each partie should be ordered to proceed as before, declaring Aphoristically their sense of the agreement wch is between themselues & others; yt when all that can be gathered from themselues of their agreements is collected, it may be gathered into a summe by some who may be comitted to that worke. 13. When this question is answered, & the agreement therin gathered, & confirmed by the parties owning the same as the first answer was, then a third sort of questions may be offered unto them Concerning their differences, which may be these: What the maine

points

maine points of differences are between them in Doctrine, worship and discipline? Whether these differences may not be reconciled yea or no? if yea; how and by what meanes? if no; whether there ought not to be a mutuall forbearance and toleration of Each other in loue as Brethren; notwithstanding the differences emergent between them; And if such a Toleration ought to bee agreed upon according to the word; the last question should be how to auoide scandales, and aduance mutuall edification; in yt wherunto wee are come, & how the same may & ought to be setled under Rules? & what these Rules are, wherunto each partie are willing to bind themselues? If these questions according to this Method of Conferring, could be determined by the Godly of all parties, who professing to seek peace & holines, should meet under the directiue power of the Magistrate; and if the Magistrate would be pleased by his directiue influence upon their meeting, to order their proceedings in this way; I make no doubt but the attempt would come to a good issue; & he would by the Result of the unanimous declarations of all the Godly in the land; be able to know what ought to be setled, & how farre his Authoritie should Concurre therin: for the aduancement of Gods Glory, & the remouing of scandales and diuisions. And if besides the determination of all these questions; they could be ordered to declare to each other, what their sense is in fundamentalls, both in doctrine & practise? & how farre such as propagate errors, destructiue to the fundamentalls may be repressed; & by what meanes & way that ought to be done? I suppose they might at last be Consulted withall Concerning the Peacable way of propagating sauing Truths both to Jewes and Gentiles; and if God would blesse their thoughts, so as to come to an agreement therin; then wth one shoulder, they might all Concurre

to serue

to serue him.

These Proposalls I make unto you, y^{t} they may be examined by you & y^{t} you may impart your opinion thereof unto me; y^{t} if the matter be wthout exception; & if the good inclinations of the Par^{lt} to doe something for the Kingdome of Christ, may be leade into such a Channell of acting & of setting others a worke; something may be at last attempted, and the issue therof committed to Gods Providence. To whose loue in Christ I commend yow and rest

Westminster this 29
of October 1652

Your louing & affectionate
Brother in the Gospell
Joh: Durie

P. scr.

I begunne to write this the last weeke on thursday the day after the first sitting of the renued Comittee but was variously interrupted before I could bring these thoughts thus to paper: & whiles my man was set a worke to transcribe this the Comittee met this weeke the second time, but they only conferred amongst themselves about the order of their proceeding & w^{t} they have determined is not as yet knowen to me, who am

Y^{r} servant in Christ
J. Durie

To his Reverend & Honored Brother in Christ M^{r}
Richard Baxter Preacher of the Gospell
at Kederminster in Worcestershire

For the Reverend Mr Dury
Present this

Sr

The papers you sent, I receiv'd. I desyre only you yourselfe would (by letter) acquaint Mr Baxter with it. I am unknowne to him, & so shall not know how (without your making way) to correspond with him. If hee bee willing, & shall judge mee worthy of his bestowing a line upon, I shall readily answere it, & (pro modulo, si non pro voto) indeavour to serve him, & to serve the Peace o'the churches of Jesus Christe in him. That mistake you would, I should, I shall (God willing) rectify, & tell the Fathers & Brethren there present (at least singulatim) how it was a mistake in his pen, that writ, & not at all to bee imputed to him, that did dictate. If I can gett a Meeting in order to accommodation, I will, the union of Brethren being deare to

Sr
your servt in the Ld
G Griffithes

Chart: House
7th o'the 2d Month
1653

Mr Griffith
1653
2. Month

Reverend Sr

~~3/7~~

I gladly Received yor lines wch were pleadinge welcome to me, for ye sweete name of Unity & Peace (& of such a Peace maker) but most for ye hope wch they intimate yt yet we may have a prize putt into our hands for ye obtaining of such an unvaluable Blessing. And O yt it were in my power to contribute any thing to so happy a worke! were it but as much as in ye heate & Ignorance of my youth I have done agt it. I am in hope yt God hath not brought yu hither in vaine: but yt ye wch yor Brethren ye sons of Peace shall enjoy ye Prize, wch all ye sons of Contention have hitherto mist of: Yet I hope yt God of Mercy who takes them for wt they are & not wt they have bin, will vouchsafe to enumerate us who thirst for Unity, wch tho Infants Lambes & Doves, tho: we have bin formerly sons of ye coale: for we know not wt we did nor wt spirit we were of. || I shall to ye Desireable end, take ye freedome wch ye Brotherly offer me, in giving yu my thoughts on these yor proposalls. Three things are here in Qn. 1o Who should be ye persons imployed in ye Consultation. 2o Wt ye subject of ye consultation should be. 3o In wt Order ye worke should be managed. I conceive yt ye 1st of these will be best handled last, (tho: in ye Execution it must be one of ye first) bec we shall have more light to judge who shall be ye persons, wn we have 1st considered wt must be ye worke. I will therefore begin wth ye 2d Qn. And 1st its Evident yt ye Ends must be first Determined of, & from thence we must be Directed to or choyce of ye meanes. The Remote ends (Gods glory & ye flourishing of ye Ch: & spreading of ye Gospell) are presupposed. Our neerest Ends are, 1o ye Uniting of Disagreeing divided Beleivers: 2o yt Gods Cause & worke may have ye utmost furtherance also from ye Soveraigne Power. For ye first of these, it must be divided according to ye severall sortes of Unity wch we are to seeke after; wch are 1o Union of particular Chs. 2o Unity in ye Association of many Chs in ye same Nation, or Under ye same Soveraigne Magisteriall power. 3o Unity between ye Associated Chs of severall Nations; or under ~~ye same Soveraigne~~ severall Powers. These must be Necessarily handled Distinctly, & in ye Order thus laid downe. (As for ye of Union of hearts, it will be conceived so farr as will pertaine to or present Consultation.) ye being yn ye first neerest End to be sought by us [The uniting of Disjoyned brethren into particular Chs yt they may there unanimously & orderly worshipp God, & help each other who now cannot joyne in one Ch: as fellow-members, nor in ye same Acts of Worshipp] I conceive ye End Directeth us to ye subject of ye first Q: to be Debated. viz. In Generall Wt meanes are to be used to Accomplish ye Union: wch meanes will quickly be Discerned to lye in ye Resolving of these particular subordinate Qus. 1o Wherin ye severall parties in Consultation are agreed in matters Necessary to Ch: Union: both Doctrine, Worshipp & Governmt. Where yt of Doctrine needs to be spoake to but briefly wr ye Disagreemt is but small, or none (as among ye 4 parties yt I mentioned among us.) And how ye agreemts should be drawne up to ye fullest, & wch grt skill. 2o Qn Whether upon those agreed grounds, these parties may not lovingly & joyntly worshipp God in Ordinary Communion, as members of one particular visible Ch:? Those yt conclude for ye Affirmative, need not at all here (for other Ends, as Agreeing in Judgmt & fuller Information etc it may be done better at another time, & is none of ye end of ye meeting.) But those yt deny Consent to have Communion on those agreemts (as none of ye most agreemts, but) those particulars (in Doctrine, Discipline or Worship) wch as wanting or Redundant do necessitate yu to deny Communion wth ye Brethren in such particular Church-fellowship: And yt must be ye 3d Qn wt those are: ye 4th Q must yn be, How farr ye rest may yeild to ye desires of those Dissenting Brethren, about those particulars, by an Alteration of yr owne practices in ye pts offending without wronging ye Ch: or yr owne Consciences. And ye 5th Qn must be, Wt Expedient may be found & agreed on, either by brotherly forbearance & toleration of Different Judgmts & Practices, or otherwise, for a loving Continuance of as many Dissenters as may be, in ye Communion of ye Ch: tho they can't meete in all pts of Judgmt or Practice? So much may suffice to ye 1st End [Of particular Church-union] || The 2d Qn must be Necessarily subdivided: 1o Qn Wt meanes to use for ye Associating of those Chs yt can agree in particular Ch. communion, or yt greatest part of yt number yt can so Communicate yt hereby ye Chs may be strengthened, & Gods worke more unanimously carried on, & ye unity of Beleivers, & yr Accord in all the things of God, may be extended as farr as may be. 2d Q must be, How farr those Chs yt so farr differ as yt yr Members cannot Communicate wth ye Rest in particular-Ch: fellowship, may yet Associate wth ye other Chs for ye unity of ye whole, & ye attaining of ye comon Ends of Association. And here must be severall Qns in Order: 1o Whether they will acknowledge each other for ye true Chs of Xt: i.e. true particular Politicall Chs? 2o If they do so, yn Whether they will hold Constant Associations & meetings wth yn (by yr officers) for ye maintaining of Brotherly Love & Unity & avoiding ye Jealousyes & Divisions yt arise by estrangmts & for ye more Vigorous & unanimous Carrying on Gods worke so farr as they are agreed? 3o If they deny ye others to be true Politicall Chs, yn Whether they acknowledge yn to be Xn Chs & members of ye Universall Visible Ch:? If not, there is no talke of further accomodation. If they do, yn Q. 4th must be Whether they will Associate wth yn as such, & hold yr meetings by yr officers for ye Ends aforesd || 5o Q Wt Rules shall be agreed on joyntly among such, for ye Avoiding of Contentions, or mutuall Injuries, both in each others Assemblyes, & Carriages, & writings, & for maintaining as much Xn Love & Concord as yr Differences will permitt. So much suffice for ye 2d maine End, about Unity of severall Churches. || 88 For ye 3d End Unity of ye Chs of severall Nations

1° Yrs must know wt is to be Endeavoured, 2° By wt meanes. 1° It is not a Popish Politicall union, as if ye Universall Republiq must have an Earthly visible Soveraigne: But it is ye fraternall Association of the Sev Chs for Concord & Unity in ye things of God; as many Corporations wch Constitute one Republiq, wof Jesus is ye head. And 2° ye Extent is not to be all over ye world (wch is Impossible) but as farr as nature affordeth us Ability & Opportunity for Converse; yt is, As farr as is possible. 2°. ffor ye meanes; It is either wthout ye helpe of ye Soveraigne Powers (& yn it must be by a Voluntary Councell) Or 2° wth yr helpe; & yn they will Call ye Councill, & Direct, or Limit ym, as they are yr subjects. But ys (tho: a most Desirable worke) I will say nothing of Now (only if it were in Consultation it must be followed by ye same Order & Questns as was mentioned in ye last Case about Unity of Associated Chs.) 1° Bec it will not be done wth any gt likelihood of Advantage except ye Soveraigntys of every severall Comonwealth, are ye first moved: Nor is it likely yt all powers will Concurr ye doing it wthout ym. 2° Bec if we can well do ye worke at home, there will be time enough afterward to looke after ys. 3° Bec yorself being so long a Practioner in yt Blessed worke, I will not presume to thinke yt I can add to wt yu know. // So much for ye first maine End, & pt of ye subject of ye Consultation. // The 2d pt of yt subject is [wt ye Soveraigne powers, as men fearing & obeying God, should do on yr pts for ye Good of ye Chs & Propagation of ye Xtian Religion?] And for my pt I conceive ys (tho: a very needfull Qn to be Resolved, yet) so much Differt from ye Nature of ye former, yt it is Indiffert whether it be done by ye same Assembly, or by of ym, or by another psons whose Judgmt ye Soveraignty most esteemes. It may well be done by ye same men yt is, ye unanimous better pt of ym: (but not by all:) But yn ye Assembly changeth its Nature on ye change of its worke; wch is specifyed from its End. Wn ye pfessed worke is well done, ye maine is done yt I looke at; & yt wch is pper to [an Assembly for Unity & Accomodation] (But of ye psons Anon) This Qn also must be more Distinctly handled. 1° If it be Demaunded wt ye Soveraignty should do [to ye Uniting of a Divided People in Religion] Antecedently to ye Consultation of ye Divines (or Brethren?) Then ye Answer will be, yt [They must call such an Assembly to Consult, & charge yr Duty on ym (as Constantine did) & hold ym to it, & helpe ym in it.] But ys is psupposed, & will be none of ye Qns putt to ye Assembly. ffor wn an Assembly is called, there is no need to Advise ym to call it. 2° If ye Qn be, wt is ye Magistrates duty in ye Right Ordering yt Assembly? They may quickly take advice; either of ye Assembly itself, or wm they thinke meetest. 3° If ye Qn be (consequently to yr Conclusions) wt ye Magistrate should do in enforcing wt they agree on, uppon Dissenters, yt must needs psuppose ye Agreemts & Conclusions of yt Assembly. 4° If ye Qn be, what is ye Magistrates Power in Matter of Religion in ye Generall? I do not thinke yt a Qn fitt for yt mixt Assembly (of wch more anon.) So much of ye first pt [The subject of ye Consultation] Now for ye 2d [The Ordering of it] I gladly approve of ye Order wch yu lay downe, for ye manner of Managing it: & shall say no more to it. Only (yt I may here freely tell yu my thoughts) 1° I would not have any Motion to ye Soveraigne power, to Consent to & Establish ye Result of ye Consultations, before they know wt they are: Bec all men are fallible; & they must as Immediately obey God, & be Ruled by his Word as we: 2° I much mislike yor first Qn (as to ye subject of ye Consultation) Something for ye former; But chiefly for ye Order. 1° I do not Conceive how it is possible for ye Assembly to give Advice to ye Soveraignty, for ye foresd Endes, before they have ymselves debated them, & found how farr they can agree, & who they be yt will agree. They canot Advise ye Magistrate how farr he may Discountenance Dissenters, before they have tryed who they be, & in wt pts ye Dissent will Rest. Nor how he may Establish ye Result of yr Consultations, before it be knowne wt yt will be. No nor how to Propagate ye Gospell in Generall, till they have Endeavoured ye Unity among ymselves wch may make ym fitt to Receive ye Magistrates Lawes herein. The Soveraigne must first see yt ye People do yr duty in way of Uniting, & yn they will better know wt is yr owne Duty in maintaining yt Unity. But if yu meant in yt Qn only 1° wt is ye Magistrates Duty about Religion in Generall; 2° Or wt they should do to bring us to Unity? yt ye Later is Antecedt to an Assembly (as is sd) And for ye former, 1° Its unlikely yt Qn will be putt to An Assembly. 2° If it be, it hath no such Dependance on ye other, but yt they may well be handled wthout, or before it. 3° Nor cann it be Determined by all ptyes in yt Assembly. So yt I conceive if yu put yt Qn first, it will very much hinder, if not overthrow ye maine worke. 2° And for ye Termes of yor Qn, me thinks it might suffice to putt it thus [wt ye Suma Potestas, ye Soveraigne Power should doe?] wthout adding [wt ye Parliamt as ye Supreame Authority of ye 3 Nations &c] ffor all men wth halfe an eye may see Policy & Partiality Ruling in ys. 1° It was (I thinke) ye fault of ye Nationall Convent. to mix so much Secular busines wth Religious. Let not us do so needlessly againe. 2° Is it not pfessed yt all ye Godly be taken into ye Consultation? And can any man living expect yt all ye Godly should first Acknowledge ye Parliamts Supremacy over Scotland? wn we know not yt it is yet Declared by ymselves? & wn it is are we sure all Godly men will Discerne ye Evidence of it? 3° Was ever a state more Tender of forcing mens Consciences yn ors? And shall they do yt in yr owne Cause wch they dare not do in Xts Cause? Doubtless a Good Conscience will be as tender & cautelous in ye Case, as in Case of an Act or Opinion about Worshipp: And Mercifull men will not drive ~~note~~ soules uppon fire & sword. If it be sd, Why should ye Soveraigne Power Imploy men yt will not Acknowledge ym? I answ. 1° They do not Disclaime ym: only lead not on a worke of God wth Carnall Policy, least it appeare it is not for God, but ymselves. 2° The Engagemt hath tryed ym already: & is not ye Penalty of yt Act severe enough? 3° Xts Interest must be pferred by those yt looke for ye Continuance of his favour & Protection: And must ye union of his Chs be hindered, & ye furthering of his worke except men can subscribe to ye Supremacy? Even by Aliens might such a worke of Union in meere Ch: matters be Transacted. ffor my pt, I looke not to much but to ye gt & Blessed worke of Peace, wch needs no other meanes to frustrate All but such a Proceedt Imposition. It's knowne yt many of ye Episcopall & Presbyterian ptye would be excluded by it. Yea I know some of my owne friends yt would stand of, who yet heartily wish that the Parliamt may be the supreame Power of the three Nations, & Discerne the inconveniences that would follow if All these haue not one Soueraigne, & are loath it should be any other. 4° And Indeed, it is needless ffit enough to take Security for Peaceable liuing of All yt Scruple ye Subscription. Doubtless they yt Consider by wt wayes Prouidce hath effected sd Changes, will not expect yt All Godly men should suddainly be satisfyed. How much more pious & Compassionate a way would it be, to forbeare (seeing almost all haue engaged, & ye Rest will promise a Peaceable Life) till men see more into ye wayes of God & Men, & haue well studyed ye Reasons yt may sway thm or perhaps a further Course of Prouidce will shew thm Gods Establishmt of things & persons; or wt if it were till this Age were worne out, who to be ym intangled in Contrary Vowes, & then ye Disengaged Children would not Scruple it. If it be Resolued yt none yt Scruple ye, shall liue in ye Nation, why be they not all Banished. If they will let thm liue here, should they not liue as Xtians in Vnity, & Consequently Consult to yt End. Besides yt, obeying ye Call of ye Soueraigne Power, & at yt Consulting on ye 2d Qn [wt the Soueraigne Power should doe &c] is so much Acknowledgmt of yr Power, as ye Nature of ye Business doth Require. So yt I would haue ye put, 1° ye Qn one of ye last (after ye Worke of Agreemt.) (ye first in yor Paper) 2° And alter ye termes of it //

Now to the last thing [who they be yt should be Called to this Consultation.] It is 1° [All ye Godly]: & they are Described to be [All yt take ye Scripture for yr Rule] But it is Impossible yt should be ye Rule. For 1° Men differ not in Judgmt from one another Exactly as Godly & Vngodly, seeing these are Principally treated in Workes for Reconcilemt. 2° There are Vngodly men of All parties or opinions in ye World, & yet is it Necessary yt those parties yt hold ye ffoundation, be Vnited. 3° Who shall be Judge wt be Godly & Vngodly. All will be Godly if such may be Judges, & yn will not think be meete that one Partye Judge another, at least before ye Calling of ye Assembly wch they will be tryed. 4° Besides, yt ye tryall must extend to pticular persons & not to parties: for it is persons who are Denominated Godly or Ungodly & not all parties: & who can know ye hearts of thm? If it be sd We must take all yt take Gods Word for ye Rule & Professed to obey it, for Godly. I answer. No Doubt Gods Word is a sufficient Touchstone: But yn all most all ye Professed in England, will be Enumerated to ye Godly: for they will Generally Professe yt. 2° Such a ffaith or Profession rather Denominates yn Orthodoxe, or of a Right Beleife, yn Godly: For yt must more be pound by Personall Dispositions & Actions. 3° And then to try yr Orthodoxness or Beleife yt is not sufficient. 2d What must be yn done: Ans. 1° The Workes of ye Assembly as propounded, are of a quite Differt Nature. It is not ye same persons yt must be called to ye 2d Worke [To Advise ye Magistrate] wch must be Admitted to ye 1st [to Agree or Unite among thmselues] as shall be manifested. To ye first Worke [of Agreemt] 1° The ffaith of ye parties admitted, or yr Judgmt Professed, must be ye matter to be tryed, & not yr Proper Godliness. 2° Yet if ye Profession or Judgmt of any be agt Godliness, they are unfitt for Consultation. 3° Those must be Judged Right Beleiuers, who (as you say) take Gods Word for ye Rule of ffaith & life (wth ye Addition) & do not Deny in sence by Misinterpretation those Truthes whose Acknowledgmt is of Necessity to Salvation. For ye ffamilists Confesse ye Scripture to be ye Rule, & wn they haue done they deny all most all ye sence of it, & by ye History of ye Incarnation & Death of Xt. Resurrection &c they understand Certaine present Alterations in thmselues & so Beleiue not in Xt: so do they understand ye Judgmt to come, Heauen & Hell. So they Reject Gods Ordinances, & Xts Law say they Beleiue ye Script. // Yet is I judge a Solemne Profession yt they Beleiue all ye Script. in it's Proper sence, so farr as they are Able to Conceiue] sufficient for ye Admitting of them to ye Consultation for agreemt. But 4° We need not be very strict or curious in yt pt; seeing upon ye Opening of Agreemts & Differces, they yt are flatt Heretics will then be Discouered, & Cast off by All ye Rest. And Indeed there must be ye Tryall. And for Ungodliness of life, it is supposed that all parties will agree to Conuict it, & cutt it of in wm soeuer. So yt if ye Ungodly & Hereticall be found of them Admitted to ye first Consultation, ye matter is not great. For 5° It must not be supposed yt all ye Consultors shall Agree; (of wch more Anon) 6° It canot be yt many Cases can be Debated at once well; & therefore, tho: we admitt all parties to Consult, it must be successiuely. And so did I name those 4 parties first. And Indeed it should first be Dispatched between two parties only; & yn those two Conjoyned, deale wth a 3d, & so those 3 conjoyned wth a 4th. // And those yt are in ye Principles most Remote, should be ye Last. And indeed I named but 4 be I know of no more yt Differ in Judgmt but ye Seekers & Papists. For Arminians & Anabaptists, they Differ one in Doctrinalls, ye other in pt of Worshipp: & I doubt not but they should be Admitted, & we may easily Accommodate for Ch: Union; or at least Associating Union, wth all thm yt are separable. And for ye other two sorts. 1° I know not whether they are within ye Compasse of ye Rule: For some of ye Seekers say, Script. is lost in Anti-Xtian Darkness, & others yt tis a Rule for ye Infant Imperfect Ch: only, & a perfecter Rule by ye Spirit & Prophets to be expected: Besides ye deny all of Ch: Ministry & Ordinances. And for ye Papists, I doubt not but there are Godly persons among thm; but 1° Many of thm tho: they Beleiue ye Truth of Script. yet Beleiue it not to be sufficient, or to Containe all things Necessary to faith & life: & others Deny yt it was euer Intended as a Law & Rule. 2° If there should be any Consultation wth thm it would now be fitt till we are united among ourselves. And yt ffor my pt. I think be such an Attempt to be pious, & laudable. 3° But I conceiue it would be undertaken to ye Ch:es greatest Advantage, by ye Soueraigne Power treating about it wth fforraigne States, & mouing for an equall Councill to yt End: And I will not Despaire of ye attainmt of so Blessed an End. If God giue thm hearts to follow after Peace aright at home, he may make thm Instruments of such a Consultation wth Popish Princes, as may tend to ye Vnion of all Xtian Ch:es in Europe: & could they bring ye Romanists to a Tollerable state of Reformation, it would be ye happiest way of pulling downe Anti-Xt. I Beleiue yt was ye late Kings Designe (for I strongly Conjecture he was much of Grotius es mind) but he tooke an ill way to Attaine Union; by persecuting ye Godly, & Approaching to a Participation of Corruptions. 4° Nay I conceiue we canot well Consult wth Papists at home only; For ye Popes Interest being much of ye Bible, & they holding yr Religion in such a Dependance on him, they can do nothing without him. // Now for your 2d Subject [Aduising the Magistrate] he may Consult wth wm he please: He is bound to be acquainted himself wth Script. & obey it, whoeuer Aduise him. He is not to take any thing Implicitly upon any mans aduice: It's so a most Intollerable Conclusion, yt [ye Soueraigne Power shall establish whatsoeuer ye Godly agree in & no more] 1° Not All: If he be not sure yt all is agreeable to Gods Word: For All ye Godly may agree in euill. The Ch: may erre. Ministers are ye Magistrates Teachers & they must learne of them: But not Implicitly in All things.

⊕ For any little Infound. Doctrinall Differces among ous, I make no question of Vnion wth such, so it is said for ye words, who should [illegible] ye Qn for Agreemt & Vnion.

2° If ye Powers shall establish no more yn All yt Call yms. Godly (or say they take Script. for yr Rule) do agree in, here will fol 1° Then they should not take Gods Word for yr Rule, but yr Judgmt of men; & if mens Judgmt be yr Law, yn men are yr Gods: & God hath Comanded Govrs wt to doe; wthout Excepting [If yr People or Godly Consent.] 2° Then yr Magistrate should not ye very Execution of his owne Office (wch is, to be Gods Subordinate officer Ordained by him, for yr Execution of his Laws making such Laws about things put into yr Power, as tend thereto) God is yr Soveraigne & Principall Efficient, & yr Ultimate End, & not meere State-prosperity (as we have learnt of blind heathens) 3° They would have a Rule so Uncertaine as would be Impossible to be followed. For they can never cutt a thread betweene ye Godly, & Ungodly. As it is Impossible [illegible] to know just wt & how many sins a man may be Guilty of, & yet be Godly: So neere are ye Utmost limits of the twe states. 4° Then or Soveraignes would take ye most Ignorant, silly, Erroneous & sinfull man for yr Rule, yt yr charity tells them is Godly. wc if many may have true Grace, yt yet are so Ignorant as to deny Multitudes of plaine Tru of Script. Or thinke many plaine dutyes to be unlawfull or etc. or agt all Order in ye Assemblyes; should ye Consent of those be ye Soveraigne Rule? Will they be no wiser then ye sillyest pson yt may be Godly? Or no honester yn ye most sinfull pson yt may be Godly? Magistrates are bound to have Gods booke in yr hand, & head & hearts Continually to know more yn evry silly pson under yrm: & must obey God According to yr owne knowledge, & not other Mens. 5° & they should make offendrs not only yr owne Judges, but Lawmakers: How many vile sins may a Godly man, not only comm but in Judgmt Approve of: Some misinterpreting ye 2d Comand, worshipp God by Images, some by other Inventions some misinterpreting Script. yt saith [Thou shalt serve ye Ld & sweare by his name] thinke they do well to sweare in Comon Discourse: some are agt ye Ld Day: some agt Singing Psalmes, Praying in families, Baptisme, Lds Supp. Pulpit Prayer. Some thinke yt old meeting Places must All downe; & some yt Ministers must downe. nothing shall be done but by ye Consent of these? May it not as well be sd The offending Children must agree wt Duty ye Father shall prescribe yrm, or wt Punishmt he shall inflict on yrm? Or ye offending Ch: members Consent yt Censure ye Ch: shall passe agt him? The Godly (tho: not as Godly) are ye Persons to be Ruled, Restrained & Corrected, as well as others: & must not ye Magistrate do it wthout yr owne Consent? Yea thus, abundance of wickednes would be Indulged. For one mans Conceit of Godlines would mistakingly be for one pt, & another for another pt, & how much of satans wayes would be secured, by ye name of Godlynes? Much more might be Added. I Conclude 1° It canot be All yt are Assemble for Union; ye Magistrate must advise wth: For it may not be expected yt they should All agree: some seem Godly yt are not: some Judged Godly must be Cast out of Ch: Comunion in severall Cases of sin; wch we are Comanded wth some not to eate, & avoid ym even evry Brother yt walketh Disorderly &c & yet to admonish yrm as Brethren. No doubt a Papist may be Godly: yet most thinke we are Comanded to Come out from among them, & be separ It must be expected yt some, who may be admitted to Consult, will be Discovered in yt Consultation, to be such as ye Rest must & will avoid. How then can ye Magistrate be guided by yr Agreemts? Besides how is it possible wn ye Debate is about Ch: Union, for those to Agree wth us yt thinke there are no Chs or Ministers, or Ch: Ordinances, or Comunion to be had? || Yet wn I say, yt ye Magistrate may goe agt these men, I imply yt ye Magistrate hath severall wayes to Declare himself. In some Cases by great Punishmts & Mulcts: In some by lesse: In some by a meere Discountenance: & giving Countenance & Priviledges (as meeting places & maintenance) to those only yt they Approve of. I do not talke of killing or Banishing All Dissenters. As fo ym yt deny all ye Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion, or Xtianity or Worship: how much could say agt ym. But I am sensible I am too bold wth yu in my Tediousnes. || Shall I Conclude wth my Prognosticks: 1° If ye Worke do fall into wise & honest handes, it will bring ye greatest hono: to or Parliamt & Good to Xn Ch: yt e did Worke (Deo Juvante.) 2° It will unite Episcopll Pbyt. Erast. Anabapt. Separat. Arminians, Lutherans Calv. Millenaries, & some halfe-Antinomians; in pticular Ch: Comunion & Associations. 3° It will exclude all open Ungodlynes, & such as Deny ye true Fundamentalls, & all yt are utterly unpeaceable & agt Unity. 4° The successe of All (Under God) will depend on these Particulars. 1° If ye Supreame Power sincerely aime at ye Proposed Unity. 2° If they choose fitt men to Consult. 3° If these men, 1° Have sincere Intentions; 2° And know ye neede of Unity. 3° And be not so passionately engaged in any pty as to vilifye Unity in Compison of his Opinion, wch he calls ye Truth, (& perhaps truly.) 4° If they will sincerely Protest to bring in no Differrs in Doctrine, Wp or Governmt but wt is a Reall Hinderance to ye Desired Ch: Union or Association, & not to tend those to strike wth yr Consciences wch do not: But yt they will as Readily yield to others as farr as possibly they can, as they would have others yield to yrm 5° Above All these, if there be Agents well skil in Drawing up ye Agreemts & Differrs. For I have tryed yt some so skilled, can show each pty farr more Agreemt yn yms are before aware of. 6° If men be humble, & not wise in yr owne eyes, & will patiently waite yn Jesus, in Prayer & meeke Consulting, & open-hearted Declaring, & not Disputing. On ye Contrary if All be blasted ye 1° Danger is from Carnall Ends, Politick-selfe-Interest, Malicious undermining, wch yu will Discerne 1° By yr clogging ye Bu ness wth Politick engagmts: 2° By choosing quarellsome Spirits yt they know will breake all; 3° By mixing Impossibilityes. 4° By confounding All by choosing too many men, or men so weake as are uncapable of Satisfaction or Imposing many Consultations at once: 5° Or els by over-doing, ptending so much Zeale to Unity as to Unite Xt & Belial; fire & water, or so much Zeale to Truth as to cry downe All as a Carnall Syncretisme. 2° On ye other side 1° Ignorance & Pride will be ye grt Danger. Young men were not fitt for such a Worke but men yt are wearyed wth Contentions, & whose Passionate Zeale is Ordered by a stayed experienced head. Lastly, If God have wonders of Mercy to do for England, wch may engage him to Crosse all Improbabilityes, ye Blessed worke may come to Good: If not, ye Comon Infirmity of Pious men, & subtill Machinations of Malignant enemyes of it, & ye Generall Guilt & Corrup of ye land will bring it to nought. It's sad to thinke how little Good ye labors of old Experienced men (Mellanch: Junius. Pareus, Bergius, & especially yorself. &c &c) have done among ye hot spirited younger men: For Recipitur ad modum Recipientis. Yet is it happy to live & dye in so Blessed a Worke, wherein I am ambiti of being to my small Power,

Novemb. 20. 1652.||

Yor Fellow labourer
Rich: Baxter.||

To my Reverend & much honored Brother Mr John Durie
Preacher of the Gospell in London
these

fol. 90. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Reverend Sr

It hath long satt neere my hearte, & fedd my griefes & greivances to see ye Interest of Xt so low & his Church among us in so sadd a state, after so many prayers, so much blood, & so high expectations: & yet ye worke to sticke in such hands as ptend ye highest Zeale for Xt, & willingnes to promote his Interest to ye uttmost. And yt in a Case, where or Differences are so small & (some say) or Reconcilemt so easye, if or spirits were at no greater a Distance yn or principles, & if we tooke gods way for ye making up of ye breach. For so private a hand as myne, to offer any remedy I still apprehended uselesse, as being seemingly Arrogant & so unlikely to succeed: 1stly bec there are so many abler yt have better opportunity both to speake & be heard; & bec I have seene so much labor lost: 2ly bec I know there are so many engaged subtile opposers of peace: & cheifly bec being here confined at such a distance, I shall not be at hand to defend any Assertions, or Motions, wch I know will soone be Contradicted by ym yt are there present; who on yt Advantage may easily beare downe & frustrate all. Yett to sitt still while all is lost is a thing yt no honest hearte can Indure, yt sees any meanes to be yet used, & ye least hope remaining. I have bent my endeavors in my sphere here in ye Country to ye repairing of or shaken peace & Truth. I lately heard of a Comittee for propagation of ye Gospell (to wt particular Ends & of wt power I know not) & see Certaine proposalls to ym, subscribed by many wm I love & honor, & among others by yor selfe: by wch I perceive ye season seemed Convenient for men to offer yr thoughts uppon such a subject: I have thought meete to propound myne rather to yor selfe yn any other, both bec of yor long engagemt in ye Blessed worke of Peacemaking (wch hath honored you among ye sons of Peace) wch makes me thinke, 1o yt you will more readily hearken to, & more zealously prosecute motions to yt End, yn other men will do. 2o it will be better taken from you then another: & bec you are neerer (in place & Interest) to ye Power, from wm we expect much of wt we desire. For matter of acquaintance wth you I am not solicitous, ~~hating~~ knowing ye neerenesse of ye Relation of All ye sons of God, & ye likenes of yr spirits, & samenes of yr affections to his church & cause. // It seemeth to me yt 1o The way to or cure is not for any one party to propound yr owne desires singly, & seeke to have yt way promoted; nor for Different partyes to insist in yr Different proposalls each one Absolutely procuring yr Desires: 2o Nor yett to begin wth ye Decission of Doctrinalls; 3o Nor to tender only meanes for Propagation of ye Gospell, by way of sparing, Neglecting those Differences, yt are ye cause of or misery. It is ye Difference of ye Godly & learned in matter of Discipline & Worship yt so long hath hindered or peace, yt caused & kept open or wounds: All ye rest spring out of yt. Here ye must or Cure begin. To wch end mens Judgmts must be convinced; yr Consciences satisfyed. And ye men must heare each other speake. That wch hath undone us is, yt each party trusteth to yr carnall weapons & advantages, & will not debate ye Case wth those Brethren yt are in yr power, as if they were on equall termes. As if they had gott as much inequality & mastery over mens Judgmts & Consciences, as they have ~~over~~ over yr Bodyes & states, wch Indeed after all yr Conquests Conscience is unconquered, ~~till~~, till Scripture & reason Conquer it. When ye Episcopall party had power, they will Impose wthout dispute: wn ye Presbyterians have power, they will do ye like wth ye Episcopall (tho: not wth others) not suffering ym to plead yr cause in ye Assembly: now ye Independts have power, its like they may thinke its a losing of ye Advantage yt God hath given ym to sett all right (yt is, in yr way) if they should take ymselves as on equall termes; & debate ye Case, & abate of yr rigor for Accomodation & Peace. Ye thing yt I propound to you is only yt wch I have allready propounded in ye Epist. before ye 2d Edit. of my Treat. of Rest: (wch in ye Margin you may also see some of my thoughts of ye maine Controversye) viz (If you ~~have~~ know no more reason to ye Contrary then I do) will you be pleased to propound to those in Power, yt they will speedily choose (or els cause ye severall partyes to choose) some few men (4 or 5) of each of ye differing partyes; (Episcopall, Presbyterian; Independent & Erastian;) men 1o of learning 2o Godlynesse, 3o Moderation 4o Interest in yr partyes (such as Bp Hall, Usher, Brownrigg Morton of ye first ye Marshall Vines &c. of yt: Jos. Simonds, Greenhill &c [illegible] daily businesse, [illegible] t they study peace wthout partialitye & by Respects: Let ym know how much ye welfare of ye Church lyeth on ye successe of yr Endeavours: Let yr worke be [1o To draw up Agreements as large as may be. 2o to draw up or Differences into ye narrowest Compasse. 3o to reconcile as many of ym as they can. 4o To finde out how farr we may agree in Externall Actions tho: on differt principles. 5o & wn we canot Unite, to agree on ye most safe peaceable & unoffensive way of carrying on or various Actings.] Let ym be held to ye worke till they find out a Tempamt of Accomodation. Let ym be required to Receive any Informations or Proposalls yt shall be sent in to ym from any persons in ye Land (only for yr owne help.) No doubt, if ys course were followed, wth humility selfe-deniall, Love of Peace & daily prayer; God would succeed it. I suspect ye Presbyterians will thinke it is a Disparagemt to ye Assembly worke; & ye Independts yt it is a giving away of yt Advantage wch they have gott by yr power: But if on such carnall grounds we proceed to refuse Peace wn God offers it, (having putt all in or owne hands) ~~what can~~ wt can we expect but yt God give up all to ye rapine of Levellers & Libertines, & leave or names to stinke to all future Ages, as ye proud & willfull Betrayers of his Church. // Could we first agree in Discipline or Differences about Bapt, & about Doctrinalls, would be easily so composed in, or after ys, yt ye Church might yett have Peace. This allso would heale all Politicall quarrells: for its Evidt yt among Conscientious men, ye Interest of Religion is it yt holds ym of, & hinders ym most from closing wth ym yt they thinke would spoile ye Church. And if these 4 partyes were United, how little doth ye state need to feare any other. I have tryed by some Attempts for private Accomodation wth some of those partyes, yt it is possible enough to finde out such a Tempamt, wch each partye may agree to, wthout denying any principles of yr owne: (I meane ye Moderate.) Wn ye agreemt is made, 1o If ye Parliamt approve of it (wch is most likely) yr Authoritative Countenance & Recommendation, (tho: wthout rigor to gainsayers) will abundantly further its successe. However, if they should not owne it, but leave it to mens wills, yet ye knowledge of it would do very much wth all moderate Godly men throughout ye Land; partly by ye great Interest yt ye Actors have in ym; & partly by ye Reasons of Accomodation, wch ye Agents would Discover: yea it would shame unpeaceable men from yr Schismes, to heare of ye agreemt of these leading men of yr owne sydes: I am confidt most of ye Land would stand to ye Agreemt, tho: Authority should not meddle in ye Imposing it: (tho: some violent ones would still be unsatisfyed.) If any grudge yt peace & unity should be settled by any other Instrumts yn ye Assembly, or ye Independt partye alone, let ym Consider, yt men purposely sett about ye worke of Peace are liker to succeed, yn those yt were so deeply engaged in sydes & blood as most of us yn were. Sr, If I should have propounded any Tempamt for Accomodation out of my owne brest, I might well have expected to be charged wth selfe-conceitednesse: But wn I only propound a way for others to doe it, yt are more fitt, I hope I breake not ye bounds of modesty. I know some will grudge yt I desire allso yt ye Episcopall Interest should be pleaded: But yu know there are many learned pious men of yt way, who deserve all convenient meanes for satisfaction: & no cause is downe wth rationall men, till it be reasoned downe: And tho: I have bin as farr from yt way as most, yet I canot but know yt ye Controversye is as Difficult wth ym, as wth most yt we dissent from. If discouragemts had not hindered me, I had moved to all ye Ministers of or country to have joyned in a petition to ys purpose; but I shall now content mys. to leave it in yor hands to promote it, or suppresse it as God shall direct yu. Only let no discouragemts take yu of from an impartiall faithfull Endeavoring of ye Churches Peace: In wch worke I desire yu may live & dye, & receive ye blessing promised to such: Farewell

Kidderminster in Worcester-Shire — May 4o 1652 } Yor unworthy fellowservant, thirsting after Unity, Peace & Truth Ri. Baxter.

To my Reuerend & honored Brother Mr
John Dury Preacher of the Gospell
in London this dd

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To my worthy friend Dr Lewis Moulin—
Arnaulds accusations of ye Reformed Churches answered

Deare Sr

The urgency of my unavoidable busynes will not give me leave to send you many Argum on ye Propositions, but to tell you our true sense of ym, & what it is yt we do & must own or disown.//

Baptism hath as it were a soul & a body (even as Prayer consisteth of desires & their expressions; so doth Baptism of ye Internall Consent to Gods Covent, or a Heart dedication, and of externall washing, & words. 1o We hold ye externall part necessary Necessitate Praecepti where it can be had. 2o We hold ye internall part (in ye Aged for themselvs & for Infants in those yt have ye true power of dedicating them) to be so far of necessity to salvation necessitate medij yt where it is not we have no promise nor ground of beleiving yt ye person is saved; yt is If he be not (Implicitely or expresly) dedicated to God by Consent to his Covent. 3o But we hold not yt ye outward words & washing, wch is necessary usually necessitate praecepti, is so necessary necessitate medij, as yt ye child shall certainly be damn'd if death unavoidably prevent it's baptizing, or if ye parents and others yt should bring it to baptism, delay, or err in thinking it lesse necessary yn it is.// Our Reasons, 1o Because Faith hath a promise of salvation if operative by Love: wch faith ye person at age may have before & without Baptism, and may as sincerely devote his Infant to God by it, as himselfe. 2o It is unbeseeming Gods goodnes, & agt nature it self, to Imagin yt God sets so little by Holynes of Heart, & so much by washing, as to damne a holy soule because ye body could not be baptized. 3o The adult may be sav'd whe they so misse of Baptism: ergo so may Infants: Because it is ye same kind of Faith & dedication by wch a man giveth himself & his children to God. The Antecedent is proved before, because Blessed are ye pure in heart, for they shall see God. And whoever believeth in him shall not perish but ete 4o And Eusebius and all other holy writers, yn tooke Constantine to be a holy man, & in a state of salvation before he was baptized. And so of Augustine and others. 5o We must interpret God in this by his own Rule, Go learn what this meaneth; I will have mercy and not sacrifice: It is lawfull to eate Shew=bread to rub eares of Corn on ye Sabbath, to heale, to take an oxe out of ye ditch: Because meere Positives give way to Moralls. 6o Jansenius himself hath written a large treatise to prove that unbaptized children have no poena sensus. And if he think they have no sense of any thing, he taketh their separated souls to be no souls, but baser yn a worm or dog: If they have any sense then it must be of good, if not of evill; & so let him determine what it is. 7o Wt arrogant cruelty is it, exposing Christianity to ye scorn of Infidels, for men to pretend such acquaintance with matters yt God hath said no more of than of unbaptized Infants, as to be able to conclude it certain, that how holy soever ye Parents be, and in heart do dedicate them to God, & desire to baptize them, yet if they die in ye birth, or for want of water &c misse of baptism, they are all damn'd, though neither parent nor child could help it.//

This is not ye opinion of all ye Reformed Churches. Some of ym hold yt ye status gratiae Infantilis as it dependeth only on ye Parents & on Baptism may be totally lost at age, and yet not so wth ye grace of ye adult: For wch Dr S. Ward, & much better Dr Davenant have written peculiar Tractates. And ye Synod of Dort hath owned it as it plainly seemeth. Artic. 5. 17

x. Where ye person is sincerely devoted to God, & there is ex parte dedicantis true Baptism, yt is, a true Consent & dedication to God, they receiv

ye grace of Baptism as well as ye signe: yt is, God ever performeth his part of ye
Covent where man performeth his condition, and mans condition is a Con-
senting Faith: But if one at age do lye and dissemble for himself or for
ye Infant (who it is yt is to Consent for ye Infant & dedicate him to God as
in his person is a Controversie wch concerneth not this case,) in this case
ye signe of Baptism may go without ye Grace, For 1o God never made a Co-
vent wth man (promising him grace & life) upon condition he would sub-
mit only to ye outward act of baptizing. Let ym yt feign such a Covent
shew it. Consenting-faith in ye adult for himself, and in ye beleiver
for ye Infant) is Gods Imposed Condition: Therefore where ye Conditi-
on on ye receivers part is absent, ye grace may be absent: But where
there is not true Consent on ye part of ye baptized, there is not true
Baptism. Where note yt baptism in ye full sense signifyeth [ye Covent
between God & man solemnized by washing into ye Name of ye
Father Son & H. Ghoast]: But analogically & as an externall ordinance
in sensu ecclesiastico, it is An expressed Covenanting thus solemnized.
So yt in foro Coeli he yt wanteth true heart Consent doth want true
Baptisme in sensu primario as much as he wanteth ~~ye~~ true faith, &
may therefore want ye grace of Baptism from God. But ye Church be-
ing no heart searchers, he yt professeth true Consent (though feign-
edly) hath true baptism in foro ecclesiae, wch is ye secondary, & shall
have ye ecclesiasticall benefits or priviledges of ye baptized, & is not
to be baptized again, because ye outward act was just & full though
ye inward were wanting. But where there is not so much as a Pro-
fession of Covent Consent & faith in ye dedicator of ye Infant who
hath ye power of his person, there is no true baptism in foro
ecclesiae, but a Nullity. Therefore I next hence argue 3o The grace
of baptism may be denyed where there is not either a Consent &
faith or so much as ye profession of it in ye Infants parents or
dedicators: But ye sign of Baptism may be conferred where there is neither
Consent nor a profession of it — Ergo — 4o The Papists themselves say yt
ye Intentio Baptizandi is necessary to ye being of baptism; but ye signe
of baptisme may be conferred sine intentione baptizandi. And if ye Intention
of baptizing be necessary, ye Intention of giving up ye child to Christ, yt is,
true Covent Consent is necessary: For yts much more plainly made ye
condition of ye Receivers good, than ye Priests Intention. For it is mens own
duty or acts yt men stand or fall by, & not anothers: The Priests act is none
of ye duty of ye Receiver. But ye dedicator is supposed to have ye full power
of ye childs person & as ye child is his owne, so his act is as in ye Childs
person & his own. 5o In ye adult ye signe & ye grace of Baptism may
be separated: Ergo in Infants. The Antecedent is proved, because else
1o Any Infidel or Pagan may be saved without faith or christianity, by
ye signe. 2o Yea a man may be sav'd by a studyed lie & hypocrisy,
wch deserveth damnation it self! And is worse yn Ananias &
Sapphira's sin, as dedicating a mans self deceitfully, is a greater
thing than dedicating a mans money or land deceitfully: Yea a man
may then be saved for a designed mocking God & ye Church, and

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fol. 93. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

taking Baptism in jest or scorn. The Consequence is proved, because if ye Infant be
saved by Baptism, it is either on ye account of his own consenting faith, or of ano-
thers or of none. If of none yn all heathens children have equall right wth
christians, wch is false: If of his own, he hath none: If of anothers, then
1o If anothers he will not save himselfe it will not save his child: 2o Nay ye
false kind of faith wtever it be, yt will not save himselfe, will not save his
child.// 6o The contrary doctrine is agt nature, even ye Nature of God,
made knowne by nature to man: And it is a kind of blasphemie to feign
God to be so in love wth ye ludicrous act of washing & speaking a sentence
or two, as to save all yt are so used, without respect to inward intentions.
The Heathens in Indostan, Cambaia, Siam, China, Japon, Pegu, do not
thinke so childishly and contemptuously of God.// 7o And ye contrary opi-
nion equalleth ye children of Pagans wth Christians, so be it Christians
can but catch ym up & baptize them: for yn they are all certainly saved.//
8o Yea it maketh their case while Infants happyer yn any adult Christi-
ans, who (say they) may be unjustifyed again & perish, when these pa-
gan baptized infants cannot.// 9o And it would set up a new kind of Apostle-
ship to convert ye world: Even souldiours to go for prey to carry away In-
fants by thousands & infallibly to save ym.// 10o Yea when they cannot carry
ym away, it would tempt ym to baptize ym & there kill ym all, lest they
be Apostates as ye Janizaries, by their breeding. Its true yt murder is for-
bidden, & we must not do evill yt good may come by it. But he yt think-
eth it is forbidden but as a hurt or injury, & yt in case of certain salvation
it would be ye greatest benefit in ye world, will be tempted to thinke it
is no more evill or forbidden than ye amputation of a member to save life.//
11o It is notorious yt ye antients who in their writings comonly make Grace
& salvation (quoad jus) ye necessary consequents of Baptisme, do still
meane by Baptism, A hearty Covent wth Christ solemnized by washing:
And do suppose ye Consentor to be sincere & not dissemble (describing it
most usually as received by ye adult, who were ye first & noblest sub-
jects) See all Gatakers citations in his answer to Davenant.// As to
ye saying yt Infants have right for ye faith of ye Church, What meane
you by ye Church? 1o If ye Woman or ye Minister yt baptizeth, he may
have no faith of his owne. 2o If ye Congregation where he is baptized
it may be in a house, or alone where none have faith: And possibly
there may be no true faith in ye Congregation: If there be it is uncertaine,
because no man knoweth ye heart: And if it were certain of some, by
wt right & proofe do those repsent ye Infant more yn ye rest, yt may
be ye greater part. 3o If they meane ye Diocesane Church, ye Bp may
have no faith, who is a Constitutive part. 4o If they meane ye universall
church, ye Pope may have no true faith, who is a Constitutive ~~parte~~
essentiall part: Without wch it is no Church say they: (If we will beleive
ye Generall Councills of Basil, & Constance &c who censured Popes as Here-
ticks & Infidels). And if they meane ye people, it is only ye sincere part
(called by us ye Church mysticall or invisible) yt hath saving faith: And
where prove they yt ye sincere part or (ye whole) is made

by Christ ye owners of all ye children of Heathens in ye world, yt can but
catch't up & baptized? Or yt all such shall be sav'd because ye Church b
eth,? 2o And ~~if ye Churches faith will save ym all. How absurd and unprov~~
~~a novelty~~ why then do Parents, Godfathers or Ministers Intentions stand as necess
if ye Churches faith will save ym all? How absurd & unproved a Novelty is this
fiction; & quite contrary to Gods word, yt still joyneth ye case of ye childr
rather to ye parents yn ye Churches. And many of the foregoing reasons are agt it.
12o. If unbaptized Infants souls are of so dead & senseles a nature as Jansenius &
(I confes some Fathers) seeme to thinke yt they have no sense & consequently of paine or plea
sure; it will tempt men to thinke yt they judge so of ye Baptized too, seing ye
grace of Baptism altereth not ye naturall species of a soule; And this is a specific
change. || IV. As to ye Controversie of perseverance, 1o They also differ among ym
selves. 2o And so do ye Protestants among ymselves, holding it a tolerable difference.
My sense of it I have long ago given you in ye Tractate herewith sent you. ||
V. We hold 1o That no justifyed person hath any sin, wch is properly mortall, yt is
wch proveth ye person in a state of death & is exclusive of Spirituall life;
viz, no sin wch overcommeth ~~&~~ killeth or excludeth ye habit of prædominant
love to God, or to holynes, or to heaven, or to our Neighbor; or ye habit of pre-
dominant obedience, Repentance, & Hatred of all sin as sin, & a desire to be per-
fectly delivered: No justifyed person hath any sin wch he had rather keepe y
leave. 2o And if any should fall into any such prædominant mortall sin, wch con-
quereth holy love within him, he would fall from God into an unjustifyed state.
3o And how far men do so, see wt ye Synod of Dort saith, Art. 5. 4o But to set down
a punctum, & say just so far as, to ye materiall act, a man may go, & yet have
the Love of God, is impossible to do; nor would it be safe for men to know it. 5o
And though sin is much greatned by ye greatnes of ye matter, yet ye mortality
of it can seldom be judged of by yt alone. Murder is one of ye greatest sins, & specially of
multitudes: yet if ye Pope when he arm'd his Croisado's to kill so many 1000 Waldenses
or when he set forth ye Inquisition, or when he sent Princes agt Jerusalem, or agt each
other in many a war, should prove mistaken in his cause, their Casuists will not
confes yt he and all these souldiours are unjustifyed, & damned. ||
VI. If by ye Catholick church, he meane yt wch is truly such (ye Kingdome of Christ), 1o It is a
blasphemous contradictory suppositiō yt it should be so heynously erroneous & Idolatrous: as it w
to be a holy church of unholy persons, a beleiving church of Infidels: They ymselves s
yt Idolaters & Hereticks are not of ye church: Therefore they can be none of it, if they
be such as Protestants charge ym to be (as Papists practicall). || But if by ye Catholicke Churc
they meane ye Kingdome of ye Pope, we canot make it a supposed subject in our dispu
because we hold yt ye thing or (society) it self, (in yt form) is sinfull, if not Antichristian; ~~&~~ ther
fore no one can be a lawfull member of it, or continue in it. || As for separation from ym, we
would aske ym, if two parts of ye church turn Apostates (Bps & all) (& so of Idolaters & Hereti
& ye third part continue christians, but do avoid ye Apostates; wch is it separateth? We were
never of ym; & therefore separate not from them. If our Forefathers had bin Turks or
Hereticks or Monothelites as Pope Honorius, or denyed ye Articles of ye faith, as ye foresaid Generall
Councills said Eugenius & other Popes did, must they needs continue such because ye Pope do
so? But of this I have said so much in my Key for Catholicks, as perswadeth me yt ye Papists
who are not satisfyed by such evidence, will not be wrought upon by Scripture & Reason, bu
trust to another kind of weapons & to a militia different from yt of tongues & pens; from
wch God defend his people, but by wch our forefathers were overcome, if passing by martyr
dome to heaven were being overcome. But when we are killed all ye day long, & counted
as sheep to ye slaughter, in all these things we are more yn conquerors, because nothin
can separate us from ye Love of God. And if God be for us, who can be against us
Pardon ye brevity of this hasty script to

Jan. 10. 167½.   Your hearty freind & servant   Ri: Baxter.

6 My dearly beloved & much honored Brother

I confesse it a great condescension in you, to be at so much paines to certify my under-
50 standing of your last: I acquiesce in your explication: and so we are agreed
in all yt we treated on. But alas to wt purpose; if things be as you suppose
Indeed your letters brought me as afflicting newes as most I have of late heard
If this power will not befriend the Gospell in furthering such a worke how
long we may stay, & wt shakings we may endure before we have such as will
do it God only knowes. As for the motion you make for ministers to treat wthout
further Authority, It is above halfe a yeare since I have sett afoote such a
treaty here in Worcestershire. And did resolve wn we had done to have intreated
you to be the agent to get 4 or 5 divines of each pty to do it in London: you
have the advantage far before us for a succesfull enterprize. For you are
among more learned men; who are fitter to manage it and you are
among the leading, & most eminent men, whose names wn they have
once agreed may much conduce to facilitate a further acceptance & propa-
gation of the agreemt. That wch I have done towards it here is this much
having desired a meeting of the ministers & propounded the busines they
cast it all on me to draw up some propositions to yt end. First I drew up
5 sheetes of meere propositions wthout any explication, or confirmation (save
3 or 4 yt were more questionable) more then the light they gave to each
other. These contained the summe of yt pt of the Theory of Ecclesiastl
Politicks wch I thought most necessary to be understood for or uniting in
the practicalls. At the next meeting I brought in a sheet of practicall
propositions applyed meerly to the state of or Parishes for their psent
reformation. And bec. here some things were excepted against, the
next day I brought in a sheet of argumts to confirme them, viz, 1o the
psent convenience of requiring a more expresse consent from or people
of their pticular chu: membership, & submission to officers & ordinances
we having now no full certainty who are members & who not 2o yt yet
or parishes are true chus & or worke is to reforme chus & not to gather new
3o yt a single minister where there is no more may governe & publick-
ly require the people to shunne the communion of the knowne obstinate
offenders. all these were but informing preparacons. The next meeting I
brought in a sheet of propositions to be subscribed by all the ministers yt will
associate wch are these yt I here send you. These after some corrections of
5 or 6 phrases or passages wherin I condescended (in every poynt yt was
questioned) to all my Brethrens alterations we joyntly subscribed. But you
must know 1o yt we take not this for any full method to unite the differing
pties, but we resolve on these as the practicalls wherin each differing pty
is agreed & wch we may practice till we can come neerer. 2o we have purpose-
ly left out the poynt of Ordination both bec. we would not give offence
to the Episcopall who claime it wholly or chiefly to Bishops, & bec. there
is some danger from the lawes to them yt ordaine wthout Authority: & we
may hereafter agree on it 3o for the like reasons we meddle not wth any Ecclesiasti-
call jurisdictio over ministers but only of association, & wt may be done by mu-
tuall consent at the psent 4o nor do we meddle wth the name of excommu-
nicatio nor the nature of that highest Anathema wch some lay claime
to. yet we exclude nothing by or silence; but leave the to more seasonable
debates least they should be a bone of divisio in or way; nor do we
yet attempt the reconciling of any difference in judgmt but only re-
solve to practice those points or things yt all are agreed in. nor
have we yet had opportunity to draw in many of the Episcopall
or Independts to us in it: for the former come not among us save
a few of the best, & the later we have non among us yt I know
of, but one, & he is ——— yet professeth to assent to or propositions. And
pious Episcopall men that I have communicated them to dissent not: &
I intend if God will wn we have concluded among ourselves to urge
them to associate wth us. // At or next meeting they were pleased
to cast it on me to draw up a forme of profession bec. it was one
of or propositions agreed on [yt we would use one forme] here comes
in or difficulty, & calamity where we most suspected it. I drew up
this wch I send you concerning wch let me advertise you, 1o yt the
psent is arbitrary, & non urged to consent to it. 2o yt I take the
Aples Creed as sufficiently comprehensive of the fundamentalls;
But or Brethren will not take it as the Test for or communion
bec its not expresse enough, & I am of their mind yt or people should have
a confession yt more explicitly psents the fundamentalls to yr un-
derstandings 3o And therefore I put downe the Aples Creed (so called)
x as the basis & or professio but as its explication. 4o In Baptisme I will
use only the Aples Creed; but I would require the adult at confirmation

Or other necessary tryall to pfesse the larger. 5° I thought it meet to reduce
it to yt 3 ancient heads of beleeving in the 3 persons, wth their works
adjoyned. so yt you may thinke yt some things are repeated: but in
ye 2d article they are mentioned as ordained by Xt; & in ye 3d as effected
by the Holy Ghost. 6. I judged it necessary to deliver; the Assent, & consent
distinctly; they belonging both to saving faith & being so necessary pts
of the covenant. wch were implyed in the Aples Creed, in the phraise [I be-
leeve in] wch darkly complehended both assent & consent. Our people
have great need to understand wt they do in so weighty a worke. 7° the
reason of every terme & the order of each point I cannot give you now
without being tedious: 8° I will not affirme every point in this
pfession to be of absolute necessity to salvation. But I will say, yt
I thinke there is non wch we may venture to affirme yt or ordina-
ry hearers can be saved wthout; (except some word phaps taken out
of the Aples Creed wch we could not omit without scandall) or at least, yt
the denyall of any one of these will leave a mans salvation un-
certaine if not his damnation certaine. 9° I thought it safest rather
to have a word too much then too little in such a case where the
thing is certaine truth, & the absolute necessity doubtfull: but where
it is cleare there is no such absolute necessity I thought it the cheifest
wisdom to abreviate it as much as is possible, & put in no one needles
word 10. But my greatest care was (especially in poynts not knowne
by nature but only by supernaturall revelation) to keepe prisely to the
very words of scripture meerly translated: yt so or confessio may not only
be purely divine, but also yt non may have the least occasion of
exception; but especially least I should accuse the scripture to be
insufficient to afford us so much as or fundamentalls in tollerable
termes. here comes in or trouble. we are all agreed in each ptircular word
except only about the expressions of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost & here
we are utterly at a losse, though no one among us differ in the thing.
I dare not expresse the Godhead of the Holy Ghost (in this Creed wch
every silly woman must pfesse & wch must be the test for admitting or
not admitting to Communion) in any words but the very words of Scrip-
ture. most are of my mind but yet would yeeld for peace: the rest
will not subscribe except these words be put in [I beleeve yt the Holy Ghost
is God one wth & proceeding from the Father & the Son] only myself (who as
little doubt of the truth of it as they) dare not consent: our questi-
on is not whether it be true; nor whether necessary for ministers
to beleeve & subscribe: but whether it be necessary for every woman
or illiterate pson to their salvation or Chu: Communion, & yt to be ex-
plicitly, & understandingly received (as fundamentalls must be); &
if it be so necessary, yet whether it be necessary to dept from
scripture words in expressing it in or Creed. for the psent I had
rather or whole designe were ruined (wch would much trouble me)
then dept a word from scripture: for it may be an engine for hin-
dering a peace hereafter. If ever the divided pties unite (wch they
will wn ever God will restore the chu:) I know not where they
can possibly center wth any safety but in script: sufficiency. deny
once yt scripture is sufficient to afford us a Creed in tollerable phrase
& then either tradition must be the other halfe rule & a living visible
Judge acknowledged, or else we have no rule at all sufficient. And
every age will produce even pious men yt will scruple depting from
scripture phrase in a Creed. If a poore Christian should say I beleeve
in the Holy Ghost but whether he be God or not I am uncertaine
I dare neither deny it, nor affirme it: must I needes refuse com-
munion wth him or conclude him damned. did all yt the aples bap-
tized certainly understand this? These are my offers to my brethren
in this 1° to adde these words to yt article [I beleeve yt the Holy Ghost
ye spirit of the Father & the Son was sent from the Father & the Son
to inspire & guide ye prophets & Aples &c to be great witnes of Xt & of
the truth of his doctrine being one with the Father & the word] this
much I would yeeld to adde in this order, bec: it is script: words. but
they will not accept it 2° I offer them to adjoyne an explicatory
exposition on the by, to be subscribed by ministers only & others yt
please, & I will first subscribe it in expresse termes yt the Holy
Ghost is God. this will not take 3° I offer them if they will draw
up a larger confession for ministers only (it being fit they should know
more then the meere fundamentalls) & therin expresse [the Holy Ghost
is God] I will consent: for I doubt not but we may conveniently use
other phrases somtimes then scripture doth (yet in such supernaturally
knowne misteries the lesser the better): but if we once give away
the sufficiency of or rule (for matter & words) in points wch

none can be saved without we shall make such worke as I tremble
to thinke of: Truly Sr I have a whole Volume of mischeifs yt would fol-
low it, all written in my thoughts: but I must silence them for bre-
vity. The very enemies wch they se our addition will therupon de-
spise all. I am afraid the consequence would lead us to Rome or worse.
4o I desire yu to search ye Script: & put in any magnificent expression con-
cerning the H: Ghost wch they can find wthout perverting the sence & I shall
yeeld, 5o If none of this will serve, I desire yu to let or people take ye
Apsts Creed as sufficient & let yt be ye Test, & let ministrs subscribe
the ~~[illegible]~~ Constantinopol Creed, yea or Athanasius's & I will be
out: But this will not serve, bec. they thinke not the Apsts sufficient
6o If there be no other remedy rather yn not associate I desire we
may in this one word use a different forme (but this is a sad remedy)
Sr I have shewed you our great stop God hath possessed my heart
with such a burning desire after ye peace & unity of ye Churches yt
I cannot forget it or lay it by. I feele a supernaturall power turning
my strongest zeale & thoughts yt way: & I am afraide under pretence
of reconciling to frame an Engine for perpetuall divisions, by sinning away
the only rule & Center of reconcilemt & unity & so leaving it unpossible
for I know ye Devill's last way of undoing is by overdoing, & wn it fits
his turne, he will seeme more orthodoxe & zealous agt error yn Xt himselfe
Sr seeing yu freely offered your help, I do in ye name of divers of
my brethren intreate you to be at so much paines as to shew this
letter to Byshop Usher, & to procure his advice & to adjoyne your owne
whether I were best yeeld to them (wch I know not yet how to do)
or wt way we were best take. It is not I yt can expect so much
interest in him or you, who am knowne to neither of you. But its Xt
& his Chur. Unity & peace whereof you have both shewed yours: cordiall
lovers (O yt we had more such). Truly ye judgmt of you two will take
more wth me in this case yn of — many. And I hope ye Reverend old
man doth take it for ye most honorable worke of his age, to be instru-
mentall for ye Chur. peace 2o I intreate you yt if he be at leasure
you will also procure his censure of or whole confessio, & or propositions:
& adde your owne 3o And yt you will procure his judgmt how far these
following propositions may conduce to peace wth our brethren of
the Episcopall judgmt as things now stand wn no more can be don
for I intend wn we are setled in or association to adde these proposals
& offer ym to or brethren yt we may unanimously close. I will
write ye propositions on ye other side. Sr if you can effect these 3
things you will do me a singular favor. but I must intreate all
possible speed: for all or business will stop ye while. It is not I only
but almost all or brethren yt will be very much swayed by Bp
Ushers Judgmt & yours. And I must engage you not to give any copy ~~[illegible]~~
of or papers (propositions or confession) to any other till we have agreed
on them. The Lord preserve you & blesse ye endevors of you & all
true friends to ye Chur. unity & peace. Farewell

Feb 5. 1652.

Your unworthy fellow labourer

Richard Baxter

6 I do but give ye matter of my further intended proposalls
here for I suppose it must be more exact in termes.

1° We being all servts of one Lord, & preachers of one Gospell & faith & for
one Chu: wch is ye body of Xt do resolue & promise faithfully to endevor love
& unity; & to avoid dividings into small pties; & to associate wth each other
& joyne together in ordinary meetings for mutuall edifycacon, & consul-
tations about ye right ordering of or flocks & ye maintaining of brother-
ly familiarity, & correspondency. //

2° We do resolue & agree to admitt non into or association who is known to
be scandalous, ungodly or ignorant & incompetent for the work
of the ministry, of wt opinion or pty soever he were unles he give
satisfaction of his reformation.

3° We do consent yt in pticular chus yt haue many elders, some one who is
fittest shalbe their ordinary Moderator or President; & so to continue till
he be found unfit: & for the title we must leave it to every mans judgmt
whether they will call him a moderator President, Bp, Pastor, or Elder. And
for ye degree of his power over his fellow elders, we must leave it to the
consciences of each of those elders, yt those whose judgmt so leades ym,
may do nothing agst his consent in matters of order (except he contra-
dict the word of God): & those whose judgmts ~~[illegible]~~ are otherwise
may yet allow him ye reverence of their President or Moderator.

4° We do consent in or associated assemblies, to chose ye most able, understand-
ing, pious grave divine of yt association to be or moderator or President:
& not to change ye saide President or Moderator wthout weighty cause, but
consent yt he continue while he is fit

5° And for his title (as in the former case) we shall leave it to each mans
judgmt not thinking it a matter to hinder or Brotherly Communion if
some shall give him ye title of, Bishop, & others of President, or Mode-
rator

6. Seing ye exercise of Ecclesiasticall power is not coercive by mulcts, or corporall
pænalties but is directly on ye conscience, & is effectuall but according to mens
conscientious submissio, we shall so impartially & faithfully endevor to under-
stand ye nature extent & ye subject of this power & then leave it to each
mans conscience whether he will submitt to ye assembly & President, so as to
do nothing agst ye consent of either (giving to each a negative voice) or
whether he will harken equally to ye whole assembly, allowing to each member
yt respect wch is due to their worth. we judg it unlawfull to divide upon
this difference: but or duty to walke together in love so far as we do agree

7° We intend this submission only in matters of Ecclesiasticall cognisance, & in
circumstantialls or matters of order not determined of ptcularly in
ye script: but left by Xt to humane determination. for we do unanimously
agree yt no power of Assembly or President can bind any of us to goe con-
trary to ye lawes of God

8. In case of ordination of Elders or deacons, seing some of us judge ye
presence & consent & handes of ye President to be of necessity, & ye rest
of us judge it lawfull & convenient we do so consent to desire still ye
presence & approbation & imposition of ye handes of ye said president
& not to ordaine any wthout him if his presence can be obtained. but whe-
ther to judge this power herein to be greater yn ye rest (as having a
negative voyce) or but equall with others we leave to ye conscience of ye
ordainers, & each assistant to judge as they see cause: it being not in or
power to change or force ye judgmts of each other.

9° We will not endevor to make any man president or Moderator out of partia-
lity bec. he is of or opinion or pty; but will faithfully concurre in choosing
him yt we judge for ability & piety to be most deserving. And in case we
could not agree in or choice we will not so divide nor each pty withdrawe
into distinct associations; but we will make use of ye Arbitration of
some neighbour Association, or other peaceable judicious divines or of a lot.

10 We shall faithfully endevor to close as neerly as we can possibly in mat-
ters of order, & circumstances of Gods worship, & to yt end shall yeeld
to each other as much as we can. And wn we agree or selves: we will en-
devor to perswade or people, yt now differ, to agree with us & will not
foment any factions or divisions among them, but labor to unite them:
& will perswade them to obey their owne pastors in all things yt we
judge lawfull; though we may see cause to administer these ordinan-
ces differently.

Conr. Bergius
Diss. 2. p. 74.
Prax. Cath.

Principium est Scriptura Divina

1° Ipsa Dictione.
2° Interpretatione

1° Catholica omnium naturali ratione serio utentium
2° Catholica piorum notoris ex omnibus seculis.
3° Non Catholica

1° Modesta tolerabili
2° Immodesta intolerabili

1° Vera
2° Probabili
3° Falsa

quod improprie et apparenter sunt principium

Legi Andr. Colvij Epistol. excellentiss
Epist. de Termino Vitae in Beverovicij

Sr 7

my unfeigned love to yor selfe & Mris Warren, with hearty thanks for yor last labor & company, yt Sealed: &c. In Answ: to yors at present only a few words, &c.

1 That its not long since my Aphorismes came to yor handes, I discerne by some notes of festination: Though yt subject deserve yor esteeme, yet ye Author doth not, & he must acknowledge all of this to be free. That you & very many more are, with many things unsatisfyed, I have no cause to wonder at or take ill: And indeed it were impudency in me to expect yt so many pointes differing from ye comon judgmt, should be easily swallowed downe, wch I have bin so cudgelled to it before I would admitt ym my selfe: & in many of ye smaller I am not fully satisfyed my selfe: And were they all undoubtedly true, yet is it not ye bare discovery of a truth yt can satisfye, till you have studyed its nature & evidence as long as I, or at least with an understanding so quick & cleare as may advantagiously serve in stead of yt length of time, wch such as I must have. I still handle these smaller controversyes ut Theologiam liberam, loving those yt dissent as well as those yt are satisfyed. If you can Sr dissent friendly & placidly & peaceably it is as much as I expect: And why I may not be allowed ye like liberty of dissent from others I yet know not. That ye way by wch you deale with me is most friendly & would be most acceptable, you might easily conjecture: And I returne you hearty thanks for it: & yet double thanks, yt you are ye first yt hath thus candidly dealt with me, when not a few of my old friendes have bin liberall in their bitter reproaches behind my back. The Answr: you expect to yor Animadversions I shall not deny you, but canot now possibly give: having scarcely time to read over seriously as yet yor papers. If I have any ease one day I am sicke another: nay I scarce remember yt 2 houres together for this 2 yeares I have bin free from paine in one part or other, except sleeping: My body is able to study but 2 or 3 houres in a day when I am at best, & when I yn set my selfe to it, it so pumpes up ye Hypochondriack flatulency to my braine, yt ye instrumt of my studyes are quite out of frame. And for those 2 houres a day, I have besides preaching 2 dayes a weeke far more of other unavoidable studyes to spend ym in: Besides yt tedious practice of physick wch God & ye necessityes of ye poore have enforced me to. I hope none of this is yor case: I can easily conjecture by yor countenance & voice yt you are better able to study 8 or 10 houres yn I these 2. Besides not a few controversyes are thrust uppon me by others to deale with in ye same kind: & others on this very subject are ready to assault me, who may as well expect satisfaction as you: so yt I dare safely say, yt for every houres time yt I have to bestow, I have 10 if not 20 houres worke to doe yt cryes as loud for dispatch as this you expect. Besides yt I have no mind to meddle with disputings, as having never yet seene a good issue of any. And yet most of all, being so neere to death as in all likelyhood I am, so yt I never go up into ye pulpit but I have cause to doubt much whether it may not be my last, you might thinke me besides my selfe if I should turne my thoughts from heaven to these troublesome disputes. You conclude Sr too inconsiderately yt nothing but my judging you below my studyes can forbid you to Challenge this at my handes. You say yor publiq worke is as great as mine: for preaching I believe it: & suppose it be true of ye rest: yet remember Sr, mine hath bin greater yn yors: & ye more I have done ye lesse I now can do: I canot eate my cake & have it: & yet as yor worke is as great, so yor time & strength is incomparably more great: You are as a well rigged ship new & strong & so fitt for service: I am though not old yet broaken & weatherbeaten & allmost cast aside. No reasonable man will challenge more of a man yn he hath: or if he do, his expectation must needes be frustrate. Besides yet in respect of yor selfe I have no great heart to ye service: For to what End? Yor writing is only for ought I discerne to open my weaknesses & shew me my Ignorance & ye monsters it hath hatched: And what use is here for a reply? So far as you convince me, I will make use of it & yeald: & to plead for my owne credit is a worke I have no time for: & to vindicate my reputation with men, is a worke yt I intend not to bestow a sheet of paper in: I know more of my owne folly & ignorance yet yn you do. Besides I would not do you yt wrong as to entangle you in so unprofitable

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a work. I remember wt wrong I receiued my selfe by being brought by Diuines vppon
disputations wth all & in writing too soone: beside yt it made me such an Animall
pugnacissimum (ut de Ashwo dixit), as you haue discouered me; a far greater mischiefe
I receiued by it, wch is this: It possessed me with so eager a desire to make good ye
Cause yt I ingaged for, yt I was still partiall & prejudicate in my studyes; & so ye more I
studyed & contended, ye more I was forestalled & turned from some truthes: whereas
wt an advantage a free unprejudiced understanding is for ye through entertainment
of ye truth, is allmost inestimable. Yet did I verily think yt I was willing to know
ye truth, & I daily prayed hard yt God would reveale it: But O who can leape ouer
ye blocke of prejudice! I easily see by yor writings yt you are not in doubt much
of wt you say, & ergo far be it from me to think yt you desire an Answer: yt you
might learne: especially to learne of me! & more far be it from me to presume
to be yor teacher: ergo to wt end a Reply? // —— Yet Sr, though I cannot do
it so suddenly as you may expect nor can promise you it for ye future, my time being
in Gods hand, I will promise you this, yt I will take ye first opportunity yt possibly I can
get, to Answ: yor desires: Only I must desire you first to let me haue ye rest: partly bec all ye
Questions you haue yet touched in this part, saue one or two are but of smallest moment
with me, & those behind wch you mention are indeed ye things I did intend: & also you well
know ye many inconveniences of Answering one part, before I know wt you will say to ye rest.
And one thing let me intreat of you, yt you would not suppose yor selfe in ye Schooles
& so play only ye part of a meere Respondent, (as in ye beginning of this you do) pulling
downe mine & setting up nothing of yor owne in ye place: But let yor endeavours aime
at ye End of my Information, yt before I let go wt I hold I may know wt to receiue in
its stead: ergo let me haue yor Judgmt wt is truth as well as wt is my error. ffor I
solemnly professe to you yt I haue so thirsting a desire after ye truth, yt for yt
End I long to see ye rest of yors; & I shall receiue it as impartially as possibly I
am able; & if you reveale to me convincingly any notable error, I will not only
most joyfully retract it, but giue you ye thankes in ye hearing of ye world.
ergo I pray send me ye rest, & yn you shall haue an Answ: to all together if God
will enable me. And as a pledge hereto I begin with this to yor 3 charges in yor
preface. 1° yt my long experience hath taught me yt ye most accomplished men are
in many things Defectiue, O how true is it? And yet must we needes be all of one opi-
nion in all things? & must none haue liberty to dissent from ye defectiue without
at least ye brand of Heresye or error? O wt peace might we haue if men were but
conscious of yt their owne Defectiuenes! But how unhappily am I fallen into ye
guilt of such bitter sarcasticke Language agt Dissenters. I yt haue so bewailed it in
others; & whose very soule so abhorres it; & who daily pray & preach for Peace, hau-
ing paid so deare for warres & contentions! I who suffer so much in my reputation for ple-
ing for Moderation! & for studying out ye Meane betwixt ye Extreames of ye times
in doctrinalls & practicalls! am I now fallen under this guilt my selfe? If I be I
ily bewaile it, & aduise you & all others to think neuer ye better of ye sin, but take
warning by my example. But wt are ye particulars? 1° ffor Mr Walker, yt he is
one of ye Ignorant sort, yt he strongly reuileth & weakly disputeth: this is ye bitter sar-
casticke language: & ye 1st part is gathered but by a doubtfull consequence neither (
I call him Ignorant) But suppose it be so. It is not Ignorance in other things yt I
charge him with, but only in this: And do not you so too? 1° your [Defectiuenes] at
best must be Defectiuenes in Knowledge: & is not yt Ignorance? 2° You in yor Notes do
professe yor selfe to hold yt opinion wch he accounteth & calleth Heresye & damnable
Heresye: & yn sure either He or you are Ignorant: And can you doubt of this, or of
ye weaknes of his disputing, hauing but read his [Socinianisme discouered?] Truly
Sr I would faine say peccaui if I durst, for saying Mr Walker reuileth: But wt think
you of one yt hath for neere this 20 yeares together imployed himself in presse &
pulpitt in calling yt wch you confesse to be ye truth of God, Socinianisme, Heresye

damned & damnable Heresye: wch he should be extolling Gods Truth it hath bin his
imploymt even in ye pulpit thus to disgrace it. How glorious a man of God was
Mr Wotton? How few such saints did ever England breed as Mr Bradshaw? & Mr Gata-
ker? ye one yet living how hardly can you match if you seek betwixt Barwick
& Lands End? (Not to speak of Mr Goodwin) yet these mens doctrines are Damnable
Heresye: some of ym he canot let alone in their graves, but wn they are rejoicing in
spirit with Xt, their names must be branded for Heretikes with men. How many
many, many times doth he thus brand ym? How oft doth he call ym Lyers, bold Lying
Sophisters, wicked, blasphemous Heretikes, mad, drunken, furnished by ye father of
Lyes & Lyars, ye prince of darknes; forgers & false suborners of witnesses; In a word
he pronounceth agt ym ye curse of Anathema Maranatha Amen. He desires all
zealous Xtians to consider, whether it be not their duty to take heed to ym. & admonish
others, yt they have no fellowship with so openly profest Socinian sectaryes, for their
doctrine is wicked & blasphemous Heresye; in forging lyes they bin being condemned
of ymselves agt their owne knowledge & Conscience, &c. This is ye language yt for 30
yeares together ye choicest servants of Xt have had from him, even such men
as ye world is not worthy of. This damnable Heresye is it yt Piscator, Pareus,
Olevian, Scultetus, Cappellus, Camero, Alstedius, with ye like worthyes, have
engaged to maintaine as Gods truth; And are these also Heretikes? Besides
Mr Ball, Mr Gataker, &c. You may well cry Deus bone, quantū Horror! if you
think of any one of these. And now wt should a man say to such a man as this?
Is it indeed a sin to tell him yt he revileth? Am I not comanded plainly to rebuke
my brother, & not suffer sin uppon him? Doth not ye estimation of ye Truth re-
quire me to tell ye world yt such an opposer of it is Ignorant herein? Except
you think I should have told him of this privately. But he hath publiqly for
30 yeares bin guilty of ye sin: He hath passed many & many publiq admonitions
allready: Mr Gataker hath published him allready in print to be guilty
besides this, of many untruthes, & hath written a whole volume agt him of
this his unmanly dealing with his brethren; & concludeth (pag. 129) charging him
with manifest palpable untruth, wch together with divers others avowed by him, till
he Disclaime & Acknowledge, he shall not desire to have further dealing with one
yt regards no more wt he saith. And truly I think he ought to be exhorted publiqly
to recant all these most opprobrious wordes: & how should yt be done if he may
not be told of it, nor so much as gently told yt he Reuileth: May not a Theife be
told yt he hath stolen? Neq eo venire oportet dementiæ ut malignus sit qui non
adulatur, aut offendisse judicetur qui admonuit. (ut Bogerman: in præfat. cont. Pietate
Grotij ex Seneca). I never heard so much said agt Mr Gataker for yt whole volume
charging him so deeply, as agt my selfe for those 3 wordes. In a word, if you have
not read Mr Walkers Socinianisme discovered, & Mr Goodwins Answ: & Mr Gatakers Rela-
tion of ye Conference &c & especially his Answ: to Mr Walkers Vindication, you have
passed a bold sentence on me before you know ye cause: But if you have read
ym & yet account this to be bitter Sarcastike speech, yn I advise you to consider
whether you leave not Mr Walker uncapable of recovery for want of admonition,
& ye truth of God, & his deceased worthyes, uncapable of vindication, & whether
you do not make yo selfe accessory to his sin? You would be loath I know to be
guilty of Adultery or Theft: & why should you not be as loath to be guilty of
false witness bearing, & reproaching ye truth of God as damnable Heresye (
for you confesse it is ye truth) And you know Divines comonly say, yt he yt excu-
seth, defendeth, reproveth not wn he may, another mans sin, makes it his owne. My
soule longeth after ye peace of ye Church, & ye laying downe of all virulent oppro-
brious language: but if ye enemies of peace & users of yt language may not in
one word be told of it, yn they may go on & teare out ye churches bowells

without contradiction. Must ye credit of a peacebreaker stand up agt ye peace & well-
fare of ye Church of God? If you were sensible how much ye Churches felicity doth
depend uppon its peace, you would not shelter fro any reproofe ye most eminent
peacebreakers of most yt I know among Divines reputed godly. And thus Sir
I haue lookd back as you advise & Enquired wt he hath bin; ye mention wherof
yo: I haue necessitated. And his Age & weaknes is no priviledge to him for
sinning. I am in liklyhood far weaker yn he (wn I saw him last) & my weak
nes procured by publiq service, & yet I dare not thinke yt this should be an
defensative to my Sin. See yor Answ: in Gatakers Answ: to his Vindic. pag. 23.4. And now I
freely appeale to any impartiall enemy of Sin, whether my calling this language of Mr W.
[ignorant reviling] or yor terming mine [Bitter Sarcastick Language agt a dissenter] be
more base & lesse injurious? And if yet you thinke him learned not Ignorant, tell me
wt yt man is yt shall write yt It is Socinian heresye to make faith ye Condition of ye New Covenant
wch was in his Paralel agt Mr Wotton: & Socinianisme discov: pag. 145. & yt Adam had no holyn
in innocencye: & yt ye holding of yt his opinion would overthrow Arminianisme; as in his Treatise
of ye Sabbath. ‖ My next unworthy language, is as you say, Calling ye greatest pt by
far of all ye godly Divines in England, except very few The vulgar sort of unstudyed Divines:
Answ. 1o yt there are a vulgar sort of Divines, & those unstudyed, O yt I could truly deny,
I were on ye pillory for this speech: Aske all Comittees yt haue occasion to enquire, uppon condition
where I haue travelled it makes no dfe. 2o yt this sort use to follow ye way in credit: And in ye Countyes I
know. 3o But ~~whether~~ yt I so called ~~the~~ greatest pt of all ye godly Divines, I thinke, you canot but
to know whether it be true or false (wch yet you should haue knowne before you had spoken it) is past yor power
I said indeed yt ye maintainers of ye first opinion are (beside some able men) ye vulgar sort. & but yt
1o ye few & ye very few are bote forged: 2o & how many able godly men may be for ye two following opinions
how can you know? pchaps I can give you a larger list of ym among my acquaintance yn you are yet
aware of. I am sure you haue not had ye opportunity of so trying all ye Divines in England, as to be
able to say, yt one pt are so very few, & yt joyned with ye able men of ye other pt. And where
yn is ye truth of this accusation? However it falls out yt you are not among ye vulgar sort. ‖
3o But ye 3d I confesse is ye highest charge of all ye rest. whereof some is mine directly, ye rest by one
of yor consequences. 1o That I call ye Antinomians Ignorant wretches (a phrase of pitty) I confesse
& would recant it if I ought. For indeed since I had allmost bin one my selfe 10 years agoe
(wch makes me speak ye more sensibly agt ym) I haue fully discerned their exceeding ignorance; so yt
I haue taken it for granted, yt a learned man & good head piece may possibly hold ye errors of Arminians
but hardly ye Antinomians: & yt they ~~far more~~ pply may be called enemies of ye Gospell as of ye Law.
But, alas poor I, may say nothing without a lash. I well remember wn I lived at Coventry, I
had occasion in a Sermon for unity, to Qe: whether ye Separatists, Anabaptists, Arminians & Antinomians
were Heretikes, & I determined as I use to do for peace: And no sooner was I come home, but (my
familiar friend now in Heaven) Mr George Abbott (as able a Gentleman in Divinity as ever I mett
with in England) did take me aside & chide me handsomly bec I did not flatly conclude ye
Antinomians to be Heretikes. And now — But how hard is it to please all? 2o But yt I so call
ym ignorant wretches bec they are ignorant of yt distinction chiefly, is meerly feigned, to wt use you know
best. As I take ym to be, so I use to call ym an Ignorant sort: I haue intended no more, but yt this was one
branch of their Ignorance. And is it yn a truth indeed & fit for ye pen of a pfessor of truth, yt together
with ye Antinom: I intre yt opprobrious brand of Ignorant wretches generally on ye soundest &
most worthy others? wt a witt is it yt can raise this consequent fro those pmisses: I am sure ye
witt of an Angell could not haue done it, & yet yor can. But Sr 1o Haue you not read how Dr
Davenant de pace hath proved yt consequences ought not to be charged on any man as his sayings
or doctrine, wn he directly denyeth ym & affirmeth ye contraryes: See Stresso pro Amesio. 2o
And how make you this far fetcht consequ: appeare? wt if I say of an Idiot, This Idiot knows
not how to count mony; or, he knowes not how to behaue himselfe among gentlemen; or he knows
not how to ride a horse well: doth it indeed follow, yt I call every man an Idiot yt canot
do these? wn some of ye greatest Schollers haue bin ignorant in ym. And yet not to be ac-
counted Idiots, bec they were knowing in far greater things: & in some things you said
before ye most accomplished are defective. 3o If all this will not serve, I am ye fittest expounder
of my own meaning; & yn tell you now how you shall more truly understand me. Where you say, yt you are
confident I canot shew 3 Orthodox Divines yt receive my distinction of Legall & Evang: Righteousnesse,
I would you were lesse confident of yor own reading: wt man knoweth not yt there is more yn 3 or 300
such Divines writings yt a man of yor age could not possibly read? I haue had some years time
longer yn you to read in, & yet how many 100 books bee there yt I never saw? & how many
100 more yt I haue read but by ye halfes? Besides, there are many yt understood yt distinction in
ye substance & sence of it, & yet use not ye termes. I thinke I alledged 3 in ye End, viz, Calvin

7 Perkins, Zanchy: & who dote not distinguish betweene Righteousnes Imputed & Inherent
in ye Saints.~ wch I thinke is to ye same effect. But wn you tell me I so brand ye very
ꝑsons yt I submitt my booke to (for ye Sermon Dedicatory is ye printers, & not mine) me thinks
you presse uppon me very hard: If it be true, yt they are so modest they hitherto put it up.
But (besides ye strained consequence) I pray you by ye next, (that I may be able to be=
lieve you concerning both their Judgmts) let me desire some testimony either under
their handes or by witnes, whereby you are assured yt neither of ym so understand
this distinction as to reverse it: Till yn I have some more reason yn you are aware
of, in this not to believe you. ¶ So much for ye error of my language. ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ And here, (but yt I may be thought only to recriminate) I should tell
you, yt I have seen alsoe yor more publiq & eminent labors in print: & I was sorry yt before
ye House of Comons you should so jerke those yt could not keepe yor daies of humilia=
tion: wch we have had opportunity to know undoubtedly, were many 100 able &
conscionable Divines, & most of those in ye City where you were: I thinke it was
needles to exasperate yor Hearers agt ye generality of godly Divines & so many
tender conscionable Xtians. yt our disrespect to ye State or comon good should be ye cause
is incredible to those, yt know how many stormes & watchings & tedious marches, &
fightes, & wants we have some of us gone through, & yt on or owne cost without any recom=
pence, & (for my owne ꝑt, to ye utter overthrow of my body), for above 4 yeares together
wn you were at home. ¶ 2o The next thing you except agt is my Hopes: You canot
chose but wonder, you say, at my Hopes, yt this Worke shall so effectually conduce to ye in=
formation & settlemt of yt p̄tious people, as I seeme to expect. Answ: And doth a seeming
expectation raise so great a wonder?~ If you canot chuse, there's no remedy: Els I should
try to take of yor wondering: 1o By telling you I did indeed but seeme so to expect: for
I never told you of my expectations of any such effectuall conducemt to their settl=
ing: though their information is ye thing I aime at & not without hope. 2o If they are
so p̄tious a people (as indeed comparatively they are) why may not I hope yt they
should understand ye maine points.~ But you give two reasons agt my Hopes: 1o There are many
Questns yt have little tendency to practice, & scarce serve to any use but disputation. Answ.
If you had told me wch those many are, I should better have believed, & easyer come to ym
Perhaps I may possibly discerne some one use for ym wch you do not. He yt makes an
Instrumt knows for wt use better yn another. 2o Suppose it be so (as its like enough)
those are but on ye by, & not ye thing chiefly intended or treated on. A man hath
fingers & nailes & haire, as well as heart & braines & liver. 2o You say ye whole
discourse is so Scholasticall yt you can hardly believe they shall gaine much by it
yt have not drunk in artificiall Logicke. Answ. 1o I canot possibly be of yor mind either
concerning ye whole, or ye greater ꝑt. I thinke there is not one leafe in 6 or 10 yt hath
any such expressions, but by naturall Logicke may well be understood. Sure I am
it was none of my purpose to hide from ym either p̄misses or conclusion: I did
of set purpose avoyd ye termes of art & ye forming up of Arguments where I thought ye matter
might possibly spare ym. Els had there not bin worke for a great ꝑt of yor ex=
ceptions: But wn you search ye ꝑticulars you forget this, or are of another mind
& in stead of being Scholasticke, you find Pure Collyer (as you speak) & monsters
& consequences like ye Mans of ye Moone. 2o If it were as you say; yet why might I
not hope it might be usefull wn wee have divers yt have drunk in yt Logicke, some
5 or 6 Schollers & some gentlemen: & some at ye university now, & some ready to goe,
wch in time may understand wt yet they do not: And ꝑhaps some of ye illiterate are
more knowing yn you are aware of: if they were not, yet they may grow: You
canot thinke I meane ym all or most: The highest forme in Xts schoole here must
be taught, though they are but few, & though all ye rest understand it not. Howevr
if it should do good neither to ym nor you, yet if it do no harme, I have done
no such wrong, but wt may well be pardoned. If I were so foolishly proud as to set
up a seeming skill & learning for to be an Idoll for ye illiterate to adore; you have
I hope, done ym yt right as to pull downe their calfe & stamp it to pieces. ¶
3o My next fault is another mans; The objector, you say, dealt too easily & sligtly
with me, passing by ye most materiall doubtes. Answ. 98

But do you blame me for yt? Do you not find I say as much my selfe in ye Epist.
And yet in my judgmt many of those yt he touches are as materiall as any yt you
yet have dealt with. // Sr I was glad wn I discerned yor freedome of speech,
for it would priviledge me to be as free. If you shall find any passage
yt seemes too acrimonious, I pray make ye same favourable interpretation
of it, as I do of yors, judging yt fervor of speech doth not intimate any
diminution of Love; & wt canot be excused, let it be remitted: Especially here
in this answ. to yor Preface, where yor somwt injurious, ungentle & wrested constructions
do hardest urge. Errors many I doubt not I am guilty of, & no doubt some
such you may find in my booke; for as little yt I know in comparison of yt I am
ignorant of: but these opprobrious speeches wch you charge me with by forced
consequences, my conscience tells me were farre from my thoughts.—

Sr I am Yor unfeigned friend & unworthy fellow servant
Ri: Baxter.

Kederminster Febr 11o.
1649o.

For my very much valued
& beloued friend Mr
John Warren preacher
of ye Gospell at
Hatfield Regis
in Essex.
this

8 Sr, July 9. 77. ffor my much hond friend Mr [illegible]

Since ye writing of my last to you, yr owne words have acquainted me, I. That you take my principles to have some inconsistency or contradiction: II. That you thinke I have not yet told you what Church Governmt it is yt I would have; or how it can attaine its ends: III. That you suppose yt denying men ye Sacramt of ye Lds supper is a Coercive power sufficient to force unwilling men to obey Church Governrs: IV. That you told yt all Religious Assemblies not allowed by ye Bps are unlawfull & therfore we must rather use none than such. //

I. As to the first, noe reason obligeth me to beleive you, til you prove it: wch must be by citeing ye inconsistent words. How easy is it to tell you or any man yt you speake Contradictions? Is accusing, proveing? And you have told me by experience yt mistaking hearers & readers understand not mens words soe well as ye speakers or writers doe: when you soe widely mistooke a speech of mine, when I had told you that as far as I could learne by my owne Acquaintance & ye report of ye members yemselves, there was but one knowne Presbyterian in ye House of Comons when the warrs began, (I named you a credible witness yet liveing) & you report yt I said there was but one Presbyterian in ye Assembly of Divines: May not my writeing be as much mistaken by you. Prove yr charge & I will confess my Contradictions, & give you thankes. //

II. As to the 2d I was afraide I had used more words than need, If all yt I have said tell you not wt I meane, you may excuse me from addinge more, wch are like to be noe more significant: you must name me ye particulars yt you are unsatisfied in before I can know what is needfull to be added. One particular you did name: viz: Whether I hold a power in the Church to deny men the Sacramt yt would have it? I left you noe reason to make a doubt of it. If this be it pardon the repetitions wch you make me guilty of, & I shall renew my Account.

1o I beleive yt Christ hath instituted ye office of ye sacred Ministry (wch ye Ancients called Sacerdotium) as subordinate to his Teaching, Ruleing, & Sacerdotall office; & yt being obliged to Disciple & Baptise ye Nations, & to teach them Christs Comands, & to guide them in holy Doctrine, Worship & Discipline, they are authorized to all yt they are Obliged to; & yt it is their Office-worke to Administer Baptisme & ye Lds Supper, & yt they have ye Church Keyes to judge whome to take in by Baptisme, wt food to feed ye Children of ye Church with, & wm to cast out of its Comunion. //

2o I beleive yt this power is limited & regulated by Christs owne universall Laws, & yt they are not lawlesse or arbitrary; but he hath bound them, by a just description, wm to take in, wt food to give ym, & wm to cast out. And yt he hath given ym noe power to crosse & violate these his Laws: And if they doe it notoriously it is null & worse, & noe act of Authority, but of sin. E.g. If Bps baptise unconverted infidells, or give ye other Sacramt such or to notorious wicked impenitent persons. //. 3. I beleive yt if one or many Bps or priests doe disobey these Laws of Christ their sin doth not oblige all other persons to rebell or sin wth them, or disoblige ym from their duty. E.g. If some Bps should refuse to receive penitent Beleivers and their

x

feed into the church by Baptisme, others are neverthelesse bound to receive
them, & not all ye Bps in the World to keep them out because some doe
it sinfully; for if some Bps would feed them wth unsound doctrine,
or corrupt Gods Worship (e.g. with Image worship or language unintel-
ligible &c) others must not follow them, but doe better: And if some Bps
turne Christs sheep out of his fold & pasture unjustly, denying them Com-
munion, others must not doe wickedly wth them, but must receive
such: Else one Tyrant might oblige all ye Churches to tyranny. 11. 4o
But while ye power of the Keyes is Lawfully used, he yt is justly cast out
of ye Communion of one Church should not be received to Communion of
any other yt hath just notice of his Exclusion, till ye Cause be removed.
11. 5o But ye notice of it concerneth not those yt living out of reach are
uncapable of Communion wth yt person: If a woman in this Parish be Excom-
municated as a scold, or a man as a drunkard &c. the Bp. is not bound to send
notice of their names & case to Ethiopia or Armenia, nor to all ye Christian
World, nor nor to all England; nor doe they use to doe it to all the Parishes
in the Diocesse, but only to yt one where ye person liveth: But I doubt not but all yt
Church should know of it, of wch he was a Communicating Member (By ye way, why is
not all ye Diocesse told of it, but yt men are Conscious yt he hath not personall Com-
munion wth them, & therefore need not be sore Excommunicated). 11. 6o There-
fore mens limited capacity allowing them *personall Communion* but in a nar-
row Compass, there needs noe Confederacy of all ye Christian World for re-
jecting of those yt one of them hath first rejected. 11 7o But in well order-
=ed ~~and~~ agreeing Churches none should be ~~admitted~~ received presently into ye Communion
of Another Church wthout due notice of his aptitude or capacity, wch regu-
=ly should be by ye certificates of ye Church whence he came, called *Communi-
catory Letters*; or if he was never before admitted to ye Sacramt because
not at age, his own personall profession giveth him right; and for it doth
in ye Countrys where through neglect such certificates or testimonys are
not in use, so be it there come in noe proofe agt him, yt he stands Excom-
municate or deserveth it. A professing Christian hath right to Communion
if he travaile through all ye Churches in ye World, till his profession be
disproved, or his claime disabled by just testimony. If a man be Ex-
communicate in e.g. Lincolne Diocesse in one Parish Church above
1000 Parishes more of ye same ~~Diocesse~~ Church=Diocesane) may receive him
for want of notice; unless they are bound to receive noe stranger
of Another Parish: And yt is a kinde of Excommunicating of all Christ-
=ians from the Communion of all ye Christian World except one
Parish: 11 8o The Legall Excommunication which is only a generall
promulgation, yt such or such sinners *in specie* shall be *actually* Ex-
communicate is done already by God himselfe in his Universall
Laws: And noe man ought to make Laws to Excommunicate any
yt Gods Laws doe not decree to be Excommunicate, save that where
there is a difficulty in discerning whether this or yt *doctrine* or
practise be indeed ye sin soe condemned in Gods Laws, mens
Laws may Expound it to remove yt difficulty. If all were Excom-
x =municate yt Gods owne Laws doe require to be Excommunicate, alas
how great would ye number be: for little need is there that ye volumi-
nous Councils should Excommunicate many more: and yt Councills
should be added to Councills, to ye End of ye World, to make new Laws
for Excommunicating men. 11 9o When God hath Comand & de

Christ.

Chriſtians in his Laws, to avoide any ſort of Wicked
ſuch not to eate, the fact being once notorious the perſon is ſoe
far ipſo jure Excommunicate, as that all are bound to avoide
familiarity with that perſon, though noe Bp. ſentence him:
But the Paſtors having the Church Keyes, we muſt not goe out
of ye church becauſe ſuch a man is there: for who ſhall be in ye
church is not at his judgmt, but who ſhall be at my table is at mine. //
10 But if the Church itſelfe be Eſſentiated of ſuch as God thus
Commandeth all to avoide, & this be notorious, every christian
muſt avoide that Church: the Eſſentialls of a church are ye pars
regens & ye pars ſubdita; the Paſtors and the body of the flock. If
either be ſoe far corrupt, the Church is Corrupt: where any one
Eſſentiall part is wanting or depraved then the Eſſence is wanting
or depraved. Therefore where many Paſtors make up the pars
regens of a particular Church, it is not yt Heresie or wickedneſs
of ſome one only yt will warrant a ſeparation, becauſe one is but an
Integrall & not an Eſſentiall part: But where one Bp. only is ye Eſſen-
tiall regent Conſtitutive part, there yt one mans Heresie or notorious
wickedneſs (ſuch as we are Commanded to have noe Communion with) will
allow us to avoide yt Church, as a church, though not each member of it,
who are parts ſtill of ye univerſall Church. 11. If I know yt further Expli-
cation of my thoughts it is yt you deſire, I ſhould be ready to give it you. //
III. As to the Coercive Power wch you talk of; it is ſtrange if we can differ
about ye Nature of it: but we greatly differ, I ſuppoſe, about the
Extent of it. Pardon me, if to avoid Confuſion, I firſt ſpeake of
the name; and then of the thing: 1o though ye ordinary uſe of the wds
Coactive & Coercive be to ſignify that wch worketh either on ye Body
& its proviſion only or on ye Minde by force upon ye body or eſtate;
yet if you will but tell me what you meane by it, ſoe diſtinctly yt
we may not be entangled wth Logomachy, take it in what
ſenſe you will: the words wch you uſe are the ſignification of
yor minde: I deſire but to underſtand & to be underſtood: I follow
Bp. Bilſon (of Chriſt. Obed.) & others Comonly yt diſtinguiſh
ye power of Magiſtrates & Paſtors by ye names of the Power of the
ſword & of ye word. By ye firſt they meane all power of corpo-
rall mulcts & penaltys, directly ſuch, (for he that grieveth ye minde,
conſequently troubleth ye Body.) by ye latter they meane all that
officiall power of Gods wd & Sacramts wch worketh by the ſenſes of
hearing ſeeing & taſting, upon ye Conſcience, yt is on ye Underſtand-
ing and wills & by theſe reformeth practiſe, the word is thus delivered
either generally, by comon doctrine, wch is, historicall, aſſertive, precepts,
prohibitions, promiſes & threatenings: or by perſonall application
of theſe. 1o by meere words, as in perſonall inſtruction precept, threat-
ening &c. & by declaration yt [This perſon proved and judged
guilty of Impenitence in ſuch & ſuch ſin, is uncapable
of Church communion, therefore by Authority from christ
I Command him to forbeare, & you to avoide him:

And

and such a one being proved nocent or penitent, hath by Gods Law right to Communion wth his Church, therefore I absolve him, invite him, receive him, & command you in Christs name to hold loving Communion wth him. 2° Or it is ye Application of wds & Sacramentall signs together, by solemne Tradition & investiture; or ye denying of such Sacramts. Breifly Magistrates by Mulcts, prisons, exiles, stripes, &c. work on ye Body. Pastors have noe such power; but by Generall doctrine and personall application by wds & Sacraments (given or denyed) work on ye mind or Conscience; all wch some call a Perswasive power, distinguisht (as Camero clearly) between Private perswasion of an equall, &c. & doctrinall, Pastorall, & officiall Perswasion, whose force is by ye Divine Authority of ye Perswader, used in teaching, Disciplining, judging & Sacramts. If you will call this Last Coercive or by any other name, you have yor Liberty: I will doe my part yt you may understand me, if I may not Understand you. || 2° Now ad rem can we disagree how farre this Constraineth ye unwilling? not wthout some great neglect or culpable defect. I may suppose then that we are agreed of all these particulars: 1° That Gods Laws have told us who must or must not have Sacramentall Communion, wch we must obey whatever be ye Effects. 2° That Excommunication is not only, nor always, cheifly, to bring the person Excommunicated to obedience (noe more than hanging) but to keep ye purity & reputation of ye Church, & ye safty of ye members, & to warne others. || 3° That the way by wch it is to affect ye Offender is 1° By shaming him. 2° by stricking his Conscience wth the sense of Gods displeasure declared thus by his Ministers. || 4° Soe far as the Sacramt is a means of Conveying Grace, to deny it is not to reforme but to destroy, but when ye person hath made himselfe uncapable of ye benefit of the Sacramt & apt to receive it abusively to his hurt, then it may possibly humble him to be denyed it. 5° If the denyall of ye Sacrament work not on a mans Conscience morally, (as threatenings doe) it noe way compells him to his duty, nor saveth him from sin. || 6° De facto Many hundred thousands of ignorant wicked Members of Episcopall churches are soe far from being constrained to goodness by being wthout ye Sacramt yt they are content to be wthout it, & Loth to be forced to it. || 7° The more sin and wickedness any man hath ye lesse true Conscience, and ye lesse conscience, ye lesse doth he regard an Excommunication. || 8° The Bps themselves are Conscious of the insufficiency of their Excommunications alone to compell any to obedience, while they confess that wthout ye secular power of the sword to back it, they would be but laught at, & despised by the most; nor durst they ever try to Governe by their Church Keys alone, among us wthout ye Enforcemt of ye sword. And at ye same time while they Excommunicate them from Sacramt they

have a

9 Right Reverend &c

3 As it was yor desire that we should returne an answer to those
three proposalls only in or owne names, who are but three: so we must
professe therfore that it is not to be taken as the act of the rest of our
Brethren the Comissioners, but as part of the Conference to which we
are deputed. And though we are the Managers of the Treaty for Pacifica-
tion or Agreemt, & not the Managers of the Division & therfore cann
take ourselves to be the persons meant by the Author of the Proposalls, yet
we are glad to take the opportunity of yor invitation, to professe that the
principall part of these Proposalls is so rationall regular, & Christian-like
that we not only approve of it, but should be fully satisfyed (as to the debate
before us) with the Reall grant of the first alone; & not be wanting
in or duty, according to or understanding & ability, in endeavouring to accom-
plish the ends of yor desires in the rest. // More particularly/

Ad 5m Though we find by yor Papers & Conference that in yor owne personall
Doctrines there is something that we take to be agt the word of God, &
seeme that we understand not the Doctrine of the Church in all things
alike, yet we find nothing contrary to the word of God in that which
is indeed the Doctrine of the Church, as it comprehendeth matters of
faith distinct from matter of Discipline, Ceremonies, & modes of worship //

As to ~~the matter of~~ Discipline ~~we have~~ was given in to his Maty before his
Declaration came forth, a summary of wt we think to be contrary to the
word of God: wch we shall more fully give in to you or any others when ever we
are againe called to it.

For the Comon prayer & Ceremonies, we have, in or Exceptions & or Reply
delivered you an account of wt we take to be Unlawfull, & Inconvenient,
& we ~~yet~~ humbly crave that or Reasons may be yet impartially considered.
At present we shall humbly offer you or judgmt concerning ye following parti-
culars, & ~~professe~~ or readynes to make it good when we are called to it. //

1o That no Minister be permitted to Baptize, without the prescribed use
of the transient Image of the Crosse.

2o That no Minister be permitted to Read, or pray or exercise the other parts
of his office, that dare not weare a Surplice.

3o That none be ~~admitted~~ admitted to Commun in the Lds Supper that dare not
receive it kneeling: And that ~~that all~~ Ministers be inforced to deny it to such. //

4o That Ministers be forced to pronounce all baptized infants to bee regenerate by ye holy Ghost. ~~to Baptize [illegible] Children [illegible] not in the Covenant, & therfore have no right to the seale of Regeneration by ye H. Ghost~~

5o
4 That Ministers be forced to deliver the Sacramt of ye Body & Blood of
Christ, unto the unfitt, both in their health & sicknes, & yt with personall
application, putting it into their hands: & yt [illegible] must are forced to [illegible] it. //

*6o That Ministers be forced to Absolve the unfit, & that in Absolute expressions

7o That they be forced to give thanks for all they Bury, as Brethren whome
God in Mercy hath delivered & taken to himselfe &c —

8o That none may have leave in publike to worship God by a more suita-
ble, orderly way: but all are confined to this Liturgie wch is so Defec-
tive & Disorderly; (which we are even now ready to manifest if
you will receive it.

9o That none may be a Preacher that dare not subscribe, that there
is nothing in the Comon prayer Book, ye Book of Ordination, or ye thirty
nine Articles yt is contrary to the word of God.

10o That none may be a Minister of ye Gospell yt dare not subject himselfe
by an oath of Obedience to the Bps in yt state of Governmt which
they exercised in this Land. //

It is contrary to the word of God

We humbly crave that all these points may be taken into serious consideration; & those of them wch we have not yet debated, we are ready to debate & give in or Argumts when ever we are called to it, to prove them all contrary to the word of God: And may we be so happy as to have this Proposall granted us, we shall undoubtedly have Unity & Peace. //

Ad 2. We suppose according to ye Lawes of distinguishing, you speake in this 2d Proposall of things so inexpedient as not to be contrary to the word of God: Otherwise the greatest sins may be committed by inexpediencies: As a Physician may murder a man by giving him inexpedient medicines: & a Generall may destroy his Army by Inexpedient wayes of Conduct & Defence; & a Pastor may be guilty of the Damnation of his people by doctrines, & applications inexpedient & unsuitable to their state: & a way of worship may be so inexpedient as to be sinfull & loathsome unto God: such as is Battologie, or thinking to be heard for affected repetitions or bablings; Pharisaicall Thanksgivings yt men are better than indeed they are, with abundance such like. But supposing yt you here speake of no such inexpedient things, but such as are not contrary to ye word of God, we adde

Ad 3. We are thankfull yt in such matters we may have leave to make any such Proposalls as are here mentioned: but we shall not be forward to busie our selves & trouble others about such little things without a speciall call. If the Convocation at any time desire an account of or thoughts about such matters, we shall readily produce them: And for [acquiescing in their judgmt in such matters], wch we there do in yt point is of small consequence, & for as much as ye Ministers yt we speake for were many hundreds of them displaced or removed before ye choice of ye Convocation, & others denyed their votes because not Ordained by Diocesans, & others not approving ye Constitution of Convocations, durst not meddle in the choice, we canot tell how farre they will thinke themselves obliged by the Determinations of this Convocation. But this can be no matter of impediment to yor satisfaction or ors: For we are comonly agreed yt we are bound in Conscience to obey the King & all his subordinate Magistrates in all lawfull things, & with Christian patience to suffer wt he inflicteth on us for not obeying in things unlawfull. And therefore while we acquiesce thus farre in the judgmt of those who must make the decrees of Convocations to be civilly obligatory, & the King intendeth to take their advice before he Determine of such matters, it is all one as to yt end, as if we directly did thus farre acquiesce in ye judgmt of this Convocation, if ye King approve it. But if the King & Parliamt dissent & disallow ye Convocations judgmt (as its possible they may have cause to do) would you have us acquiesce in it, when King & ye Parliamt do not? // And for yt last part of ye Proposall, by Gods assistance (if you do not silence or disable us) we are resolved faithfully to teach ye people yt ye division of the Church is worse than Inexpediency & yt ye peace is not to be disturbed for ~~any~~ ye avoidance of any such Inexpediencies as are not contrary to ye word of God: ~~[illegible] further than this, but we not now [illegible] further than ye Proposalls~~ // We conclude with ye repetition of or most earnest request, yt those wise & moderate Proposalls may be prosecuted & all things be abated us, wch we have [illegible]ved, or shall prove to be Contrary to the word of God. // But if we [illegible] on these things among orselves according to his Maties Comission ye world ~~[illegible]~~ may know we did or parts.

When the liberty of using yt Alterations & Additionall Formes wch we offered you, according to his Maties Declaration, would end all or differences about matters of worship; & when you have had them in yor hands so long since you called for them, & have not yet, notwithstanding ye importunity of or requests, vouchsafed us any debates upon them, or exceptions agt them, but ~~[illegible]~~ lay them by in silence, we once more propose to you whether the granting of w[illegible] you canot blame, be not now the shortest & surest way to a generall satisfaction

These are the most of the things wch we judge contrary to ye wo
of God, wch at ye present come to or remembrance, so we humbly
yt when ever you would have us give you a full enumeration of them, w
may have leave to consult with ye rest of or Brethren, & deliver it to y
by or comon Consent.

Good Sir,

I received yors of Aug. 3. wherein you please to put a higher
4 value upon my papers & conceptions than (I fear) they deserve being but ye first rude draught of such thoughts as presented themselves upon ye perusall of yor booke, & not any polished or methodized discourse. Those few things wherein, you say, wee differ, I suppose will be easyly cleared, I hope, if you please but to ~~[illegible]~~ observe ye difference between Sanctification & Justification; the differences (so far as at present I remember) ~~being~~ arising principally fro hence that you presse those things as ye belonging to Justification wch do indeed appertaine to Sanctification. The writings wch you intimate, I have herewith sent you; but, not having other copies of them I must desire that you will please to return them to mee again, when you have perused them; The one, being a Sermon, doth not admitt of any prolix discourse, ~~and~~ but onely a short handling of those things wch ye text doth prompt. (I must desire you to excuse ye foulnesse of ye copy, being ye first & onely draught of it, & penned onely for my own reading, & therefore with ye lesse care.) The other containes some Animadversions on Dr Twisse's Vindiciæ gratiæ; or rather some Velitations concerning his ~~[illegible]~~ Assertions therein, in order to a ~~[illegible]~~ sifting out the truth in those abstruse points concerning ye Order of ye Divine Decrees. It was penned a good while since when I was at a distance fro books & could therefore onely make use of my own notions as they were in ye perusall of his suggested: I had thoughts of imparting it to him, but once while ye distractions of ye times, afterwards his lingering sicknesse, & then his death, did hinder it. If in this or any thing else I may bee able to serve you, I shall bee glad so to doe. The Lord blesse & guide you & all yor endeavours for his glory & his churches good.

Exceter Coll: in
Oxford Octob. 14. 1652.

x 104

Yor unworthy brother & fellow-
servant
John Wallis.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

For my much honoured
friend Mr Richard Baxter
at
Kederminster.

Papers No. 10

Dear Brother   Bermudas ye 17th May 1685

Yors p Capt Bee came safe to my hands 10th Aprill wth
those things you sent, only Mother Bennet writes me of
5. 6 prs Stockgs from Cornwall & there is but 4. & others
[illegible] you bought in London; they are a good sorte
comodety but mony is growne soe scarce yt little will
sell but what is of absolute Necessity except it be
for strawe ware or tobacco wch here are both drugg
soe that this will be a miserable poore place in a short
time. I am sencible of the badd bargt I am like to have
from Newnam however I would sooner almost loose
all or to take 34th now I have been out & lost 18th of
mony (if you cannot obtain it) & have not yet made
a thorough Contract Let it alone till farther order, I hope
hee may make wth a good voyage I have noe [illegible]
it can never be worse except I loose all, but pray
Endeavour to get that little mony of him wch I sent
by him & he had not ye honesty to deliver he turns after
Norwood his master & knowes how to cheate or robb or
else there must be some mony by ordinary voyage. –
the barrell of Raysons you sent was a little too large for
this place to vend: & I blame ye Grocer was not very honest
for they were admirable good a top; & new, & a halfe foote
downe all candyed & almost rotten, Capt Bee came here
in a badd season, all ye tobacco being dispatcht away
to one place or other in ye Indias, soe he has sent his
ship to the Salt ponds & to spend away time till next cropp
ytt wilbe Xmas before he can goe from hence but to
helpe his badd voyage he met wth a small two deckt
ship of Bristoll bound for Burdeaux neare ye coast
of England, deserted yt had been taken wth the Turkes, &
Loaden wth Calfeskins & Butter they brought her hither
wth about 250 doz: skins most of them [illegible], you may
finde her enquired for amongst ye insurors. shee is a
good stronge new ship of 60 tons and he has sent her from
hence to the Bahama Islands to cutt & load Brazeletta
wood. pray mention ye currt price of yt comodety in yr
next & whether it usually riseth or falls. My time is
out in this house I now live in at end of this next & which
way then to steere I am not yet resolved. wee cannot pos-
sibly expect to heare from you till next yeare directly
to this place, but I shall earnestly begg you to write me
by way of Barbados. directed to the Honble Francis
Bond Esq some time before Xmas, about ye [illegible] if you
can. and if you have sold that strow ware and payd [illegible]

and should have gone through wth yor bargaine wth Newnam or
any other for the ships pray lay out whatever may be in yor
hands or any way come to you for me in some Linnings and
send it in a box by way of Barbados directinge it to m
Bond to be sent forward, vizt some good Narrow Blew, some
Kentings & Holland cloth & a little pretty good canvas and fro
put in the sheete wch I sent from Cornwall, wch I desire may be
mended & made serviceable, & about 30 or 40lb of pepper w
is a very scarce comodity at psent, wee are now off from
all sorts of Liquors, contentinge our selves only with
[illegible] & Ford. I hope this lettr will come time enough that
you may send mine unto the country and have a returne and
be able to write me as above some time in 7ber for if I
cannot in probabillity heare from you nor have any thing
at Barbados before Xmas. I may be removed from hence
for noe convenient habitation is here to be gotten for mo
though I doubt not of a better in another place, if you ha
not mony nor opptunity to send us any thinge. let us not faile
to have lettrs from you & Mother Hawkins before wee move
from hence. the newes of the kings death came speedely to
us from Barbados, how th'affaires further goe we are in ex
pectation to heare. Wee are glad to heare of yor good health
& our other friends and wish you all happinesse. I have bee
much better this yeare or more then I have been this 8
yeare. not one touch of the Gout or Stone I thinke my low
fare & abstinence from wine has contributed to it, the Bom
got out of Clutches though somewhat roughly handled, and
I thinke has noe reason to bragg of this voyage. Not else
but our hearty respects to yor selfe & sister Legge or Jam

Yor very affectionat Bro:

Stephen Slicker

[illegible]

~~[illegible] 17 May 1645~~

May. 8. 1661

Daval Bps May. 8. 1661

~~[illegible] Hinckes~~

To yorselfe

health

12

Being told that it was the desire of the Lord Keeper to speake with us
about a Union of the ministry, & the restoring of such as were ejected
& silenced; And being by Sr John Baber first desired to answer the Question
what would satisfie us. We told him yt we were not so unwise as to expect
a full satisfaction of all or desires about Church affaires; But the answer
must be fitted to the sense of ye Question: And if we knew their ends, & what
degree of satisfaction they would give, we could tell them our opinion
of the meanes, or termes, by wch it must be attained. And we told him that there
are divers degrees of satisfaction as to ye number of persons to be sa-
tisfyed, & divers degrees as to the same persons.
1o If they will satisfie or take in all orthodoxe peaceable worthy minis-
ters, there must be the larger termes 2o If they would take in the most
only, somewhat harder termes might doe it. 3o If but a few, then lesse
abatement might do that little work (For we cannot be so vaine as
to pretend, that the judgmts of all nonconformists are just of the same
size) So 1o If they would satisfie the farre greatest
part of those ministers called Presbyterians (whose case alone we were
called to consider of) & that in a high degree, so as they should thinke the
Church setled in a very happy state, the grant of wt was first desired
by them 1660 would do it; wch is the Reduction of Episcopacy
to the primitive patterne according to A:Bp Ushers modell, & the
Indulgences granted in his Maties Gracious Declar: about Eccles. Affaires
2o But if they would not give so high a satisfaction (wch I suppose we
are forbidden it to expect) the alterations mencioned & granted in his
Maties said Declaration alone would so farre satisfie them, as to make
them very thankfull to his Maty; & not only to exercise their office
with gladnes, as sensible of the greatnes of such a favor, but also
to rejoice in the happynes of the Kingdome, whose Union & contented-
nes would hereby be much promoted; & to feele themselves further
obliged to rejoice under his Matys happy governmt. 3o But if this
may not be granted, at least, the taking off all such impositions as
make us uncapable of exercising or ministry would be a mercy
for wch we should not be unthankfull, to God or the King; much
lesse requite it with any murmurings or dishonouring of the
Governmt, or neglect of or duty for his Matys happynes & the com-on
peace. When we came to the Lord Keeper
though his Lordsp told us, yt we might have liberty or selves to
offer such termes as we thought would best tend to the Unity &
restoration mencioned, yet he told us yt upon the advice of some
moderate men, he had certaine proposalls wch should shortly be offered
us. ~~And~~ wch not long after were delivered. And being desired to returne
ye sense of them, upon consideration ~~to~~ we wrote to his Lordsp,
yt ye matter of his proposalls requiring some debate, we could not
judge it fit to trouble his Lordsp with such things, & therfore desired
that two or three peaceable divines yt are conformists might
be appointed by him, to consider of them with as many of us.
Whereupon Dr Wilkins & Mr Burton were sent to assist us
in ye work. Who thought it not meet to renew or meddle
with any proposalls of or owne, but only to consider of those
given us by his Lordship. So yt his Lordsp having signifyed
to us yt both a Comprehension of some in the established mi-
nistry & an Indulgence for ye rest was it yt he desired; And it
~~being~~ resolved yt we were not to debate ye termes of Indulgence
at all, (wch we left to his Lordsp) but only ye termes of the

Comprehension, & also being not to bring in any proposalls of or own
but to consider of those offered; we shewed wt we desired should be altered
in them; To wch end we first drew ye summe & sense of them up in such
words as we thought were likest to be accepted; And many of those
words being upon ~~mutuall~~ discussion, excepted agt, & altered
we came to such an agreemt, in the manner (not as containing all yt
we thought needed to the full happyness of the Church, but) as would
have obliged us to a joyfull gratitude to God & the King. The
hardest knot yt we found before us was Somewt proposed like a
reordination. And or reasons agt ye nullity of the silenced Ministers
Ordination being many & great (wch were given in) & satisfying
ye Reverend Person whom we were to treat wth (for we were constituted
not to choose, but) to accept of such termes as might satisfie
both parties, without contradicting ye judgmts of either, so
as to put them upon supposed sin. // The altered papers, wch
were drawn up after these debates, were in the hands of me
R.B., & I left them confusedly among my rude papers at Acton,
there being no other copy of them yt I remember, but wt was there.
And being caryed thence suddenly to prison, I left them, I know not
well where: And never since [illegible] returning thither, but a few hours
hastily to let my house, I am uncertaine till I have leisure
& leave to search whether I can find them, or not: But we
are ready to obey or Superiors at all times, in any peacemaking
conciliatory work.

Ri: Baxter

ffeb. 25
1669

To my Reverend & worthy
brother Dr Manton at
his house in
Coven Garden
These

LETTERS.
fol.110. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

13

7 Worthy Sir,

I understand by my sons letter that hee is come to Kedderminster & that by yor favour hee is there dispos'd of, which is the greatest favour, that you are willing to afford him yor assistance in his manifold dissatisfactions, a catalogue of some of which I demanded from him, I here inclose that you may better know him & his disease. I have not been so forgetfull of my duty, nor so forward to cast the burthen of this business on others, as to neglect those attempts & endeavours my selfe which I conceived fit for mee & usefull to my son. Hereupon divers papers have passed between us: & I have again & again offered him (if hee would abide with mee & expound his doubts) to doe what I could for his satisfaction; but hee hath alwayes declined abiding & closing with mee, pretending hee could not endure what might be said without University helps; hee hath not obstinately refused to bee with mee, but his keeping with mee hath been with discontent, whereof I know no reason but his dissent in judgment, & shewing some dislike (but remissly [illegible]) of his running crosse in so many things to the churches of God. Hence I was induced (when it was time for him to go to work) to let him out for two yeares more to Oxon, to see whether there hee might obtain settlement, & for that purpose wrote to Dr Conant Regius Professor, to bee pleased to take paines with him, which hee did; but his imployment would not afford much time to deal with him, & my son was as I doubt rather to study the refelling of what hee heares (opposite to the truth to which hee expounds) than to weigh the strength of it & use his witts to improve it. So hee [illegible] to nothing in the University or to worse. For the first news I had from him there was his paper [illegible] & [illegible] the scriptures usually brought to prove original sin, — And another paper was, a plea for freedom, as to their salvation & pleasing of God by their moral acts — While hee was in Oxon hee wrote to mee about his being made Deacon, which I would not consent to, not onely because I knew hee might be ordained Minister in the present & which I take to be the more pious way, but especially because I could not conceive him in a capacity (in regard of his unsettledness in religion) to enter into the Ministry. And to be still preaching without a calling is to mee a sad thing. These things considered, I have resolved to ~~[illegible]~~ have no more to doe with him at [illegible], & I know not [illegible], nor could I imagine what course to take better than the University, till his (Sir) [illegible] address to you. I know you doe not so close with him, but the work is not dolare lapidem, but dolare [illegible], [illegible] want work, but to [illegible] them & to set out in frame for the doing of good, who otherwise may be drawn into sure engagements to ~~[illegible]~~ to ~~[illegible]~~ hurt; if hee bee [illegible] in making use of the best of yor assistance, I cannot but hope true to you in [illegible] God will make you an instrument of doing him much good, the rather because hee is & will bee a son of many prayers — onely as physitian [illegible] nature, so something will bee to keep his heart to you. Whatsoever books, helps, or wayes you shall advise to, for his improvement, I shall hearken to. The Lord multiply his graces in you according to the multiplicity of yor concernments, & in my greatest concernment make you so sufficient in that wee may both rejoice & glorifie God together.

Truly yors — William Thomas

x besides his longing to live in the University|

Ubley Jan. 11. 1658 —

Sir I speak freely to you of my son, as Patients do to physitians, yor prudence will make use of it, rather then make it known —

I make bold to inclose my sons letter here. I presume the conveyance will bee safest in yor name.

I should be glad to have some of yor able Ministers acquainted with my son. & I hope he may bee admitted to yor Meetings by which you will know him the better, & help him the more.

For my worthy & honoured friend
Mr Baxter Pastor at
Kedderminster, dd

Leave this with Mr Holland on the Bridge
Bristol with my intreaty for safe
conveyance :–

Reverend Sr.

The rumor of yr death had run through this country
unchecked of late to ye saddeninge of many an honest heart;
but at last wee were upon inquiry satisfyed that yu were
although not well yet not dead. Truly it is hoped that
the strange preservation of yr life by him in whose hands
ye dayes of ye sonnes of men are, is to reserve you for
some more then ordinary worke for ye good of his church.
I thanke yu for yr vindication wherein had yu not only answered
those railers but enlarged those argumts for ye justificatio
of the ministry wch yu doe but name or would yu yet take
some occasion to doe it, I believe it would be a very sea=
sonable service to ye church of God. There are Sr in
this county some zealous contendrs for æternall Justifi=
cation especially one yt is a mr at Salisbury; I remember
I heard yu say yu had 15 argumts agst it, If yu would
spare them mee by my brother Bartlet I should be very
thankefull to you & were I capeable of doinge you
a like courtesy I would. Deare Sr I know it is your
desire to serve yr generation to ye utmost I pray you once
more let ye land have ye benefit of those practicall
truths yu have acquainted yr owne people wth all. Those
things about pride, & ye deceitfullnesse of ye heart are
the most usefull for or age yu could have thought of. Good
Sr be not deafe to all ye importunityes of those yt
Love yu & all the incouragemts yu have from ye Ld fro heav
The Ld increase every grace in yr selfe & yr people and
destroy every corruption, The Ld mitigate yr griefes
& make yu more usefull and the if yu doe continue here than many & many
good men are that have a freedome fro them. The

Ld give yu his comforts to sweeten all yr discomforts. These are ye hearty prayers
of yr unworthy fellow servt in ye worke of
or dearest Lord
Peter Ince.

Dunhead.
May 7

Mr Grove desires heartily to be remembred
to you. I writte once formerly to yu I cannot tell
whether yu ever receaved it.

My Deare & ever honored Brother,

The last lr I had from you was of Octob 12. wch I
forthwith answered, & since I have not heard from you
though I have both heard of you, & seen yr papers
to my B. Tuce of infant-Baptisme: But I have not had
that leysure I desired so throughly to peruse them as I entend.
your Confession doth much rejoyce me, & it hath fully
answered my desire & expectation among your adversaryes
in these Western Parts: Here weare severall yong
Ministers, that wear all for preaching of ffree grace, &
had (by their own misapprehensions of yr Aphorismes, & mr
Crandons booke) strange thoughts as if you would have proved
another Grotius, & have published some Cassandrian Syn-
-cretisme: But now, I bless god, they are silent, wch I hope
will be a meanes, that your rest & Directions may
have a farther entertainment among them & theire
people; ffor they now confesse you sound in doctrine, onely you
differ in expression.
I was in good hope to have wayted on you at London, but I could
not do what I desired, & of late I lost my deare mother,
who through grace was another Eunice to me & my sisters
& I hope her labor was not in vayn, in any one of us; I most
feare my selfe; Oh that the God of all grace would endow me
with that meeke & quiet spirit, wch she adorned her with. this Losse
I say hath of late hindred from sending this enclosed to you.
I beseech you sent an answer to your Brethren in what
they desire: I have bin at their meetings, & truly it is
carried on wth so much love, wisdome, & unity, that I
do expect a great blessing from god of it: the subscribers
are some Episcopall, but eminently holy, & watchful over
their flocks, others Presbiteriall, others of the Congregati-
-onall way; all my very good friends, & did desire me
to be their petitioner for a speedy answer. I
doubt not of yr readines herein, & therefore I shall not
presse you to such a worke, wherein god may be so much
honored.
was some weeks ago wth mr Woodbridge of Newbury, & [illegible]
his answer to mr Eyre; wherein he [illegible]
without the least word of commendation [illegible]
say—mutuo scabunt. But he hath [illegible]

thoughts of you & he & I entend (God assisting) this sommer to ye Kidderminster: He entends
to have his booke first out because therein he says he never saw you, nor had any entercourse
of letters wth you. I find that he was no stranger to mr Hotchkis booke before it saw ye pres.
ye last he still shares much wth me, I have still greater cause to feare that popish designe
in making us infidels; I suppose those papers of yrs in a treatise how to discerne evill
spirits, from that revelation & witness of the Spirit the scripture holds forth, & gods
people may enjoy, would be very serviceable in these days.
I humbly beg yr prayers for me, my family & people, to be assured you are high in or
affections, frequent in or prayers, yr rest & Directions next to ye bible, the
choyce bookes among us all, wch make us still to beg for more practicall bookes
from you. The Lord still guide you wth his councell till he bring you
to his glory

yr much obliged brother
Wm. Bartlett.

ffordinbridge.
Aprill. 4. 1655.

Be pleased to send to mr Hamond
Bookseller in Sarum there by
London, or Oxford. mr Bent at Rad. Coll.

9

The last wch I had from you was of Octob. 12. [illegible] I

finde well answered, & since I haue not heard from you

though I [illegible] haue yett heard of yours & seen ye papers

to my [illegible] of infant-Baptisme: But I haue not [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] among your [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] for preaching of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] you would [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] that some rest & Directions [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] all my [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] you. The Lord shall guide you with his counsell [illegible]

[illegible]

To my Reverend & much honored
Brother Mr Richard Baxter
Preacher of the Gospel
at Kidderminster

worthy Sr

I thank you for your last & we are all engaged to you for your early concurrence with us: It pleaseth god to prosper us, I have not with ~~[illegible]~~ magna commoda nec minora incommoda, great incouragements & great discouragements. And for yt division I writ of, the moderate men among them I hope have diverted & ~~[illegible]~~ I wish it. I am not sorry yt I declared so deepe a resentment of it, for I find this good effect of it, yt they gathered this conclusion, yt their proceedings in it would prevent an accommodation & widen our differences, & yt it was very ill taken &c. And I beseech you yt you do not upon any termes declare to Mr N. or any others any indifferency as to yr carrying of theire worke on in distinction from us, yt will certainly much animate them to — carry it on. Whereas now they are prettily weary of it, & certainly ye effects of it would bee very sad considering yt more or less sides want not passion & partiality &c for law: I am very well assured by Sr Orlando Bridgman & Serjeant Maynard yt we are firme, as we are & there is no necessity of a corporation, nay there are many inconveniences come by yt way, which we few have enough to consider, at present this hath swayed most with mee all along, yt a state will meddle with nothing, but they will bee uppermost in it, & ~~[illegible]~~ it shall go hard, but one way or other they will subordinate it to a state interest. Many other things might bee written, but it is not convenient &c.

For R. N. I give you this intimation you will now find him more inclinable to Accomodation then formerly, not out of any change in him- ~~[illegible]~~ for ye better, but from ye change of affaires, because ye lord R. ~~[illegible]~~ is firme for agreement & because ~~[illegible]~~ Associations grow every day more considerable, & they lesse. For ye Oxford report I do further assure you yt I never heard or dreamed of any designe of theirs, but have long thought of it before I speake of it

It is true there was a designe by Ros. principally 10 or 12 ~~[illegible]~~ yeares
agoe for ye maintaining of schollars, but not ~~[illegible]~~ under ye
notion of divinity nor at all as in our way (for I knew those
papers) For your great businesse I can tell you this: that there
are ~~foure~~ diverse persons who I am informed pretend to be adepti, but
deny providence, scripture, Christ &c some of these meet togethe(r)
I have bin informed of a company yt have met together ye same
the other I heare nothing of [illegible] whether may further, I know not
sent to ye Devill; for Dr Gell I have ~~heard~~ him once or -
twice & I ~~find~~ him run much upon ~~Arminian~~ & some Familisti-
I heare hee hath good hand here by a ~~Familist~~
errors & ye way of Allegorizing scripture miserably, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~: His guests are divers of them Astrologers, some Seekers
others well inclined to ye Quakers like him: I shall enquire
further as I can: Some went to him & freely declared my
dissent & offence: I ~~[illegible]~~ found him not to be ~~[illegible]~~ able to make
out what hee had asserted: I am in great hast I rest

London Aug 24. 1658

Yours to be commanded
Mat. Poole

My dearest of vnknowne freinds, and brother,

17 I am ashamed yt I come to you so late after your last; and to my shame should I add excuse if I thought you weare offended at it. God knowes yt as I receaued your letter wth joy, so had it issued from mee a respectfull answeare before now had it not fallen into my hands in a storme. That very weeke I was sollicited to come to London, wheare I haue continued euer since, and am now likely to settle during life. I am chosen pastour of St Augustine's by Paul's wth great acceptance. It was so abhorring to mee, yt I thought I should neuer haue liued wthin the bands of Communion. But I was so wearied wth the profanenesse of yt county wheare I was yt I could accept of a prison wth company before it. And now I am heare I hope I shall not (if God giue life and leasure) transgresse the bounds of friendship as I haue done this last quarter. I hope yr Dyton hath excused it a little.

Now to your Ire. I think first yt Mr Burgess of the Lawe hath as vnusual expressions as yours. If yt of works be obiected, wth Meed in his printed sermons goes full as farre as you laying aside the terme of Merit. Next for Amyrald, I humbly confesse yt I mistooke him for another, who was first hired to write against BB: and next to write against our present state. I am loath to name yt Dutchman. I say againe, wtsoeuer Amyrald, and the Salmuriens, or Cameron hath done about redemption (of wch I haue read onely this last) I pray God (if he please) yt you may finish your worke about it. Theare is such a suitablenesse in your frame and way to present truth to my understanding yt I am earnest to make yt suite, but wth this caution, yt it be not to continue you in misery, but to add to your account in yt day.

I am pleased wth nothing more in your booke then y
distinction of Decretive, and Legislative will; wch
beinge a part of divinity more cleerly to my un-
derstanding then voluntas signi, and beneplaciti.
And yt lex is Ambulatoria determinatio de debito,
meriti, vel pœnæ pleaseth mee singularly: but
how you doe apply it to universal redemption I doe
not yet conceive. I blame my understandinge
not your expression, except in the brevity of it;
when you onely call it well a conditionall grant,
deede, gift, promise, not law.

I thank you hartily for noteinge the 3 great pillars
of Antinomianisme: But the first wch you are
pleased to call a desperate errour is not cleare to mee.
you will confesse yt Xt was our legal surety,
and so how did we not satisfy in him? How did
we not suffer in him? Is not the Right of the law
thus fulfilled in us, i. in our nature? I meane not
so as to be let loose from the obedience of faith wch is the
condition of the Gospell: yet so, as to performe ye
debitæ satisfactiones wch wee owe to God for breach
of the ~~[illegible]~~ Covenant of friendship. As to ye 2d
branch answere I might as well though I suspect
the man as learned and pious.

your sorrowe would encrease if you knewe as much
as I about the profaning of the Lords day, where I
dwell. and for wch I am weary of ye country many
yet am I glad yt you use the same argument against
it. Did the Apostles teach and practise it as an act of
obedience, or an act of rebellion. you dare say the
second say I): so you must say the first: and if so,
so is the warrant of ytt either totidem verbis
or equivalent to them.

I ~~think~~ yt I added not a ~~fie~~ figure too many, or a
cypher, the more was my trouble. Some fell to be
Brownists, some to be Independents, some to be
Anabaptists, some to be Antinomians, and some
to be Sheepwalkers about ordinances: but except
these 2 latter, I count them all pious persons
saveinge the presumption of theire leaders who
had beene my best Catechumenim.

As for yt of Camero in the middle way I have
learned it from him, and doe approve it in you:
and for you, I blesse God heartily for your successe,
nay, for Gods blessing upō your many sermons.
wch though you be my fellowe in suffering calumny
for your bent to Episcopall. Surely I have bene
a Chaplaine to Archb: Abbot, and B: Cook 30 yeares
together, yet alwayes hated the rigid courses
and worldlinesses of both their wayes. I suffered
much: under them to keep much from the shock of the
times, because I was alwayes counted a conformable
puritane, wth indifferent, not antecedent
conformity. And for my Judgment now I doe
professe yt I am neither Independent, nor Scottish
presbyterian: yet am I for Timothies presby=
tery wch I conceive to be a Regulated Episcopacy,
and so I think are you, as it seemes to mee in
one of your epistles before your Everlasting
rest where you speake of many presbyters
in every church to be imployed according to
gifts, and graces given.

That Rob: Abbott B: of Salsb: was my deare friend
and so is his daughter now, my Lady ~~[illegible]~~ Brent,
but noe kinne to mee. It may be yt you was
sonne to some Mr Baxter of Peterhouse in my
yeare. If so I rejoyce because he was of my ac=
quaintance. I am glad yt you keep strictly the
lawes of friendship: yet let me entreate you to
keep by you the copies of all those ~~tra~~ wch belong
unto you; yt though you doe not publish them whilst
~~theire~~ living, yet, if they be found usefull for
bolting out the truth, they may be published from
some good hand into wch at ~~might~~ may fall when you
are gone from this unworthy world. wch ye 2d on [illegible]
faith, I beleive to be very true of some divinity:
and wch ye 2d on Brownists faith, I beleive to be as strange
as false. But I adde noe more now, but subscribe
my selfe, wth a praying heart, and tongue for you,
your faithfull servant and Brother

octob: 29:
1650

Robert Abbott

115

on munday night or sunday night [illegible]
as he was and your selfe is, and give all surrisse and continue yours, so praye

Febru: 7. 1655 Your faithfull friend
and obliged Se

Mr Robt Abbott

18

Reverend Sr,

I blesse my God, that I can feeling
there is nothing in this world lies so neare my heart as
deare interest of my blessed Saviour, and that there is no
so joyfull to me as that of the increase of his Kingdom,
the ruin of the Prince of this world, with the demolishing
Princedome of darknesse, and surely you could not of spok
rejoicing words than those you writ, that you thought you never
hitt the way, till now of bringing downe the Kingdome of the Div
in your resolute undertaking of Catechising your whole Parish
As for the successe you in particular have found I professe it
strikes me with amazement, 800 familyes submitt! I should ha
heardly credited it, but that I had it from your owne hand
but as: what is impossible when God will have it so? I cann
doubt but as massie a crown as it is, which heaven hath
crownd you with in this and other wonderfull successes
you, but he withall hath given you an arm
of grace thats strong enough, to take it of your head
and lay it at his feete. You have advisd me to the same
undertaking, I give you hearty thanks: but if I doe set on
the work, will you ingaige to pray for me? I know you will.
But doe you really think I shall be able to bear so great
a burden? O Sir, why did you then speak such discouraging
words, that you fear you your selfe shall not hould out:
but you are weake in body, and so am I, my labours al-
most exceed my strength already: I preach twise every
Lords day, beside a weekly exercise in private for this winter
to my congregation, which in the summer I remove to the
publiq: have you 800 familys? I think mine not much
lesse; but I may safely say, farre worse; as for your good
servants I fear I shall find 5 or 6 score, if not so many
hundred. But seriously, Sir, it is not idle lazy humour that
makes these pleas, and to give you proofe thereof, I will te
you what I have determined since I saw your Agreement.
I devided my parish into 2 parts, the (1) is of such that have
submitted to me as there teacher, the (2) those that have not
the first, though they are competently apprehensive of
the sense of the profession, yet as to any clear and dis
apprehension of things, I cannot but think as for the most
part of them are very ignorant, and these I doe resolve to
sett on first, this will be more easie and likely to take more eff
when I have dispatcht these, then God willing, I shall m
to the utmost for the rest, but yet I am sensible of heav
burden in it, the Lord help me, and make his burden ligh
according to his promise. O Sir I beseech you pray for me
I was never so apprehensive of the need of prayers as now
I am.

As for my friend of whom you desire farther satisfac
I shall give you here the best I can. (1) you say, it is your
to get the ablest man you can, and truly I cannot blame you
but what to say to this I know not, except I knew how able
a man you could get; but a raw and untried man, you thin
not serve the turn, I confesse I know not how farre you may
those words, and therefore how to give a direct answer I kno
But thus much I can say (1) I think he is a serious Christian
that will set himselfe to the winning of soules with
his might, thats your question and thats my answer (2) as
the manner of his preaching whether it be quick and liv
I answer, (1) I never heard him preach, and therefore can
nothing thereof so confidently (2) but so probably I thi
hath a working way, for (1) he is one of strong affections
I know through long acquaintance with him, for he was so
time my chamberfellow in Cambridg (2) and I hear grea
commendation of his preaching where he hath been
upon a 12 month preaching as an assistent, the people
liking him before there Pastour, who is likewise a very
, and dull preachers are not ordinarily preferred
amongst
by honest people. Lastly, let his manner be what it
I am confident, that he hath the principles that wi
such a preacher you desire, as grace, quick parts
affections and a voluble tongue, and I perswade
a little tutouring from your selfe, would mould him
your hearts desire. As for his standing in the Univer
he takes his degree of M of Arts this next m
as I take it, he is the yeare under Mr Baines, as
his age, I am not certaine, I think its betwixt
twenty, as for his colledg, he was fellow Colle
with me and Mr Baines, of Christ Colledg.

I pray Sir, dont let the Colledg affright you, I think there is more offence taken at it than
given, I confesse there is ordinarily a more free Divinity runns through it, than any other
Society besides it, but if that be a crime, you know whos faultie besides them, you may think
I mean your selfe, and if ———— But as for the imputation of Socinianisme I am
certaine they are free from it, and if they savour any thing in Calvinisme, for what
I know of them, and I have some reason to know, it is but about Reprobation, and I can
know who indeavoured a middle way with Amiraldus professor Aug: But as for this
my friend I think as farre as I may judg, that he is so free, that he shall stand
or fall to your selfe being judg. Thus I have given you the best account of him I
can, accordingly as you shall now judg of him I desire your speedy Answer.
Sir I have a little sad newes to you, Mr Vines a Reverend friend of yours [illegible]
is dead, he delivered (as I was told) the Sacrament on the Lords day last, and died
on munday night or sunday night I know not which, the Lord send forth such labourers
as he was and your selfe is, and give all successe and continue yours, so prays

Your faithfull friend
and obliged Servant

Febru: 7. 1655

19

My deer & reverend Brother

3

It is now more than a yeer since I received from you a letter in Answer to mine, in wch I had laboured to give you satisfaction in some particulars animadverted in my books touching Baptism. By yor letter you seemed satisfyed in this; yt in ye main there is not much difference betwixt us: You granting a Relative regeneration: & my Real regeneration importing not much more. Hereupon in ye end of yor letter you did according to my desire promise to give some satisfaction to mee, by publishing somewhat, yt might let ye world know the ground of yor mistakes in some of yor Animadversions, & what little difference there is betwixt us in some others, & how easily tolerated some difference of Opinions is in & among Divines: Now then, I understanding that yor Book is in ye presse upon a second edition, My request unto you is, yt you will be pleased to give order to the Stationer yt prints it, to leave out that part of the Book wch relateth to mee: And if you please, in lieu of it, to sett down ye reason why you withdraw it; my letter & yors, & what hath past betwixt us touching this question: I desire not to be drawn upon the stage of contention: yor book I suppose will sell never a whit ye less Nor will it be any losse of honour to you to lett fall the contending for ye victory in this Argument, wherein ye Divines of the ancient modell think you come too short: & those of ye later model think you go too farre. I have no more at this time to trouble you with: But recommending this my request to yor consideration, I do wth all recommend yor self & all yor labours to ye blessing of ye Almighty, In whom I desire to rest

London: June 5. 1652

Yor dearly=loving Brother

Tho: Bedford:

LETTERS.

Fol. 118. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

20.

I should be glad of any way of accord, ye necessityes of our peoples soules cry so
loud for it, & having now little hopes of ye Comissrs ye House still refusing ye votes, I'm
bad to bend my thoughts wholly to it once more, god willing ye chief, & I will consult to
morrow night. I need not tell you what spurres are in my sides to expedite the
worke: some yt have been scandalous are ready to kneele to me to be admitted to pri:
vate, & their weeping eyes allmost breake my heart, their soules being as pretious as others
and their case being farre worse, ye wound more deadly, & ymselves willing to any
thing I shall prescribe ym; I cannot keep ym at such a distance long; besides I have some
20. of excellent parts yt are fallen into sensuality, towards whom I can doe noe more
yn in publike, & by discourse, besides christians are too strange to helpe one another
& admonition, & [illegible] proof have been so long out of use, yt people will not with
ease be brought to it as wee be. // As to your letter (for which I thanke you) you
answer 3 things to my maine doubt. 1o if ye Warrants are not Sat. &c
2. [you declined my Warrants ate incurring ye inconvenience wch I thinke to
avoid] 3o I humbly conceive not, you prove [1o. yt Anab. will say they are
ye church of Bewdley as well as you]. Ans. tis confessed & yrfore I lay downe
yt consent in Warrants, which might distinguish between us, & ym which you dislike;
& say [2o. yt they will say they worship god in communion publikely, & privately]
Ans. this I shall deny ym or you, & give, 1o. because their worship is not
performed in a publike place, where ye publike communion of saints is held. 2o. they
have noe publike person with ym, but all private men. 3o. tis not with ye body of
Xt ye church they hold communion with, but with a few private members. if they
say, their communion is publike, because all their owne church is there. I Answer
yt's false ordinarily: some are necessarily at home, others accidentally abroad, others
voluntarily with us. if they or you can shew yt they hold any publike communion for
ye worship of god, wee would see it, or else judge you what truth is in ye assertion:
but you goe on & say [tis an irrationall notion to talke of a church holding com:
munion privately, for] bona verba quaeso. I can with very good reason (with all
shall assent or talke of a private church. & distinguish of a church constituted thus,
there is a publike, & a private church; surely upon this account a church may
hold communion privately, but you suppose [I call it private in respect of ye
place] indeed yt is one thing but not every thing yt giveth a church this denomi:
nation, there is ye occasion of their convention. 2o. ye partyes carrying on ye
worke; but you reason against this irrationall notion thus. (supposing private
worship respects ye place) [1o. all are not bound to it] this is gratis dictum, I
say all are, both necessitate praecepti et medii, yet all are bound to it but according
to ye obligatory way of Affirmative precepts which is not ad semper, as (thou shall wor:
ship ye Lord thy god) bindes semper but not ad semper: ye place is but an adjunct, they yt
are bound to worship god, are bound to ye place where this is to be worshipped I dare say all are bound absolutely ad semper
to be at publike. To prove yt all are bound necessitate medii to hold communion pri:
vately, I prove thus. every christian is bound to embrace all holy doctrine, use all
lawfull meanes to bring him to life & happinesse, & present strengthening of his fayth
& other graces. but to hold communion in a private place doth &c. ergo. but you say [2o
a private place will not containe ym] this proves not my notion irrationall, till
we know 1o. ye number of ye people, & 2o. ye spaciousnesse of ye place. but
your 3d reason carryes ye cause. viz [3o. ye meeting of all ye church makes it publike
in what place soe ever they ~~meet~~ in.] I answer. I not, if they meet on private occasions.

sid ⊙ 3. Arg. if yᵉ whole church did meet together, before yᵉ persecuting times, yⁿ we might now, but &c. So. 1ᵒ our necessityes to oblige us are as great, 2ᵒ our work is yᵉ same. viz. to confirme others in yᵉ faith we have publickly taught yᵐ.:

4 Arg. there is not yᵉ same reason, of a particular politicall organized church, & yᵉ universall visible, it may be true of yᵉ universall visible, but not of a particular politicall church.

our 12 & 25 men meet all, & yet not a publike meeting, because their debates are private, their resolutions private, as to ye manifestation to ym abroad, they are private, yet all there, all vote, for there // but you goe one & say { if you mean yt none are ye church, but those yt soe meet together in private, yn your conceit is worse yn I suppose or will suppose } I thanke you for your charitable thoughts of mee, loue thinkes ye best, but Sr I must undergoe ye worst you can suppose of me herein, for change but one terme & I shall thinke soe, yt is { yt soe meet } I say { yt will not soe meet } supposing all things concurre, & yt which doth ponere obicem is their owne willfullnesse. & Sr I haue some reason for my conceit, because I can looke on ym at best but membra incerta, for in yt they refuse to be guided by me 2o. slight my ministry (which I make as much conscience ~~of~~ in private as in publike.) 3o. they refuse communion with ye brethren, 4. they doe not see best they may doe for ymselves & others. 5o. by this it appeares they engaged for formes sake, and not for dutyes, which is ye great thing I look for, & shall not be satisfied with names without it, (I suppose nothing yt hinders, but their will) — I like your next well, yt { pticular christians are bound to help each other in private } but not ye inference { a whole church is not bound to meet in private except in times of psecution }. I adde these Arguments. if ye whole church may better benefit ymselves sometimes in private yn publike, yn they are bound to meet together out of such times in private. but. &c. go. } wee speake not of this ordinarily soe, yt publike must yrfore bee turned into private, but such a mercy god may ~~[illegible]~~ bestow, & often doth. ye Minor thus. — The gifts & graces of many may better benefit yn of one, which wee may haue in private, in publike not. go. — christians find more benefit sometimes at a private meeting, yn at a publike. discourse with each other heartens ym to duty, & quickens their soul in worship. go.

2 Arg. if yr are many dutyes to be pformed by ye whole church together in private yn they may meet out of such times. but. &c. go. &c. ye dutys I know you would see. 1o. I conceive if any member deprived of his limbs be detained, & like to be soe long, ye whole church ought to meet & joyne with him in receiving ye lords supper. wee doe not read yt any were absent voluntarily at such dutys, proofe ~~[illegible]~~ enough for this. 2o. humbling our souls for ye distressed case of a member which is not soe fit to be opened in ye ears of ye world, 2o we cannot be soe free in expressing ye case, private matters are not soe fit for publike dayes & places. //

3. Arg. if ye whole church of god did meet together, our necessityes being as great, 2o our worke being ye same ~~[illegible]~~ but you salue all with a distinction in ye next { your church is private as to ye society, though not to ye world } by this you may say there is noe private meeting for all are publike as to ye society. this to your 2d Arg. // your 3d I like yet it is not full, you say your (particle (this) individuates ye church) for I thought my relation (that) had referred to somewhat going before. but you say { when ye congregation is together it is as ~~[illegible]~~ & expresse a determination as ye subject is capable of } This was sweeter ye sounder at ye first taste, but I now see yt this defective for this reason. wee shall haue diverse times of meeting, to call our members to consent, & it may fall out yt at ye 3 or 4th time when few come in, ye greatest part of ye congregation may not be there, yn it is not soe exact as to ~~[illegible]~~ describe it by expressing ye Towns name & some other pticulars which may distinguish it from a separated body & comprize ye absent as well as ye present members. These things I haue wrote only to search into ye difficultyes, & be satisfied in what I doe, before I goe in this untrodden path. not for you to answer, but to consider.

If I thought you would harbour ye least thought of my unpeaceablenesse, yt I have a spirit of contradiction, or undervalue your counsell, occasioned b
these lines to your greif & alienation from mee; they should never have seen your
face. you know ye comon saying, suum cuiq pulchrum, if there bee an
weening conceit, of my owne way, impute it to ye comon frailty of all men
& especially to ye weaknesse of

Dec: 12 1653

your Dear brother
& fellow labourer.

Hen: Osland

21. Dearely beloved Brother

I pray you pardon my long silence towards you ever since I received your first conceived but second sonne by birth, wch I have heard of all that have it [illegible] desired of the that have it not, but have heard of the good [illegible] of it. Now I doe render hearty thankes unto you for so freely bestowing it on me, & I blesse God with you, & with mercy for his gracious gift of it to yr selfe. & I know not why you should acknowledge yr selfe so much beholde to me, as in yr letter you have done. But yf it hath pleased God to use me as his instrument for yr spirituall good, I rejoyce in his mercy therefore.

Now concerning yr booke of Justification, I have not any leisure upon it to send unto you, no not as yet. my judgement is weake & shallow, my reading poore, my infirmities inward & outward many, besides worldly crosses & troubles.

But this I say unto yu now, concerning the meritorious, or materiall cause of our justification, that I meane by wch, & for wch we are justified by God of his free grace, I beleeve, (and so as I take it you confesse yr selfe too) that it is the perfect righteousnes, & totall obedience of Christ performed for us, even to the suffering of that cursed death. And this (saith Bp Down: in his large & learned booke of Justif. l. 1. c. 4. s. 9.) is the received doctrine of the Church of England, that Christ satisfied the justice of God & redeemed us not only by the passion of his body & shedding of his blood, but also by the full & perfect fulfilling of the law, & the same was taught by Calvin (not to mention all the rest of our Divines) [illegible] obedientia [illegible] reconciliasse [illegible] yea [illegible] passive obedience of Christ, [illegible] humiliation [illegible] comprehendit [illegible] For my part [illegible] to beleeve, that Christ [illegible] both in suffering the punishment threatned by the law, & due unto me for my sinnes, & also in doing all that the law commands me to doe.

Whereas you denie faith to be the instrument of our Justification, & will have it rather termed the condition required in the new Covt [illegible] I grant that it is such a condition, & as you say it may be called, the only condition of the new Covt. And so D. Prest. (whom you deservedly so commend) saith, that faith is the only Condi-

materia Justi-
ficationis [illegible]
[illegible]
Christi satis-
factio, quâ &
pœnam debitam
persolvit, & ob-
edientia legi
præstita [illegible]
Wotton: de
Comp. theol.
pag. 174.

Calv. Inst.
l. 2. c. 16.
s. 5.

in pt. 1. of
p. 359. fin.

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tio, wch God requires of euery man to be made partaker of the Cov^t., where-
he gives his reasons pag. [illegible]

But as faith in Ch^t. is the condition required of vs by God, that we
be iustified by his grace [illegible] [illegible] in my poore iudgment it may
a very apt & fit metaphor be termed (as it is of the most learned
& godly Divines) the sole instrument in the poynt of Iustifica-
tion; because as our bodily hand is the instrument by wch we re-

Ro. 4. 5. Gal. 2.

ceive outward gifts offered vnto us: so faith is (to use Beza's wordes) in-
strumentum, et quide[m] [illegible] nobis datum, quo tanquam manu capit, Christum [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] apprehendimus. The Scriptures doe plainly teach us, that

Joh. 1. 12.
Act 10. 43
& 26. 18.

Christ & remission of sines in him are received by faith in him.
neither doe they mention any other grace that hath this office of recei-
ving Christ, & the riches of Gods grace in Ch^t, but this of faith. and
therefore Mr Burges of Iustif. p. [illegible] saith very well, that faith
hath a peculiar nature, wch other graces have not, to receive
pardon, by way of an instrument applying [illegible]. And Mr Ball in
his Treat. of faith. p^t. 1. p. 59. teacheth that faith alone iustifieth
without other graces, & not faith hope [illegible] in regard of their presence, but
in regard of their coworking to the effect of our iustification, or
[illegible] [illegible], faith cannot be without love, & yet we apprehend not
the promises of Eternall life by [illegible], but by faith alone [illegible]
this is the only apprehending, applying & receiving grace [illegible]
[illegible] called the [illegible] instrument [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible]
be the souls eye to see Christ, the soul's [illegible] to [illegible] wth Ch^t, [illegible]
to [illegible] him [illegible] to take him.

I have no [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] concerning any
thing [illegible] Aphorisms. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] my life
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] shall be long [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] faire, to see you, & speake [illegible] [illegible] vow.
I commend my [illegible] in the L^d [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] yokefellow,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] & [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] he will be pleased [illegible] Father set [illegible]
[illegible] he shall [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] know so much
[illegible] [illegible] of mine [illegible] for I desire that
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (as they speake) the refus-
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] regeneration
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] hath [illegible] triumphed
[illegible] [illegible] the righteous, [illegible] [illegible]. many an
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] wisdome & faith, & patience. [illegible] followeth
[illegible] with you [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] of his grace [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] a faithfull, [illegible] & ioyfull [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

1650 Jan. 17.

Yo^r loving Friend, Broth[er]
& fellow-labourer,

Francis Gra[illegible]

22

Reverend Sr

6

Your learned and laborious book . The saints everlasting Rest
was presented to us from you by or reverend friende Mr Bryan, although
extraordinarie occasions to expresse or thankfulnes to you have hitherto
hindred, yet now wee returne you our heartie thanks for yor great love &
kinde affection towards this Citie . And as you were pleased to dedicate some
part thereof to the Citie of Coventry, so wee have for yor honor and kinde
remembrance ordered it to be transferred yerely amongst other books of the
like kinde heretofore dedicated to us in the annuall Indentures from Maior
to Maior . And least wee should appeare to be unthankfull to so
worthy a friende, wee do by this bearer Mr Jarvis Bryan present you wth
a small token of or affections to you . a silver colledg cup . having the
Elephant (this Cities Armes) engraven thereon . Be pleased to accept
thereof as a testimony of or kinde loves to you, desiring Almightie God
to lend you longer life that you maie add more Rest unto his Saints .
Assuring you that upon all occasions you shall finde us to be Sr

Coventry the 9th of
June 1651 .

Your affectionate and truly
loving friends

Robert Bedford
maior

Samson Hopkins

Tho: Basnet

Jon: Rogerson

Henry Smith

Godfray Legg

Erasmus Lobe

Matthew Smith

Samuell Snell

John Gilbert

George Tayler

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LETT
Fol. 122. of Baxter Letters in vo

Honored Brother,

I doe again present my cordial thankes to you for yr late Apology yet I must confesse I had rather see your practicalls, then such controversys: Not but I must blesse my god, that I have bin much confirmed in severall questions, by what I have received from you. yet to answer to every thing that mr Blake mr Kendall doth say against you, may prove (if they make replys, & duplys) too voluminous & too tedious: I have lately seen what mr Kendal says against yr Method, & rest, & do suppose that a scholasticall stating of the question & a briefe but full answere to his objections, without particular repeating & answearing every line, may be more satisfactory.

I wrote lately to you & desired mr Underhill to convey it, I have now procured one that will constantly call for it there & bring it safely & speedily to my hands I do therefore humbly beg the continuance of yr former favors in sending to me that way for the future by mr Underhill.

this Neighbor & Friend assuring me to visit you & to deliver, & (if you please) to bring back yr answer, hath occasiond me to lay hold on this opportunity: & if it had not bin offerd, there would have bin sent a Messenger to you.

I was desired by some secluded Members, that are like to be chosen for the future Parliament, your Iudgement & reasons with it; How they may (in respect of the Covenant they tooke to preserve the priviledges of Parliament) sit in the next Parliament: Whether they ought to declare against those former breaches, or silently passe them by, & go on as things now stand: whether they may establish by their Vote the present forme of Government, or declare against it, or silently pass it by:

If you please to give yr thoughts & scripture reasons herein, I do call god to record I shall keep yr paper as secret as you please to enjoyne me: Pray Deare Brother (if you thinke fit) communicate yr thoughts herein: However I beseech you let me heare from you by this bearer.

I lately was certainly informd, that one (that was a Parliament man after Prides purge & is in a great office, & expects to be chosen now) did say last weeke, that you should be questioned next Parliament for the Popery in yr bookes, whereby many good meaning men weare deluded, & the Papists weare encouraged, & that one that lately came from Rome informd, that yr bookes weare much made of there, & they hoped they would serve for theire turne: &c. I thought fit to acquaint you with this: that if yr Confession be not yet out you may more particularly declare yr selfe against Popery: But as you well observe that or overdoers have bin or Undoers, so I find, they say, all are Undoers, that will not overdoe as they doe: that Passage in yr Concord, whereby you are not cleare that the Pope is Antichrist, how frequently have I heard it declamed against, as if thereby you shewd your good liking to the Pope, as if we must be Papists, if we will not hold him to be Antichrist. I do exceedingly long to heare you to leave controversy & to betake yr selfe to more profitable (as I suppose) & edifying writings:

thus wth mine & my wives most hearty respects to you, I comend you & all yr labors to the blessing of the spirit of grace & rest

June 3d 1654.

yr obliged brother

Hen. Bartlett

Worthy Sr Many moneths ago I
sent you enclosed in a Letter that
Booke Printed which you were plea
sed ~~of~~ to reade over of mine
viz of Meditations Of which
Letter I doe not expect any
account no not so much as that
you received it Had there beene
nothing in it but the Booke but
I wrote in that Letter that you
would be pleased to Expedite that
businesse which formerly I wrote
to you about and which when you
were at London you did promise as
I forgett not to assist me in viz
In procuring from the rest of the
Ministers of your Association those
Spirituall Experiences of other
Christians and their owne so farre
as they were pleased to Communicate
you told me they did relish the Motion

and I thinke it will be very proper and a worke very acceptable to the people of God. For when they shall see the Extraordinary wisdome Goodnes and power of God which He shews in the Conversion of His people and their supportations in the time of Desertion the strange preservations of them from destroying themselves and by what promises they were comforted the wonderfull manifestations ~~[illegible]~~ and joyes that God hath given unto His people in the times of duties ordinances and death though these are with a great deale of Caution and warines to be received beleeved or published with all other kindes of spirituall Experiences as you your selfe will be better able to giue the kinds of them to our [illegible] Brethren of the Ministery then my selfe when I perceive how much

the people of God reade these few Re-
lations they reade in Mr Bolton &
others in this kinde and how much such
stirre one up to the Love of God &
holines when one heares them tell
of it in Christian Conference I cannot
but continue and encrease my desires
of hastening and finishing this worke I therfore
become again an Earnest suiter to
you that you would be pleased to move
it again to the Ministers of your
Association desiring them against the
next monthly meeting they would
bring in writing with them the sev-
erall Experiences of this kinde upon
sufficient grounds knowen to be
true If the parties be dead If you
thinke fitte they may be named whom
such experiences concerned and whether
the severall Ministers that give the
papers should sett their hands to
them or no and all such Circumstances
I leave them wholy to your prudence
to direct

The reason why I motion this is not
because I intend to print theire
Names but that you by those
Names knowing who they are that
wrote the Experiences in that
paper that you I say by that
be more able thereby knowing
the Prudence as well as the
Piety of that Minister may be
more able to Judge of ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] suffer [illegible] to meet [illegible]~~ For
I know many pious persons are some-
what too credulous Sr I know the
Lord hath made you Active and Able
to manage this Businesse and I doubt
not of your Readinesse in it And those
that I have communicated mine intents
unto in generall concerning this matter
doe very much desire that the worke
should be Accomplished And as I shall much
desire your Directions and Advice so I
shall make use of the prudence of my
Brethren here in the publishing of it
I doe intend to have Mr Calamies and
our Vincents helpe in it [illegible] the

LETT
fol. 125 of Baxter Letters in vo

For I know there needs a great deale of Christian Prudence and Cau-tion in the receiving and publishing such Relations Therefore though those that come from your selfe or ~~through~~ your hands I shall be eased of that trouble yet those Relations which I haue or may haue from others I shall be very wary taking none but from those that are pious and prudent persons and of their owne knowledge or some other way equivalent to it Thus having no more to write at present saue my desires that you would be pleased to remember me who stand very much in need of your Prayers I rest -

Your Friend that truly
honours you Tho: White

Sr if you haue ~~read~~ Valdesso I pray send me your judgement of him

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To his worthily honoured
friend Mr Baxter
at Kidderminster
these be dd

8

9

This day sennight wee had a meeting of some neighbour ministers
at Ludlow in reference to our future associacon, the result
whereof was briefly thus; at the reading of ye propositions, expo
paraphrase upon the Creed etc. there were some of those excep=
tions renewed wch were made at Cleobury, but twas agreed upon
by al present (even by those that urgd them) that there was not
that weight in them as to obstruct the general designe; upon
this I desired their subscription to these premises; some that
were present replyed (& yt very truly) that twas a Businesse of
consequence great, & required mature deliberation. that they had not soe
thoroughly considered it as indeed was suitable to ye nature
& quality of it, that some of them had already wrot unto their learned
friends, others desired to consult with theirs, to know their judg=
ments in reference to this designe of associacon; & have upon
these several reasons suspended their subscriptions til the next
monethly meeting; I doubt not but that yu doe improve yr power
& interest with many of the ministers about Bridgnorth &
Shrewsbery for the carrying on of the work in that pt of the
county, I shal (by Gods blessing) doe the like about Ludlow &
Bishops castle, wishing that ere long wee might have a great mee=
ting of ye ministry of this county either at Shrewsbery or
Bridgnorth. God knows mine owne heart I doe very much
desire the carrying on of soe good a work as is unity & agreement
betwixt al moderate conscientious orthodoxal protestant ministers,
before the prophane Atheist & subtle Jesuite take al; And as in al
other actions, soe in this our end must be the glory of God; not
the setting up of our selves or any party or novel way, but the main=
taining of truth & peace amongst us, according to Gods most holy
word & ye practise of those best & purest primitive times wch are
the best charts to saile by to reduce the discipline of the church
to its pristine & much desired haven; The Lord of heaven goe along
with those that desire & endeavour (both in themselves & others) to
keep the unity of ye spirit in the bond of peace.

Yrs affectionately in ye
Lord Jesus

T. Good:

Boraston:
Octr. 12th

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Lo: Sir,

I received yr last ^ 2li by Dr Hills servant; I would now
willingly understand ~~yr~~ yr pleasure concerning my Batchlors degree, the time drawes very neere,
and hastens apace, I send the sooner for I was afraide this letter like an individuum vagum may
wander long before it come into yr hands, & soe might bee too late before you could acquainte ^me concerning
it; I ingeniously confesse the charges will bee greate, & more then I can for blushing desire from
you, & the more when I reflect upon wt formerly ^ your humanity, (or I thinke I might goe a steppe
higher yr Xtian disposition) hath conferred upon mee, ~~but~~ And indeede I thinke I should not have mentioned
it to you did I not call to minde wt you sayd to mee when I was with you; The necessary, indispensable charges
yt ~~[illegible]~~ att yt doth take it are these. 2li to the colledge for ~~b~~ the grace of the house. 2li to
the Proctour. 1li For a Feast called the Primums. & other expences wch are more triviall, as
gloves for or Father. my Tutor & other Fellowes would willingly have me take ~~[illegible]~~ it, I waite
only for yr answeare, wch I hope I shall receive with all convenient speede, many times it ^lyes long at
the carriers house before it comes to Cambridge. The day we should pay to the colledge is the 21th of De=
cemb: to the Proctor about the ~~[illegible]~~ 7th January. And how ever I hope I shall receive 2li for the dis-
charge of those expences wch I have beene att this Quarter wch will end .6. Decemb: for my Tutor
hath engaged himselfe to pay all for mee wch ^he hath done ever since I was admitted by laying out moneys for
mee when hee had none, from mee to secure him. Soe yt if I could any ^way procure ^ 7 I hope I should
both gett my degree, & discharge my Quarter expences. — I have a greate desire to continue a while
after, if god in his providence should provide for mee, being in some measure (oh yt I were more) conscious
of my unfitnes for the undertaking ^of such a ~~wei~~ weighty calling wch I have in my eye. If I should continue
I must necessarily change my condition of life, for Batchlors never live as undergraduates may doe, viz:
by waiting upon the Fellows. I suppose I could live here then with 20li per annum. soe yt if you shall
please to continue to allow mee wt hitherto you have done viz: 2li a Quarter. I shall then have from
some in or colledge 10li per annum. I thinke I may bee certaine of it. if not more. I should looke
upon it as a greate priviledge not to goe away soe soone, (though I earnestly long to bee doing for god
& to bee instrumentall in his hands for the good of soules) But the worke is greate, & my strength but
weakenes.* ——— I earnestly begge from you yt you would resolve mee these cases: wch I speake
in the presence of god who knowes my heart it ~~the~~ is the condition my soule lyeth in, & not for any sinister end. Let the Lord be judge.
1 oh! There is such a contracted hardnes upon my heart, such a deadnes, stupidity upon my spirit, such a benummednes up=
on my soule yt I cannot grieve; yt I cannot melt, ^for & bee sensible of my disingenious returnes to a loving god and my
unkindnes towards a Jesus. nor nor tremble at the wrath of god due to mee for sin, nor quake & feare at the con=
sideration of the Torments of hell.
2 I doe not, I cannot finde yt awfulnes ~~of~~ ^upon my spirit, nor such reverentiall thoughts of the majesty of the greate, Eternall god
in my approaches unto him as I should have, but low, base, unworthy, unbeseeming apprehensions of him. & from
hence follow
3 Such a cursed Rebellion of my naughty heart yt it hath most grievously repined against god, and have had violent risings
against him, nay (who would not tremble at the naming thereof, yet I cannot, Lord thou knowest I doe not) ~~may~~ I
have beene ready to breake forth into Blasphemy against the god of heaven, the King of saints, yt he should suffer mee
to ly in such a hard, dead frame of spirit. Ah! did ever any heare of such cursed flying in the face of god by a silly
nothing: such a bitternes of spirit against him! Ah Lord thou never deservedst this at my hands! was it not my owne
doeing yt contracted this hardnes this deadnes upon my owne spirit. But now truly, Sir, (for ye Lords sake pray for mee)
when satan & my owne, cursed, rotten heart makes mee to looke up unto gods decree, & say yt it was as utterly impos-
sible for mee to have shunned such or such a sin as to plucke the sun out of the firmament. here come in hard
thoughts of god, & with fallen Adam cast it upon god. oh cursed heart! wt hast thou to doe to meddle with the se=
cret will of god, did not he forbid thee by his revealed will. Xt: Such was the Frame of my heart on a private
humiliation day (yt some scholars kept) in or colledge, and on the 30th octob: last in a private meeting, yt I could scarce
rule my tongue, or bridle it from uttering hard speeches nay Blasphemyes against the god of Heaven. A
But as concerning this last. Let mee tell wt god hath done for my soule yt his name might have the praise. on the
31 octob: the Lord in the morning did draw forth my heart yt he would soe direct his servant yt was to speake unto mee
yt day yt he might speake unto my condition, & yt very day greate part of Dr Tuckney's sermon was concerning this
very case, & by him I received much satisfaction from the Lord. nay as if the Lord had not spoken enough unto my re=
bellious, unbeleeving heart, ~~[illegible]~~ he followed me the next sabbath 7th Novemb: where he gave some 6 Reasons
why a soule should not repine against god for he doth not give him more grace. wch did allay my spirit. this was by
another Embassador of Jesus Xt. —— But as for the Two former I finde them not yet removed. I acknow=
ledge there are many famous considerations to be pressed upon the soule to breake it, to melt it. wch if ever wont
to prevaile with Xtians heart, But certainely I am very dead when noe physicke will worke with mee.
they would breake the most hard heart, & melt the most frozen spirit, & ~~[illegible]~~ quicken the deadest heart.
And yet I cannot finde them worke with mine. oh! who could thinke of the love of Xt, of the undertakings
of a reproached, bleeding, crucifyed, dying saviour & withhold rivers of teares from falling downe his
cheekes. & not finde his bowells melted & his heart turned within him. & yet I cannot. oh who can
consider it & not cry, was ever love like his? & who can see the frame, the stupidity of my spirit, &
refraine from saying, was ever heart like mine was there ever any yt would or could have done & suf
fered greater things for such a silly, breathing, creeping peece of clay. as my Lord did for mee. Ah
wt can I call him mine, & yet not grieve & mourne yt ever I should pierce his blessed side. Ah
hard heart! faine I would be broken but alas, I cannot, faine I would But Lord thou knowest I
cannot, I am not broken. oh was ever heart like mine. Ah my heart is farre more hard then
many bones I have read of wch if they had beene steeped in vinegar & ashes would have lost their
nature & become soft yt they may be cut with a thread. But though I thinke of the blood of Xt I
cannot feele it to relent before god. But will you say all meanes is nothing except they are
sett home by the spirit of god, therefore pray for yt. that is true indeede. But if it be not cold comfort
for a soule to goe to ye throne of grace & pray & by his praying in such a dead & hard manner con
tract guilt upon his conscience, judge you. These things are ye state & sense of my very
soule. oh yt they were more my troubles. had they not beene soe, I would not have deprived the church of
soe greate a good as to divert yr studyes: in requiring some direction wt such a soule yt is in this case
should take to gett out of it. oh yt I had yr answeare here now! wch I hope you will hasten

me. And my prayers to god shall bee yt he would breath in you by his
spirit & dictate & suggest unto yr heart, yt you might speake home
& plaine to my very soule. And let ~~yr may~~ write downe the
words 30 in Ro. 30. I beseech you for ye Lord Jesus Xt sake, & for ye love
of the spirit yt you strive together with mee in yr prayers to god ~~for~~
yt he would mollifye & kindly melt & breake

Sr

yr (hard: hearted) friend

Tho: Doolittle

Cam: Pem: Hall.
Novemb. 12. 1652

A oh Lord! are such sins as these compatible, consistent with truth of grace? sure it is little, very little!

*If I should come downe & not continue here I doubt there would be noe convenient abiding for mee at my fathers.

It is greately to be feared, yt god is now re=
mooving his candlesticks & taking away
the light of the gospell from England. For
some of or colledge yt live & lately came
out of Essex say yt there is noe lesse
yn 24 faithfull ministers dead there
this yeare. Mr Symonds, the Author
of the soules case & cure, is on

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Doelittle

27

Hono:Ed Sir

The Hono:ble respects I owe you, for what of God
I have found from you, ingaged me to a resolution to send you one
1 of the Books (if not both) which is herewith sent you: had I not
ben prevented by the Author thereof Mr Goodwin. But being
lately with him, I desired him to be pleased to send you one from himselfe. Sir
I found him willing to doe it if I could procure one of his Bookseller
for yt purpose. Sir I have procured it & from Mr Goodwin
I present you with ye booke bound, & therewith his true respects
to you. And from my selfe I have sent you a sermon of his
lately printed, together with my humble service to you. Sir
I doubt not of your acceptance of them: though I am a
stranger to you; yet not a meere stranger neither, because
I find a sutablenesse of spirit to a degree, which wherever
I find in any man, my thinks to such a man I am a reall
& cordiall freind & not a stranger. Sir I had the happinesse
once, when you were last in towne to injoy your companye
at my house in Blackfryers when you were Major Groves guest
at which time your Company was very acceptable unto me &
well pleasing. Sir I thank God, & I thank you for your sermon
I heard you preach at Pauls, and wch you have since printed
& read. Sir I really beleeve it wilbe of very good use, the serious
& proper scope thereof being sett & bent to cause the children
of men to consider seriously their latter end, & to be also armed
with what may stand them in stead in yt day, viz the day of
Judgmt. However Sir, if neither man nor woman should doe
so yet you will not loose your reward, for so good a work. Sir
many other things of yours I have enjoyed benifit by, all wch
I thank God & you for, & as an evidence of my reall
thankfullnesse. I humbly begg of God for you length of days
& competancie of health, whereby you may have further
opportunitye to doe for him & his peoples more service
Thus craving your pardon for this boldnesse I humbly
take my leave, & remaine. (Sir)

Your very true freind
& humble servant

John Griggs

Blackfryer London this
25th of August
1655

+

2 S^r

I havinge read your Worcester agreem^t. I shall endevour the
gettinge up as much of it, as will be borne untill more
may be had. yet bec: that there is somethinge for
the present in my thoughts wch I am not well satis
fyed in, & soe unable to satisfy others I desire
you would give me some satisfaction: viz: that you
put ye descent into hell into ye creed. wch seems to
me not to be in ye Apostles creed anciently. as m^r
Lightfoot in his coment upon ye Acts shews to w^ch
I referre you not doubtinge but you have it
by you. as alsoe the Socinians [illegible] & in partic
ular Crellius If I mistake not for I have not y^e
booke by me. whose doctrines though I ~~[illegible]~~ detest
yet their truth of theire quotations may be infallibly
knowne. S^r. I doe not doubt but you have
abundance of employm^ts yet there are 2 things that
I could heartily undertake one or both of them.
one is to write a body of ye practicall part of religion
that wch I intend I knowe very [illegible] the
practice of Piety & Jeremy Taylor in his art of
livinge well has done of him & his booke I
have as bad thoughts as I desire to have. I name
his booke in respect of ye subject of not of [illegible]
[illegible] &c: ye reason of this my desire is 1° bec: y^t
there are very few y^t have writ of the whole
body of a Christians practice this way. & 2° bec:
for ought I know generally there is too much
liberty given as to ye matter of sett praym^t. [illegible]
[illegible] sick &c: 3° bec: that books of this nature
are more bought & soe consequently will be
more to edification. the other request is that
since not only my selfe but severall & most
Christians now are very sensible of the growth
of Popery that you will be pleased to write
some tract as breife & plaine as possibly can
be to stop that ~~[illegible]~~ infection for those y^t
~~have~~ are writ are soe large & intricat that
ignorant persons who are generally those y^t
are seduced are not at leasure: or have not
understandinge to make use of it. Soe I rest

[illegible] 1683 Sr Yours [illegible] affectionat
Anns Aldersgat. [illegible]
Jho White

29

Reverend Sir

3 I had not written this unto you, had you beene att
Worcester according to Expectation. I suppose you have been
ere this Informed of that severe providence lately manifested
in the Barbado's in the almost utter Consuming of theyr
Cheife (if not only) Towne, the mayne Receptacle of theyr
Wealth & Riches. And truly since I have been made acquaynted
with the State of that place, I have feared, yea expected some
Terrible Manifestation of divine displeasure agaynst the Planters,
for that Impious & Unchristian Custome among them in prohibiting
theyr slaves & Negroes to be Instructed in the fayth & to become
Christians, Deneying them Recourse to the Common Saviour,
Because they can be theyr slaves no longer then whilest
Heathens. A Cruelty beyond that which the Spaniards Exercised
towards the poore Indians, And such which (if continued) will be
an Everlasting stayne to the English Nation, And undoubtedly
bring a Curse upon that Plantation. And now the Lord
having of late discovered his displeasure agaynst that Place
by a Lamentable Fire, to the Exceeding great losse of the Inhabitants,
It is not Impossible but they might hearken to a word of Exhortation
whilest theyr Ruines & Ashes are yet before theyr Eyes, & before
the Impressions which this Judgment hath wrought upon theyr hearts
are quite worne out: It were a thing to be wished that a
Christian Admonition & Exhortation might be sent unto them while
theyr Eares are opened by such a Thunderclap. How this might
be done I leave to yor wisedome to consider, desiring the Lord
to make you more & more Instrumentall for the Advancement of
of his Glory, & the Carrying on of his work in these Nations

So prayeth

Yor unfayned welwisher
and unworthy Brother in
the work of the Lord
Tho: Jackman

Worcr May 6. --59

x

131

To the Reverend and worthy
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of the Gospell att
Kederminster

30

4

Worthy Sir, I thank you for your brotherly respects & society when I
passed by you the last yeare into Shropshire; I spake to you then (by
letter) concerning my son (knowing how able & willing God hath made
you to doe good) & declared my desire that hee might bee disposed of
(Sir) the rather with you (some where neere you, or not far from you)
for the more frequent converse with you (if you please) according as
[illegible] for the more [illegible] & as you shall think fit to appoint. This (Sir) I
[illegible] occasion to make my request to you, not without sense of your manifold
still desire & [illegible] imployment, but wch makes mee speak (notwithstanding that) out
of a deep apprehension of the sad & dangerous condition my son is in
being now 30 yeare old, & yet unsetled, & doubting more materiall points
of religion, & propounding (I doubt, such is my iealousie of him) I shall
bee glad if you find it better) in points controverted, to the worse
side of the controversie. so that I know not what the issue may bee.
while hee is still now & then preaching, yet no Minister. & under
so many hesitancies, in sundry things wch a Minister is to informe his
hearers in, that it is hard to think how hee can enter into that calling,
[illegible] calling or not to be in that. when hee hath been
[illegible] to bee in no calling of his time designed to it, & since, educated
from the beginning of his ability [illegible] to discharge it, & is in a sort
it. when hee hath [illegible], is a very uncomfortable & afflicting thing
in the exercise of it, it becomes them with patience
the sins of parents sending such things upon them, to use what good meanes they
to beare them, & yet studying how that which is crooked may be made straight. I have moved
[illegible] that that way, but with some my son hath (upon some conside-
ration) been loth to close; the ~~[illegible]~~ with others hath been by
providence, disappointed, & others to whom hee hath had recourse
have not had time to apply themselves so far to him as his condition
requires. That being (Sir) that [illegible] to addresse himselfe to
you, [illegible], & knowing that you would be apprehensive
of such a condition as I have described unto you, & beleeving you will
deal plainly & thoroughly with him for his soules & the churches good
I doe therefore take the freedome thus far to sollicit you in his & my
behalfe. Hee hath told mee his purpose of taking a iourney to
see you, & to confer about some papers hee left with you. & perhaps
will be willing there to make an end, but my purpose, & that wch I
have required him to apply himselfe to, is that hee should soiourne
some where or other as neer you as may bee, & there abide for a yeare
to see what God will be pleased by his good hand in your helpe to
work for his settlement. If some able & godly Minister of your
acquaintance would please to entertaine him, I shall ingage to
pay fully what shall bee expected for his abode with him, &
by that meanes hee may bee better directed & accommodated in his accesse
to you, & you shall the better understand his temper, & what use hee
makes of your good communications. wch will more publickly appeare
if you think fit to engage him to preach. wherein you need not feare,
his preaching being sound & orthodox (for any thing that I know or have
heard, only hee ties himselfe too much to his Notes) & his praying savoury,
& his conversation unblameable. His studying [illegible]
to good people, & his reading some men more able than orthodox &
naturall theology, [illegible] hath been harmfull to him; that so many [illegible]
[illegible], & so many prayers having been made by many for him, I hope
[illegible] & a subtilty & curiosity in his spirit, that God will
(through this [illegible]) sanctifie him more & more, & bring him to himselfe
yet [illegible], which if God shall please to make you an instrument
in, you will find comfort in, & wee shall glorifie God therefore
I know you will [illegible] my most earnest prayers will still follow you, wch [illegible]
for it. My [illegible]

Ubley ~~[illegible]~~ October 6. 1658

132 Yor affectionate Brother in the work of the Lord
William Thomas

31

My highly esteemed Brother,

I received yr lettr last Monday, wth the papers, for wch I acknow-
-ledge my selfe very much engaged. I should be more large
about them, but at present I cannot, I found my wife very sicke
5 at my returne, & within few days I also fell sicke of a feaver, wch
made my people greatly feare, but they betooke themselves solemnly to
ffasting & prayer, & the Lord did wonderfully recover us both:
so that though I was so neer death in most of their apprehensions, &
certainly very weake by those violent fitts I had, yett I was hindred
but one Lords day fro preaching: Blessed be god for this mercy;
But you must be briefe at present I have tooke order wth yr [illegible] to be
wth as soone as may, & I do humbly desire that you would not bring
you have tarried so long, I entreate a little longer, it shall not be
many days above the next weeke, if it be not then. I heare yr
new booke much excepted against for yr opinion against [illegible]-
-rance; some that wish you well, wish you had left out that passage
it staggers many weake Christians, it exasperates yr adversarys:
I blesse god for the booke, & could never find rest to my own soule
nor any satisfactory way for those troubled soules I have had to do
wth, but in that way of the extent of the offer of grace &c
I shall be more large unto you ere long. I found at my returne
Mr Cranfords booke ready to go to presse wherein he calls you
Papist Jesuite & [illegible]. but I have yet stopt it, desiring a conference
to cleare to him his mistakes. yesterday I met wth another Minist
who was hot that in the point of justification you were so popish
it now over two [illegible] — I being then busy have referred it
to a fuller discussing. yr friends heartily desire for New Editions of
yr Aphorismes as in yr Infant Baptisme is taken for a promise
wch we are confident would take of much prejudice that many have
taken up against you & thereby disswade others fro reading yr
other pieces. Thus wth my peoples, mine & my wives hearty prayers
for you, & thankes as for yr former so yr last bookes, I do in
very great hast desire yr prayers for all of us & rest

ffordinbridge June 28. 1653
I looke to heare fro Oxon today:
I thanke you for yr extraordinary
favors when wth you, &c

yr obliged ffriend & Brother
Hen. Bartlett.

32

Mr Richard Baxter; London ye 31 January 1651

6 And much honored in ye Lord. though unknowen I kindley
Salute yu. May it please yu. to take noticie of ye occation of
thes Lines, are earnestley for Christ sacke. to direct me
what I might doe to be saued. and though in Lond: we
haue (praysed be ye Lord) many able & experienced ministrs
of ye Gospell. yet consulting wth my selfe unto whom I should
make my address. to be directed in ye mattrs of eternitie
I iudged non more experienced nor more able. then yr
selfe as yr Booke caled ye Sts Rest doth abundantley
manifest / and therfor though at such a distance
here on Earth. I pray yu let me haue yr best aduice
In ye Matters of Saluacon: for I am afraid lest I should
be mistaken. and soe build againe on ye sand; I haue
made professtion of ye Gospell of Christ this 3. yeares.
and yet veryly. tis but a very little while since I haue
had any thinge of ye poure and Speirit of Jesus
acting. and abiding in my soule. and though I cannot
but say yt indeed ye Lord by Christ will bringe me
to himselfe. yet veryly my soule feares. lest I should
be drawne aside againe from ye Lord. I feare yt
my corruptions will againe preuaile. or Satan or ye
worlds. temptacons. or allurements cause me to sin
willfulley agst ye Lord. for I haue repented for sin &
haue wth a psonall hatred lothed and turned from all
knowne sins as ye Lord comands. yet I haue againe and
againe wilfully sinned agst ye Speirit. and agst ye Light
of knowleadge: & repented. and therfore by ye Speirit
of God being willing to god unto ye Lord by Christ
and to receaue him into my harte and soule
as Lord and as only Lord and sauiour; therfore
doe desire to use all waies and meanes and
to haue ye best aduice yt may be from ye sons
of God. to know what I may doe to haue
a reall interest in God by Christ. not only
to be discharged from ye guilt of sin. but to be
so cau. free from ye power of it. yt I might be made
like unto ye Image of Christ. / / Verte

134

SE I haue bin som smale time undr a wounded
Conscience for sin. & aftr ward undr many doubtings
and feares. Least I should not obtaine mercie —
But as ye Sunn when it riseth disperseth and —
dispells ye Fogs and mists on ye Earth and ye sky.
it riseth ye more it causeth them to vanish. Euen
soe dayly. when I came to see by ye Spirit that
There was a fountaine opened for sin and uncleanes
by JESUS. and when ye God of all Loue and grace
In Christ. Gaue unto my soule, liue desires. answering
my prayers. when I prayed for pardon. then ye Lord
In his owne time sent his Spirit to tell my poore
sinfull unworthy soule. yt Christ had satisfied
the Justice of God. for my sins. and when I prayed
against this sin and ye prevailing corruption.
and euidently seing yt ye Lord heard & and caused
this sin to fade to ye Earth. and ye lust to die.
dayly. this brings into my harte and soule. more
yn all joy peace pleasure and comfort. then
if I had all ye world here on Earth at my command
[illegible] without the Lord. //
But fearing least my owne deceiptfull harte.
should deceaue me. or satans temptacons. draw
me againe to wilfull sin. therfor I desire yu
to direct me what waies method and meanes.
I may dayly and continually euer night and day.
to keep my harte. to be continually ouershadowed
with ye Glory of — Life and immortallitie. wth
the glory of ye Lord. yt I might haue Christ —
to rule only in my soule harte & in all ye
faculties both of soule and body. // & I would
faine that see. & be more felingly possessed // of
that fulnes of all Infinite pfections. yt
are in Christ. and yt I might more feelingly
pceaue ye glorie him. &c / and yt I might more
felingly see and Really be affected wth ye Euill
that is in ye comitting or assenting to ye least
sin. and yt hencefoorth and for Euer. my harte
and soule wth all their strenth might. seeke wth
God. and wth him. alone / and yt now ye Spirit.

verte.

May hence forth and for Eaur. keepe my harte
faithfull constant and sincare to my dearest
Lord. Jesus Christ / and yt J might be Enabled
To walke serriousley circumspectley. yt now J might
alwaies feare. Lest my Corruptions againe breake
forth and soe be alwaies watchfull. ye Lord Giuing
vnto me his power and preasence in my soule
To Teach me not only to resist all sin and tempta.
To sin. / whereby J haue bin and now am continuallie
Tempted To sin. for ye most parte / but to ouercum
Them all. / i.e. J would faine be made like unto
The diuine nature / and faine would J haue
a sure Jnt. in Christ / Oh. Therfore sr. J humbley
Entreate yu. let me haue ye speediest and
Best aduice / yt may be from yu. That now
J may indeed Build on ye Lord. Christ. and
Be noe more deceaued. and now as J haue
prayed unto ye Lord to direct me what to
write to yu. for ye Eternall saluacon of my
soule / soe as soone as J haue Ended this line
J shall Cry unto ye Lord to direct yu. what to write
To me. / and soe for ye psent. humbley praying
The Lord not only to enriche yr. soule and mynd
vnto himselfe. But alsoe speedily to Bringe
vs. to ye Actuall Enioymt. of himselfe. wth all
The whole houshould of faith. and yt till he
haue vs hence we may wth. all ye saints be
preserued. spotles. ~~w~~ is ye humble praier of
him who desires to be

Your Brother (though
The vnworthyest of all ye
saints) in Christ
Edm: Aleene

33 Reverend Brother

I have exceedingly longed to heare of you, and that had sent a letter to you by the way of Oxon? But I find that all the ways hither have bin very tedious; I am very glad that in print you prevented me, wch I finde that May 23 you were able to write: Blessed be god that hath as yet continued you among us, and through all payns & diseases enabled you in soule & body to performe such workes. wch though they are more tedious to you, yet questionles god hath abundance more honor thereby: ffor it is to many here not onely an exceeding mercy, but next to a miracle, that yr intellectuals should be so strong under such spirit-consuming distempers, & yr eys & hands performe there office in reading & writing so much. truly, Deare Brother, we have wth many teares wrestled wth god for you, & I hope, the Lord did not cast out or poor desires. We earnestly long to see yr Confession. It was much desired, & I am in the name of severall godly Ministers to beseech you to give us yr answere to mr Blake for baptizing of ye infants of all visible professors that bring their children & desire the ordinance: seeing we plead the covenant formerly to infants, so, now; And what warrant have we to straiten it, if god admitted the infants of such parents then, why not now: (2) if we will not admit infants now, as then, do we not thereby weaken, that main argument against the Anabaptists.

the former of these arguments, as I remember mr ffirmin fumbles at,
for I have not now his book by me, But mr Blake assures me
p. 456 that mr ffirmin confesseth, its an hard knot to untye, & desires
help: Pray therefore in yor next booke (if you thinke fitt) helpe him
us that desire it. ffor mr Blakes assertions of Apostasy, excommunicate,
and not mediate parents, I am at a stand at many passages therein, &
perhaps they are more puzling questions, then necessary:

[illegible] yᵉ request of our Neighbour here to ad an appendix for the contⁿuing of Baptisme, be pleased at yᵉ request of severall to set [illegible] in print [illegible] yᵉ arguments & answers to yᵉ Contrary.

But the Messenger calls, who will constantly every other weeke call at [illegible] & bring it to my hands the same weeke. be pleased to let me heare frequently from you. The Lord inable you to do his church more good. I desire yᵉ prayers for me & mine & I commit you to our everlasting Father & rest

[illegible]

yʳ obliged brother

Wm. Bartlett.

ffor my Dear Brother
mr Richard Baxter
Paſtor of Kiderminster
worcester.

Most reverend & worthy Sr 34

Owing more to yu then I am able to expresse, I cannot wth out some paine & torture of mind, attempt such addresses to yu; whom I acknowledge
8 to have bin ye my greatest guide, & ye happiest instrument in ye hand of god, to direct me to ye true meane both in pietye & knowledge. whom if I should not, for over reverence, honour, & respect, I should very much wound my owne Conscience. Sr I am continually benifitting by yor labours & prescribed instructions, wch have ingaged my most serious, tryed, & dearest affections; I dare say yu have little cause to suspect Mr Crandon. if yu were intimately conscious to my mind & thoughts, who doe professe my selfe to have a strong Antipathy, & adversenes of spirit, to all rayling, scurrilous, bitter & ungrounded language, enough I thinke to forestall my selfe wth prejudice, against ye truth it selfe where I find it sauced wth such sower language, & accompanied wth such impotency of passion, unlesse extraordinary grace should stirr me up to care & diligence, & a sober unbyassed inquiry. It greives me very much to see men of noted piety & holines thus to damme up ye way to truth, & well=understood pietye. I cannot but returne yu my heartie thankfullnes for yor zealous care, however, for feare of those Antinomian Doctrines. I blesse god thorough yor meanes & his blessing I see so much of ye reasonablenes of religion in most of its parts, yt I doe not much feare their unreasonable ~~doctr~~ tenents, ~~where~~ though I must confesse I see to my thinking true straines of piety & holines in their writings, (as to instance in Dr Crispe) but as much weakenes in their arguments, when they come to confirmatios of those differencing points wherein they divert from others. Neither needed yu Sr much to have feared ye University, wch are few in danger yt way. only here & there one it may be of extraordinary weakenes. Your stoutest Adversaryes lye rather among some of ye Doctours, & those yt lye more strictly for Calvins way, (if he bee a favourite of those too to rigid Doctrines, against wch ye Arminians in ye other extreame so hotly oppose) but I thinke as I partly know it, so I am bound to give yu notice of ye good effect yt all your labours have produced in most of ye younger unprejudiced sort, wch I mentio not out of ye least dispositio as I know to faction, but because I thought it might be expedient &c. But I shall forbeare to load you any farther wth this matter. Sr I entreate yor farther assistance in one thing more wch troubles mee. Concerning ye Sacraments, & first of Baptisme whither if it be rightly administred, it wash from originall Sinne; but especially whither ~~[illegible]~~ both Sacraments be not ~~signes~~ seales of ye externall covenant. & consequently whither there be so much danger as is now pretended in administring ye Supper, as if it might not be administred to any but such for whose true piety & fayth there is strong conjecture & presumptio. Sr would not be so troublesome to yu did I not feare yor remove

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For about two Moneths since wee had ye strong report of yor Death & for my owne part, I had performed my obsequies, & had shared in sadnes as much as I durst. But I soone informed my selfe of ye contrary, for wch I acknowledge I owe prayse unto god not in reference to my selfe only, but many others I hope. Sr if you shall vouchsafe yor advice to me herein for mine after Directions, you shall if it be possible more endeare my respective love unto you, & if you shall moreover add, to take my Sister & me into your strongest prayers, wee shall here blesse god for you; & shall (if there be any reverence & acknowledgment in Heaven of those, who have bin cheife instruments of our happines as I see nothing yt contradicts) owne, acknowledge it, & blesse god to eternitie for you.

From Camb: K. C.
Septr: 12th: 1654

Yor thankefull & most obliged Servant
William Duncumbe.

I am very iealous of my Sister. although I have not ceased to ply her wth Letters this two yeers now, & ye best bookes I could get. & have received many good Letters from her giving of me more then ordinary hope. wch I make bold to mention to you yt I might obtaine yor prayers.

Worthy Sir

Let me trouble yu so far (if yu please) as to relieve the enclosed to my
son, & then seal it & let him have it; This I desire of yu, partly as willing
to be rectified by yr clearer thoughts ~~[illegible]~~ if in any thing I misconceive;
9 For a Father may easily bee too zealous or suspicious on the one hand, & too facile
& overcredulous on the other — And it is partly also to let yu see, that I would
not be altogether deserting my self (though I put yu to so much) but in some measure
endeavour to facilitate yr work, & compose my son to yr good instructions.
I am very sorry that he puts yu to put pen to paper, & that yr undertaking
of him (by which yu do exceedingly oblige me) proves so difficult or rather so laborious to yr self. It makes me remember what I have read of one Timotheus
a Musitian, that would have twice so much for one that had learned before
as for him that made him his first Master; for to eradicate first & plant after
is a double business — yet you know (Sir) such labours of love God will never
forget (Church-charity is the chief charity) but rather proportion the reward
to the weight of the work, wherein if yu have the patience to persevere, I shall
greatly bless God for that mercy, & not despair of such success at last as may
make yu some amends for yr hard & more hopeless endeavours at first,
Assured yr labour will not be in vain in the Lord.
Sir, I know not how ~~[illegible]~~ (when my son troubles yu so much) to expect a
few lines from yu, for that is to put yu to more. But yet, if I have any
advertisements from yu, as yu think it needful or useful to communicate, I shall be
very thankful for them, & forward to observe them.
The Lord continue & increase yr strength for the doing yr work, & make
yu very instrumental by much & manifold employment to bring a suitable
glory to his name & benefit to his church.

Ubley, March. 25. 1659.

Yr much engaged Friend & Brother
William Thomas

For about two Moneths since wee had ye strong report of yor death. & for my owne part, I had performed my obsequies, & had shared in sadnes as much as I durst. But I soone informed my selfe of ye contrary, for wch I acknowledge I owe prayse unto god not in reference to my selfe only, but many others I hope. Sr if yu shall vouchsafe yor advice to me herein for mine after directions, yu shall if it be possible more endeare my respective love unto yu, & it yu shall moreover add, to take my sister & me into your strongest prayers, wee shall here blesse god for yu, & shall (if there be any reverence & acknowledgment in Heaven of those, who have bin cheife instruments of our happines as I see nothing yt contradicts) owne, acknowledge it, & blesse god to eternitie for yu.

Yor thankefull & most obliged servant
William Duncumbe.

From Camb: K. C.
Sept: 12th: 1654

I am very iealous of my sister, although I have not ceased to ply her wth Letters this two yeeres now, & ye best bookes I could get. & have received many good Letters from her giving of me more then ordinary hope. wch I make bold to mention to yu yf I might obtaine yor prayers.

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Worthy Sir

9

Let mee trouble yu so far (if yu please) as to reade the inclosed to my son, & then seal it & let him have it; this I desire of yu partly as willing to be rectified by yr clearer thoughts ~~[illegible]~~ if in any thing I misconceive. For a Father may easily bee too zelous or suspicious on the one hand, & too facile & condescending on the other — And it is partly also to let yu see, that I would not be altogether deficient my self (though I put yu to so much) but in some measure endeavour to facilitate the work, & compose my son to yr good instructions. I am very sorry that he puts yu to put pen to paper, & that yr undertaking (wch yu do exceedingly oblige mee) proves so difficult or rather so laborious to yr self. It makes mee remember what I have read of one Timotheus a Musitian, that would have twice so much for one that had learned before of him, than for him that made him his first Master; for to eradicate first & plant after is a double business — But yu know (Sir) such labours of love God will not forget (Church-charity is the chief charity) but rather proportion the reward to the weight of the work, wherein if yu have the patience to persevere I shall greatly blesse God for that mercy, & not despair of such successe at last as may make yu some amends for yr hard & more hopelesse endeavours at first, but yr labour will not be in vain in the Lord.

However Sir, I know not how ~~[illegible]~~ (when my son troubles yu so much) to expect a few lines from yu, for that is to put yu to more. But yet, if there be any advertisements which yu think it needful or useful to communicate, I shall be very thankful for them, & forward to observe them.

The Lord continue & increase yr strength for the doing yr work, & make yu very instrumental by much & manifold employment to bring a sutable glory to his name & benefit to his church.

Ubley, March. 25. 1659.

Yr much engaged Friend & Brother

William Thomas

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the very formall Relation it selfe: though, as I said, noe created Intellect doe at all

LET
fol.140. of Baxter Letters i

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2ly that Antithesis of yors; Reall, not as opposed to nothing, to privation &c I have yet either not met with or not observed in yor writings (if I had, being principled, as I have bene, it would to mee have seemed either a kind of Petitio principii, or somewhat an unwary speech, as proceeding upon a seeming mistake, that Res & non-Ens are just, direct and equall Opposites; when those surely are Ens & non-Ens, Ens reale & Ens rationis) And for other mens words; the truth is, Through a constant avocation all my time of strength & vigour my reading is soe narrow, yet I cannot call to mind, yt any where, Relative & Reall, in yor sense, has bene offered unto mee, save onely in Dr Ames & yorselfe (not in Mr Burgesse, not in Mr Ball, not in Mr Reynolds, Dr Hammonds &c) Nothing indeed more common than Causa physica explained by Realiter efficiens, and Causa moralis, by Imputative efficiens &c but neither in this nor any thing like it, doe I find ground enough for, Relative & Reall.

However it is, or prove, give mee leave, I pray to entreat you to consider with yorselfe, whether it bee not necessary, yt You somewhere purposely & solemnly declare yor full sense; It being a thing soe frequently occurring in yor writings, and the truths by this distinction endeavoured to bee explained, ye most important yt are; Even those, yt are & must bee ye Instruments (as you most truely) of sanctifying, exciting & guiding us in ye exercise, that is, in ye very heart & spirit & life of Xianity. Learners will take yor words, and thinke, according as they guide them; though ye learned will take yor meaning. ffor my owne part I am not quite to seek in Logick & Metaphysicks; and yet these termes, how often in yor bookes have they put mee to ye stand. ffor ye Agnomination-sake, I could wish they were as fit & profitable, as they are pleasing & handsome; but — The solid truths of former times have, by the deep consideration of later, bene often clothed with fitter termes. Soe will you doe in this matter, if you will set yorselfe to it. Yor apprehension of ye thing is most full & perfect; the expression therefore with a little more musing, will bee as hitting and happy. Verba, you know, provisam rem non-invita sequentur. &c.

If every thing yt is, what it is, without any operation of mans Intellect, bee Res or Ens Reale, is n[illegible] certainly Relation is ~~Ens Reale~~ such. for it is, yet, wch wee call Relation, though it could bee supposed, yt noe man hath ever soe called it, or ever soe much as thought on it. for instance, A beleever, by vertue of ye Covt of grace, stands to God in ye Relation & state of a just person, though neither hee himselfe nor any other created Intellect, in ye universe, ever thought of it soe contriving it, or soe expressing it. Just as there is a Reall [illegible] betweene my Eye and ye letters, yt I make, though nor I nor any man in ye world say or [illegible] soe &c wherefore, there is sure, without ye accession of ye Intellects operation, not onely fundamen[illegible] but allsoe the very formall Relation it selfe: though, as is se[illegible], noe created Intellect doe at all

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fancy or think of it, under this name or for
or notion. Etc. The metaphysicks, you know, y
of ye Disciplina Reale; And soe, The oeconom
said, by yt wch y lds a woor heare, suffers a M
taphysicall, Relative & Intelligible change,
though not a Physicall, proper & Sensible one
Ffor, if Beeings, yt fall not under sense, but y
are comprehensible enough to ye understanding
will not allow to bee Reall; wee must for oug
I see, deny the subject not onely of ye metaphysicks, but of
ye mathematiques, allsoe, to bee reall. Etc.

Sr, by yor meek & gentle Returne, you are
a man I perceive, yt one may bee bold with.
take boldnes therefore to give you to understand,
mighty glad & joyfull before god I was by meet
wth yt notable passage p: 533. Etc. of yor directio
Concerning ye chiefest part of ye Lords day to
bee spent in prayse & thanksgiving. Truely, Sr
in my poore judgment you were never righter in any
thing in yor life, then in this most weighty busine
And, seeing this most dangerous opinion is now
(the Lo: bee mercifull unto us!) setled in most,
That preaching & hearing are, if not the onely,
yet the chiefe duties & sanctificaon of yt day,
That so you would bee pleased to consider,
whether it bee not onely fit & seasonable, but
allsoe necessary, that Wee all joyne together
with one mouth to petition or Rulers, That ye
whole Nation may receive ye truth in this point
frō their mouth. for from or mouthes, yt are
preachers, receive it neither is nor will bee,
I think, to any purpose, as ye case now stands; Or
else, That you by that Interest yt you have
in some Parliament-men, doe perswade with one
or more of them, to move this businesse in
the house, or otherwise; not as suggested by
you or any other, but as a matter, wch they them-
selves think very necessary, proper and sea-
sonable.

I pray, Sr, excuse the freedome of

10ber ye 4th -54.

Sr, Yor obliged poore brother,
and most unfained & unceasant
Orator at ye throne of grace,
W: Write.

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Sir,

I wrote some time since unto you a letter that I took
order to have sent you from Bristol, which I hope you
have received. And then I sent it on supposal my Son
would have been with you either upon or soon after the receipt
of it. but there have been occasional delays hitherto.
At length I understand his resolution is to come unto you
& therefore send this by him. onely to request you (having
written more largely in my former) to look upon him as one
able to do much good if God would please to set his head
& heart in frame for it, for the better effecting whereof
I have required him to settle himself as near as may be
to you that he may the more often be with you; As to whose disposal
your direction may be advantageous to him for his placing
in a better Family. & if it might be with some able & godly
Minister by whom (he being resident) you might understand
his disease better, & better apply your Medicines to him. I
may assure you he will be no troublesome guest where he
lives; his carriage is very fair & inoffensive, all the stiffness
is in matter of judgment, wherein also there is a tenaciousness
rather than any verbal & passionate pertinaciousness. besides that
his contesting is in way of writing rather than speaking & disputing.

Sir, I have no reason to press upon you who have such
a multiplicity of business, to have any regard to this; onely my
son & my self concurring on you rather than any other, & that
case being so sad, that one of above 30 y. old & able to
do good should be in no settled calling, I presume to think
that you will rather be pleased to do something in it, than displeased
with this motioning of it. My intent is to have him with
you a twelve-month, & in such a time I hope much good
may be done to him without much trouble to you. If you
think fit to set him awork & give him direction perhaps
he may be serviceable one way or other, but whether he do
any thing or no (for this years space) I should account it a great
work if he might be for the future in a capacity to work.

Any demands for his entertainment, I shall ~~[illegible]~~ engage
to satisfie. my son acquainting me therewithal.

With my true respects & prayers that your Labours may
still be prosperous I rest

Your assured Friend & Brother

William Thomas

Ubley
Novemb. 19
1658.

x

For my verie worthy friend
Mr Baxter Minister of
the word & Pastor at
Kederminster. d
L

Reverend Sr.

I should have been glad to have waited upon yor selfe & the rest of the Divines at Sturbridg on
wensday next touching Dr Bryan our reverend pastor, but being prevented by a suddaine
journey to London must now expresse by writing what I should have personally done, had I been with yor.
2 wch is that the Dr having been with us 8 yeares, and so labourious in his calling and so successfull
in his Ministry amongst us, that the whole parish will not by any meanes part with him, but
earnestly desire his continuance still amongst us. And because in January last (upon a lre from
Salop) the busines was put to our whole parish of Trinity whether they would be contented the Dr should
staie or go, they all unanimously resolved, he should not go, and to that end above two hundred of
them subscribed to a lre (the copie whereof Mr Monck will shew yor) and therefore wee suppose there neede
not be any further declaracon of the parishioners in that behalfe. The Dr not truly apprehending the sincere
affections of his people here (as since he hath acknowledged) and taking a dislike at some few irregular passages
of two or three (albeit those are since of another minde) thereupon went to Salop & made an engagement (but
it was but conditionall. Now Sr because not only Mr Grew hath given it under his hand to Dr Bryan
(and is ready to make it good) that Dr Bryan was not then in a capacitie or had power to make any such
engagement. and that it is an error in Shrewsbury men to expect the performance thereof, but also at least ten
able & godly Divines in Warwickshire of their owne accord have given their opinions to the Divines at
London for the Drs stay wth us alledging their reasons. I humbly beseech yor as ever yor either
favoured or shewed any affection to Coventry that yor would now improve yor best interest indeavours
that the Dr may still staie wth his owne loving people here. It will prove a sad thing both to the
Dr & us, if he should go. I professe I feare (as I once said to you) his going will cause such a rent in
this towne & people especially to us that have adhered to the Dr & his opinion touching presbyteriall government
& those of the Independent partie, that it will upon the point sett us all together by the eares & produce scandall
& shame to the Gospell & the true professors thereof: and wee shall look upon it as on a great Judgment of
God upon us. The Dr would staie with us (& so hath often declared) if he could have some encouragement from
yor to stay, as in only telling him his engagement to Salop was but rash or unadvised, as in truth it was.
I am confident he cannot wth a good conscience leave us. Sr I knowing yor eyes are towards the Lord
whose ayde & directions yor implore, doubt not but for his glory he will so steere yor mindes & opinions
touching the premisses that the Dr may still remaine wth his deare people here to the further glory of God & [illegible]
of us. Thus being bold to trouble yor, giving yor hearty thanks for all yor kinde affections to my sonne
Bryan & his wife I take leave, resting

Coventry this 10th of May
1652

Your humble servant

Hum: Burton

Mr Burtons lre

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Most honored Brother,

I do most hartily thanke you for yr late lr by mr Walker, as also for all yr
former favours. I had writ to you ere this time, but not hearing of that
lr I sent to mr Underhill, I did partly on that ground forbeare, as also being
much employed about or poore College: where the Warden hath by his arbitrary power
3 ejected 2 godly fellows, brought in profane drunkards, scoffers at holiness, & so far
discouraged al the godly, that they are all upon removing: they desired my assistance
as being lately fellow, & sworn to promote the good of ye howse as long as I live.
Dr Owen is so intimate wth ye Warden, yt ye fellows were advised to appeal to ye
Protector & councell: severall of ye Councell were informed of the business, & did
privately acknowledge ye Warden ought to be ejected: But Dr Owen appears
for ye Warden calls ye fellows factious, so cooles the councellors, that they
withdraw, they got an order fro ye Protector yt Dr Owen & others shall
have the hearing & determining. And now the business is before them, where
by former experience they have small hopes, that godlines will be promoted,
And therefore they intend to move the Parliament agayn. I do give you this
Breviat to beg yr prayers for or poore howse, where I suppose were as many
godly students as in any howse in Oxon: & unles they can have remedy, that
Bethel will quickly be a Beth-Baal: He that is now Warden was put in by
ye Visitors, contrary to statute being never of ye howse, & others that were of
ye howse & godly & fit, layd asides since he hath bin in; his actings have bin
ngloro occasij not [illegible]
such as ye common enemy, ~~that~~ pudet haec opprobria nobis, et dici potuisse —
If you thinke fit, to move yr friends that are Parliament men, that if they heare
such a Petition for Wadham College in Oxon, that they would so far promote
it, as that a godly judicious & impartial Committee may be named, we doubt
not but you will do a service very acceptable to god, very advantageous to
his church; besides the encouragement to many sons of the prophets that are
& may be there.

I have fully acquainted mr Grove & severall others here that are to sit, & they all
resent it, & promise there assistance, But I know that as ye Warden was
the chiefe plotter for Dr Owens being Burgess, so if he sits, or howsoever
he will do what he can to hinder it.

For yr not answering what I was to beg you in, I cannot but thinke it more yr
modesty, than any defectiveness, or want of a call. It is cleare by yr
Rest, that you tooke ye Parliament side on mature deliberation, & how
you could establish yr judgement & others in that case (wch depended as much on
ye Lawes & fundamental Constitution of ye Nation as this) & yet be so defective in
this, is not cleare to me;

I am very sorry to reade yr indisposition of writing any more, I hope the
Lord will enable you, and then when you consider what succes god hath
crownd yr pen with, I hope you dare not let it lye still.

If I might be partaker of what private paynes you have bin at to keep soules from run-
-ning to new Arm: & Popery, as you have my compassion & prayers for yr information
so you should not long have my person to wayt on you for the communication
of such papers: I beseech you, give me such an invitation to wayt on you
that I may also be satisfyed; what are those strange Mysterys of Popish Iniquity
lately set on foot is my earnest desire. I must confess I have had a great

[illegible] shal not be quiet, untill you be pleased to grant my request herein,
Pray therefore (Deare Brother) let me have speedily from you herein: if you please
to send to mr [illegible] I have tooke such order that it will be called for here by a foot post
that goes every weeke & will bring it to my hand
the Gentleman I told you of, is chosen for yr Parlt, but if he moves, as he threatned I have [illegible]
friends neer him, that if any thing be on the wheele, you shall speedily be informed
Thus committing you & all yr labors to or gratious Redeemer, & desiring yr prayers
for me & mine, in whose heart & prayers you have no ordinary station, I rest
August 17. 1654
Fordinbridge

yr obliged friend & unworthy Brother
Sten. Bartlett

To my Reverend & honored Brother
mr Richard Baxter
Pastor of the Church
at Kidderminster

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Deare Sr

As you undertooke the paines of writing to mee onely for mine owne directions
so it is onely that that I intend, my aime in my last was to know my duty & how to informe
my Lord in his, yet so carefull was I as that I would not have wrote to you in such warmth
4 or upon that occasion if my Lord had not desired mee to doe it, & I partly had found it
necessary, for such is ye nature of pride as that when it pressed to any unpleasing taske
it will rather submit upon the word of any other then his who first pressed it,
& sinfull flesh loves to find pretences of delay when it has none of denyall, the duty
to mee was plaine enough but now there is no excuse left, Sr you must consider that
although my Lord be good yet he is great & tender of his honour, & yor selfe have
given the character of great men though good in respect of receiving plaine instructions
or reproof, beside the humor of ye times has setled in most ears & made ym
very tender, yet my language is as sweet & my carriage as humble as sincerity will
suffer. My question Sr I thanke you is satisfactorily answered for ye present if any new
difficulty arise I shall send you word. I pray Mr Baxter, let mee not ever be cast off
or neglected by you, if you did but know wth what a compassionate sence of ye trouble
& what feare of grieveing you I wrot I am confident you could hardly read my letter
wthout teares. Sr I have no friends of judgmt that will seriously & impartially deale
wth mee to goe to, I found I was ignorant & idle & wanted such an one as could &
would instruct & exhort & reproove mee too & I knew not whither to goe but
to God who as I told you directed mee to you, & if you will beare the trouble I give
you & faithfully indeavour my good I shall acknowledge it as one of ye greatest
blessings upon earth, & I shall spend my time in sadness & mourning as apprehensive
of ye curse of God upon mee if you deny yor paines & love & prayers unless
God should stirre up another as good to doe that wch I expect fro you. Sr I hope you
will be a spirituall father to mee & upon such hope I once more addresse my selfe
to you, if my letters be foolish in any thing chide mee but beare wth mee. In yor
booke of baptisme p. 18. 19. 20. yor 2nd argumt to prove ye minor of yor first namely
that some infants are disciples is because God calls them servants Lev. 25 41. 42. and this
is the reason of his comand to let them goe out in ye Jubilee. wch I thinke will hardly
prove what you would because as I conceive they are called servants fro ye speciall
act of Gods extraordinary providence about them & ~~the~~ upon this account their land
was his aswell as they & was to goe out in ye Jubilee & upon this account their
first borne both of man & beast was his. To this you may say something or nothing
wch you please for you have proved yor position sufficiently wthout it. & chap. 5
sect: 2. p 27 you say that it must be a plaine word of God onely that can
prove ye repeale of any word. But then ought not we still to use ye Jews judiciall
law; what thinke you of ye ceaseing of some speciall reason. & where is there
a plaine repeale of not eating blood or fat. the saying every creature is good
[illegible] may repeale onely the distinction of cleane & uncleane or reproove some
superstitious abstinencies from kinds & if so where was ye Apostles canon of not
eating things strangled & recalled? I [illegible] desire you to tell me whether you thinke
that ye angel promised Ex: 23. 20. 21 & that spoken of Ex: 33. 2. 3. be ye same
& if they be why Moses complained not in ye former place & yet did in ye latter
& what is the meaning of both places. My desire to know ye meaning of scripture makes
mee aske these questions. I pray God make you willing & able to satisfy mee.
Sr I thanke you hartily for commending some bookes to mee wch I find very good, I
have spent some time in Camero who is very rationall & solid & excellent at answering
his adversarys, I judge 3 leaves of him worth 20 of Polanus. I must needs
thanke God & you for yor good letters wch have done me a great deale of good
I desire you wth all my strength to pray for mee & if it be not great trouble

when you meet ye Christians upon fasting days or praying times to get them to doe it I have as much need as any whoever & I hope shall be as thankfull, & be assured that I doe constantly & faithfully pray for you & I hope God will recompence all yor spirituall almes to

yor sonne & nourslinge

Dec: 15. 1653.

Abr. Pinchbecke

Charissimi doctoris mortem lugeo tecũ defleoq; qui & nobis & angelis desideratissimus abijt, sciendũ tamen ꝙ christũ regnare cæterisq; providere, fletibus igitur nostris & finis ponendus est & modus.

My worthy freind, and brother,

I receiued your last on Fryday (I think) the 15th of March: ~~[illegible]~~ vpon Saturday I could not giue you an account; on Munday following I did my endeauour. I went to Mr Blackwell fro whose house came your liquor. I put him to the 2 questions in your lre. He answeared that the drink was of some value: yet, he thought, that nothing was expected fro you, vnlesse the successe answeared her desire, and expectation. To the 2d he answeared that the Gentlewoman made part of her liuing in being serviceable to decaying ministers. He produced her lre which should haue beene sent with it, had not my zeale to see you first preuented her lre: we presumed to open it, and you shall find it heere enclosed. I can not but thank God for her care, and could wish that you would send her a letter of thanks, whether you resend the vessel. As to the fulnesse or emptinesse it is not considerable to you, but falls in the portage. It did waste a little by the way. I sent it by Mr Tyton: and it may be, it might waste more in carriage. She knowes how to dispose of it. I beleeue the water in Consumptions, especially respects the lungs; and, by your description, I think that your weaknesse proceeds fro the Liver, and spleene. I need not put you into a course: yet take heed that vnder pretence of Cooling and opening the Liver you kill not your stomach. Doe not overcom your stomach with hard meates. Eate digestible meates, little and often. God blesse your meanes, and continue your life. I remaine [illegible] you in the Lord, and am greiued to think that your notions should be buried with you

I knowe you heare of the volume of Mr John Goodwin about universal redemption now come out. Some prayse him in your former, and, it may be, you may have occasio to add, or take away som

I beseech you be wary. He is a bitter man, and father of a great party, a very subtile, and by his wit will undertake to make good ~~all~~ what his fancy relisheth. I say noe more till I heare further: and I tell you I rejoyce to heare fro you, and must be upo I allmost

March 7th
165[illegible]

Your deare friend and
brother in Christs work

Robert Abbott

God enable you to effect your
worthy love to respect, and
your worke in hand

I tasted the water at Mr Blackwells, and remember I had formerly heard of it. It is a distilled of snayles, milke and other ingredients as I beleeve. There are 2 degrees of it. The stronger extraction is used against yellow jaundise: the weaker against consumptions. Yours, I presume is of this sort

My deare and much honoured friend,

I much reioyced at the comming out of your last booke: and the rather, because you seeme to mee to have answeared it wth as ~~much~~ much humility as your former writings have beene assaulted (as I feare) wth stomach, if not wth pride. As I was from the first, an hearty imbracer of your Aphorismes (though I could not swallow some expressions, of wch, I bless God, I see your Revocation) so I wondered yt I found such bitter entertainments as ~~I~~ they found, among many learned men. I have conversed wth many (especially since my comming to London) and have had occasion to discourse some of your tenets wth them: and I have found very few to be so censorious, as they whose [illegible] pennes you have tasted. Mr Kendal (now Doctor) I am very familiar wth: yesterday I met him at the Interment of yt Blessed man of God Mr Whitaker. I said, come Doctor, I hope yt my good friend Mr Baxter hath given you satisfaction. He answeared, yt he had not yet seene your booke: but (saith hee) I heare yt he hath horribly rayled upon mee. I reply'd, It is false: and, whosoever hath affirmed it hath wronged you both, and him worse. Indeed (said I) he hath a learned and quick stile, and so have you (though sharper) he hath not given you an Immodest word was all past then. I heare yt you have bene pleased to recommend one of your bookes to mee from Mr Underhill, for wch I heartily thank [illegible] I have it not [illegible]

peep out fro the presse, then I caught it, and have read
it volanti oculo. I blamed Mr Underhill exceeding
for the print, wch is (through the oppressing of my
very dim eyes) so small, as to require so much inten-
tivenesse to read, as to understand.

Sir, I blesse God for your paynes, and for your
abilities (under such weaknesses) to undergoe them:
I could tell you of the great good done by your
Everlasting Rest, and Doubting consciences: but
you may easily perceive it by the thirst of good
soules have after it & yours. Your Conference
wth Colinians states ye business more clearly then ever
before. I wrote about a moneth since to a godly
minister (of Glostershire extraction), who required
my opinion of your opinions, and Crandons booke,
and have fully satisfyed him. I see now the
reason why formerly you weare so hott in denial
of Christs suretiship for us as I then propounded
it. Your reasons to mee (as I conceive now) weare
upon the account of determinating our justification
in the death of Christ without reference to the
conditions of the Gospell on our parts. Truely Sir,
though ever I preached your doctrine, yet I
never sawe the necessity of it as now. I have no
more to say now, but our good God continue
your life, and ability to serve for his Glory and
the good of the church, and to refresh myselfe

June the 7th
1655

Your faithfull servant and brother
Robert Abbott

LETTERS.
Fol.149. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Dearly beloved & Reverend sir

4 I cannot dispense with an unsatisfied mynd, from being a burthen unto you still with my lres. And withall to shew you. from a sadned spirit my Animadversions upon your last lre. In ye
Dir. 3. Method for Peace, you advise to lay in the understanding sound apprehensions of the nature of God and to lay them deepe. It then doth maynly concern us, to beleive & imbrace this doctrine. wch you so confidentlie avouch as a part of Gods revealed will in his word. It must therefore be sin to him that reiecteth it. and it is yr duty seasonably in yr ministry to publish it to the people. wch I intreat you certifie mee whether ever you did. My Arguments by wch I stand convinced (at present) against it. I shall endeavour with all brevity to shew you.

1. Argumt

The good and acceptable & pfect will of God can will nothing dishonourable unto himselfe, or contrary to the glory of his goodnes whereby he renders himselfe All Amiable unto his creatures. for although his will is subiect to no law. yet (as Calvin observeth) he is a law unto himselfe

But to cast an inocent creature into unutterable & ppetuall torments is dishonourable to himselfe & contrary to the glory of his goodnes. Therefore he cannot will it.

The minor I prove thus

Gen 18 Abraham pleading for Sodom (wilt thou condemn the righteous with the wicked (sayth he) that be far from thee. That the righteous should be as the wicked shall not the iudge of all the world do right. If all the inhabitants of Sodom had never sinned originally nor actually

~~and~~ such a sentence against them had bin revealed to
Abraham the friend of God. It had seemed to him
iniurious. for he inferrs his plea not (onely) as
they were ours Confaederates but as they had
interest in him by creation. such an indignity the
Lord seemeth to imply Esay 57 I will not contend
for ever for then the spirits would fayle
before me & the soules that I have made.

2 Argumt

That wch would strip the most glorious Angells
in heaven of their summum bonum is not to be
admitted. But this doctrine would do so. There
fore not to be admitted. The Assumption I
explane thus. suppose the Angells had bin created
ignorant of their future estate (as I suppose at first
they were) and no law or covenant revealed unto
them but this doctrine onely. That their creator
had plunged other of his creatures far more glorious
then they into everlasting torments, and that they
might also follow for ought they knew. would
this have opened a dore for horrour & slavish
fear wch ingredient would have bin a poysoning
~~C~~ Colloquintida to all their felicity.

3 Argum

If some ground of comfort ~~&~~ hope may be raysed
from Gods word for outlaws (or people outlawed)
as they are Gods creatures much more may
solid comfort & affiance in God be raysed from his
word for free Denizens & such as never offended him
But some hope or ground of comfort may be — &c
Therefore solid comfort for such as never offended
If you grant this of Adams posterity onely of whom
we have revealed the contrary ~~onely~~. Then it will not
reach up to the question in hand. But I do not so
confine it. And yr selfe (in The Sa: ~~test~~) sayeing deut 32
6 is not he thy father. do infer that an unregenerate
man by right of creation hath some ground of hope in
god. But no ground of hope can so be had. if
God may iustly create inocent creatures vessels
of wrath or for ~~[illegible]~~ I with Dr Davenant understand
rom 9. 11. of clay compared with Adams folly. (to wit

we being now hereby no sooner created but damned

4. Argumt

Some Emblem hereof we have in Adam. Gods
vice-roy. who had dominion given him over all
bruite creatures. they being made for his sake
yet for Adam (whilst he enioyd that office) to
have put amongst the bruite creatures to extreame
prolonged torments. had bin cruelty in Solomons
iudgment prov: 12:10.
Mistake me not. I do with all humble reverence
acknowledge a vast difference both in degree &
enormity. And that there is a thousand tymes
more reason that God should cast all men in the
world in everlasting torments ~~ing~~ m hell for his glory
rather then Adam or all men in the world should
strike a fly or kill a flea or a worm for their
own dignity. ~~but~~ I do but hint this. And say with
our saviour. 2 — why do yu not of ye selves iudg
what is equall: Luke 12.

5. ~~4~~ Argum.

All the wayes of the king of wisdome. are pleasantnes
& his pathes peace. his nature is love. wch commun-
icates no evill 1 Cor 13. malum pœnæ is his strange
work. to guilty persons
But to torment his inocent creatures. is no pleasantnes
way or path of peace. Therefore no path of his
If you obiect that he may go that path. but I
say he declared that he never hath gone th
will goe that way. with any kind of creatures
I may fro thence infer because it would not make
for his glory (for he hath not tyed himselfe
fro any thing that may make for his glory)
I shall be straytened in my bowells untill I see
ye meditations on my argumts. & shall intreat a few
of ye strongest argumts that do confirm you in this
fayth. & ever intreat the Lord that he would cause
ye fingers to drop with Myrrhe. for this sentence
of Bp Davenant page 69. doth strongly hold that
it is contrary to gods nature causlessly & cruelly to
afflict or destroy his creatures. Yr dearely beloved serv in Christ

[illegible] Aug

— 54.

[illegible] fford.

To the Reverend &
his worthy friend Mr
Baxter pastour of
the Church at
Kederminster in
Worcester shire

The case yt I propounded was not mine, for I am partly resolved wth David. 132: ps: 2:3 not to go to my bed till ye house of god be somwhat reformed, if the candle of my hopes be not wasted throw ye obstinacy unwillingnes and carelessnes of mens spirits. The proposition or Article will not stick now surely if it passe you. I was much affected wn I heard first Mr Cob: at had laboured on yt subject, ~~but [illegible]~~ but most of all yt you stile it excellent Sr I could not sleepe till I had passd some serious resolutions for writing this day, to second Mr Thimslows motion, notwithstanding your excuse, As for strength you know god gives ability when he calls for duty, it is not like to grow so big or be so displeasing a subject as yt of Bapt. yet what experience had you in yt of ye hand of god directing assisting, carrying you throw it, assure you are like to be imployed in studdys if you deal not in yt, wch calls for ye expence of as much strength, you know not alse if god hath not measured out so much strength as you shall need in ye worke, do you not know where strength lyes? have you not ye bucket of faith to draw it thence? can yt strength you have be better spent? the like I may say for time, ought not publick studdys eat up time then private, are you on ye studdys of ye covt faith, workes, redemption, justification. the world knows your mind in these fully nil ~~de~~ hic deest but ye clearing up of some points darkly layd down But ye world doth not know yr mind fully in this point, especially how far the Magistrate is interessed & where his worke lyes, I have these arguments to move you to ye worke 1o Magistrates are like to ly in their quiet & neglect of ye worke, if it be not clearly made knowne to ũ that they have an hand in reforming ye ch, allas how few in England know they are concerned in such a worke, how carelesse if they know, would not a word be seasonable to informe, convince, & bake to ye worke? 2o Many Mag: would do something now, if they know their place in the worke & how far they might go, surely in most Towns there are men yt feare god, wch never dreamed of it but now would put on courage were ye way plaine before them 3o If Mag. be, by your labours & gods blessing upon them called in & set upon ye worke how easily is like to be effected & how hard if they do not, Ministers are not so formidable as they: & so many not beloved nor approved by their people feare in the one may helpe on wt love in the other cannot effect how are wee hissd at in any worke beside pulpit worke but when the people know that a Magist. is custos utriusque tabulae & yt his worke lys in ch worke as state, they will make conscience to obey in yt as well as ~~other~~ in the execution of other parts of his office.

4o you cannot point any subject more seasonable then
this at this nicke of time, when wee are about ye
work ministers may call upon the magistrates to
assist as well as ye people to submit. & charge both
dutys at once, & lay the dutys to ye conscience
of on as well as ye other. its on foot in ~~Darbys~~
Dorsetshire as well as with us & your papers I am
informed are there, with much approbation,

5o The ignorance of most Ministers how far the
Magist. is interessed, may stirre you up to informe us
for my part I am not ashamed to say I am ignorant
but dare not compare others with my selfe, yet most
that I meet with are in the same judgment. Mr
Rutherford hath a peice wch is darke to me & diffi-
cult to find out the truth, in his contest with Erastus.
I know of no other peice but this (Mr Cob.) wch I have
sent for to informe me, how shall wee presse the
Magistrate to their duty when neither they nor wee
are cleare in it.

6o The work is not like to be difficult, 1o because you se
throw the point, 2o if Mr Cobbet be full you may referr
to him, 3o if not, supply wt is wanting or defective
in him, besides 4o the light you will have from script.
what the fathers have done or spoke I know not.

7o ffew have appeared in this subject, & though Mr C be
excellent yet out of the mouth of two or three
witnesses shall every word be established

8o you will leave the Magist. without any excuse or
cloak for their neglect or none assistance. they may
plead ignorance now, Mr Cob. booke may not come
to their hands, he may not be convincing, or he may
be thought singular, or that ~~it~~ its the judgement
of N England men, but few in old, or that the
learned & godly moderate do not appeare in it. you

throw mercy obtained the name of all, & take more
with most of the grave judicious & pious as most in
England (you know mee not if you think I am guilty of
flattering) . especially

9° these parts where you are so well known loved followed, will
be abundantly satisfied if they see your judgement in print
wch will more prevaile wth them then to of vs, I find by
sad experience, yt I loose love & ~~get~~ purchase disgrace
if I go beyond you, by the formall & carnall, & I thrive
the better & prevaile the more facile, if I vse your
weapons, so it is & will bee,

10° it may trouble you if the work stick at ye Magist
throw ignorance, & blindnes & you have not done wt
you can to convince them, oh how quiet is my soul
when I have done what I can, me thinks yt gives
mee Gods approbation. he hath done what he could
though little is done, Sr accept these lines from a
more then ordinary importunate desire, I know not
from whence it comes, if not from above, If you
are any way weighed by these or more urgent of your
own, let mee intreat you to consider of this advice
from your much inferiour

2° To dedicate the peice to ye Parl. & all xtian
Magist. that hold their office under yt their Mediat
2° to acquaint some divines with it wch may second it
by epistles & approbation of it. & secretly insinuate into
the harts of the godly Magistracy

3° to exchange your Stationers. or cause them to set
a lower price of it then they do the rest of your books
not but I think that truly they are worth it, but that they
might not discourage any from buying on that accoun
I would have it seen of all & red by all, how many com
plaints are made to mee from my friends in Lanc
by reason of the high prizes of your highly valued book
& yet none sell better. Sr this is all but only the promise
of my assistance in my weak prayers, or in any thing I am
able. Let not the easing of my mind burden yours
you to the Lord. & rest your

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Worthy Sr

After I had written my last Letter to yu & had seene the Carryer
here severall times, ye first, second & third time I thought
nothing wth my selfe though hee brought never a Letter for me,
sincerely accounting it a happiness yt I am farr unworthy of,
if I can receive your most deare & precious instructions, when
yu are most at leasure (though I cannot thinke or conceive wth
my selfe, yt you doe spend a quarter of an houre worse) nor could
I be so immodest as to expect so suddaine a returne, as I had
ye first time, unlesse I should preferre my selfe before hundreds.
But yet selfe being so deare & neare I could not but long
though upon good grounds I pacified my selfe, & compelled my
selfe patiently to waite & quietly to be contented. Never=
thelesse ~~[illegible]~~ after six or thereabouts iourneys of ye Carryer,
I saw nothing & yet Letters brought from yu, I began to thinke
wth my selfe yt my Letter was miscarryed, or if not yt I had
bin a litle to bold wth yu on a suddaine, as to dare to inter-
rupt your more weighty labours: but thus I had before thought
with my selfe when I writt & strongly obiected against my
selfe, yet I easily answered all obiections resorting your readines
& willingness to doe all ye good yt possible yu can: & quicke abili-
tie wch I easily perceived from your first Letter, wch I thought
ye happiest yt ever I received. And now Sr I returne yu most
hearty thankes & cordiall acknowledgments yt yu should
be pleased so reasonably & satisfactorily to answer all my bold requests
as likewise I cannot but breake forth in admiration of ye sweete
providence of god towards me in this, yt hath directed yu to
take ye most welcome opportunitie. Sr I can scarce say yt there
particular admonitions of yours to me have wrought me either
to an higher esteeme, or more deare affection to yu then your gene-
rall advice before, wch by ye assistance of gods spirit I was enabled
to particularize unto my selfe, yet this I am sure of, they have
strucke ye former impressions more deepe, & have made them more du-
rable & permanent. And even from this most deare affection wch
reacheth forth my very heart towards yu I know not how

X

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I runn forth into such a liberall & bold straine in wrighting to yu
yt when I come to reveiw what I have writt, I am ready ~~[illegible]~~
& to begin afresh:: But yt that maketh me to stand to what I have
writt, as a kind of confidency yt insinuates into mee (contrary to my v
well custome) & perswadeth mee yt yu will as easily overlooke whatso
ever yu find more rash & youthfull, as yu can condiscend at all to
take notice of one so inferiour:

I found Ames to be of your judgment in ye wills Determination wch par
tly well prepared mee, to receive your resolution, & doe rather encline
to it then ye other, especially when I consider yt both understanding
& will are ~~[illegible]~~ ye same soule, onely having powers distinguished, by ye distinct
objects on which they are exercised, & when I see yt some men are &
may be swayed contrary to ye expresse dictate of their understandings, nay
I have found it by mine owne experience, but having heretofore put
my selfe of with this; yt this was not ye last act of ye comparative
judgment, but yet upon serious thoughts, thourough those items receved
from yu, I cannot see upon another Dictate of ye understanding, yt
hath immediately preceded ye Execution of ye act: unlesse I should
call ye suggestions of flesh & sense to be ye mandate of mine under:
standing. Onely I humbly intreate yu Sr (for some doubts yt doe yet
trouble mee) yt yu would write mee your judgment wherein ye Liberty
of ye will consisteth, though in part I can gather it from what yu last
writt. I have heard Dr Arrowsmith our Divinity Professour to place
it (as Heereboord) in ye rationall spontaneitas, or lubentia ~~[illegible]~~ rationa
others in ye Schooles have disputed for a Liberty of indifferency wthout
any previous Determination at all on gods parts, but yt it hath power
of its owne to encline it selfe to each part of ye Contradiction, nay
I feare some hold it of Contrariety too, & yt it can ~~[illegible]~~ propend either
to good or evill. Sr I returne yu farther thanks for ye acquaintance
your Letter hath brought mee, promising my selfe greate advantage
thereby. By him according to your desire I shall endeavour to trans
act ye busines about my Sister, so soone as Providence hath brought
it to Maturity. Otherwise if after all prayers & Endeavours, god sh
think good to crosse it, I shall willingly submitt as being pretty w
experienced yt his Method is allwayes best. I will take it all upon my
selfe if it come to passe & wholly deny yu in yt busines. One more
request I have unto yu Sr to acquaint mee wth your judgment concer
ning Ramus & Aristotle's Logick. The Aristotelian way indeed is one
[illegible] publikely owned in ye Schooles, but of my selfe I encline more to Ram
[illegible] & preferre him by farre, though an eminent & absolutely best

Schollar in our Colledge of his standing, saith yt all yt Ramus writt is pedantike: Sr I shall interrupt yu no farther at this time, but (wth my humble service to yu & dearest affection) shall rest

Your Cordiall Freind & Servant
to my power, Will: Duncombe.

Date Feb: 15
1652:

Sr I knew not yt Mr Dackitte
had left ye University till I had writt
my Letter, but howsoever I will endeavour
by some other meanes to effect ye business.

Scholler in the Colledges of his standing, with y^t all y^r Lawes wch
deserve. S^r I shall encourage y^m no further at this time, but wth my
humble service to y^u & dearest affection I shall rest

Your Loveing Freind & Servant
to my power: Will: Duncumbe.

Dat Feb: 15
1652

S^r I know not y^t Mr Barker
hath left ye University till this week
my Letter but howsoever I will endeavour
by some other means to [illegible] y^e [illegible].

Ffor the reverend & my most
esteemed Friend Mr Baxter
Minister of gods word in
Kidderminster

these

LETTERS.
fol.155. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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1

Sr

I have received & perused yor second letter whither yor answer
to my objections be satisfactory or noe I say not intending never to trouble
you wth any thing of controversy wthout very great reason. I thanke you
90 for yor letters & God for ye great good I have received from them both
as argumentative & exhortatory, if you will give me leave to be
yor pupill I shall make bold in all my scruples & irresolutions
doctrinall & practicall to apply my selfe to you as Gods meanes for resolu-
tion, I pray Sr pardon mee if I honour & respect you more then
possibly you would have mee, I pray God make me carefull of honouring
you more then he would have mee, I will make you if you please
a father but not a pope to mee I am resolved to reserve a liberty
of examining all yor resolves yea though you were an angell, and
as I desire yor pardon as this dealing gives you honour so as it gives you
trouble, ~~yet~~ & truly Sr I am herein so tender of you as that I shall
leave it to yor selfe whether you answer me or no at any time, only
I intreat you to have a care that you slight not mee the least of all
saints & unworthy to be so named because I have beene so idle &
sinfull & proud & haughty & unthankefull for all Gods patience & love
Sr if ~~it~~ you thinke fit I pray send me yor opinion of the meaning
of those expressions of Christ I in thee & thou in mee and they in
mee & I in them and also of that I am crucifyed wth Christ &
how ye death of Christ is the cause of ye death of sin in us & his resur-
rection of ye life of grace, & ~~in~~ in all yor letters be sure to say some-
thing against idlenesse, & accompany all yor instructions, & reproofes wth
hearty prayer for my good, & seeing I have named prayer I intreat
you wth ye greatest earnestnesse imaginable that you would be pleased
to pray hard for mee & in yor meetings put in my name, that ye
benefit that may be bestowed upon mee by the prayers of many may
by the thankesgiving of many whose prayers have beene heard &
many others who have received blessing & benefit by labours redound
to ye glory of God whose infinit & everlasting love & favour
I heartily wish you & though wth shame as knowing mine unwor-
thinesse subscribe my selfe

Yor brother & fellow servant in ye
ministry of ye gospell
Abr: Pinchbecke.

Sept. 30. 1653.

I heare Sr that you are almost perswaded to set out yor
Aphorismes againe I will give you one argumt to determine
you to so good a worke, namely the great benefit wch I my
selfe have gained by them as great as by any booke what-
ever that I know of, it made mee wth farre greater con-
fidence to expect mercy & greater trembling thinke of sin,
whiles I saw so evidently as for substance the tenure of
ye covenant explained.

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LETTERS.

Fol. 156. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Sr I am very sorrie yor last letter should miscarry especially because I had such need of it to answer my doubts one whereof namely that about tithes I confesse I know not wch way to goe about to answer, & to support me under my temptations, ye heaviest afflictions that can be, because a man is always so neare sin I have observed 3 things that I was in danger of sinning, distraction, or death for ye last I should have beene glad of it only me thought it troubled me a litle that ye devill & mine own flesh should kill mee yet why might I not be martyred by ye devill as well as by men. the 2nd I was very much affrayd of & that was urged most to mee but I blesse God though I looked upon it as an unexpressible misery because it puts out of a capacity to serve God yet I chose it rather then sin wch I could by noe meanes consent to but I hope God will keepe mee fro all, though I must tell you my body is brought very ~~[illegible]~~ low in respect of naturall strength (I would ye strength of lust were as low) so that I am almost nothing but skin & bones & feare that I am in a consumption, I was urged to extraordinarie prayer & denyed it a great while upon ye account of my ~~&~~ weaknesse, but at last consented but am forced to breake it offe upo ye same account being really affrayd that I ~~[illegible]~~ have beene too great a friend to deall in it, yet I hope God will give mee a time of rejoycing. Sr I thanke you for yor care of mee some of my friends that have heard of my going into Essex have given mee the same caution but to satisfy you know it is not into ye hundreds or neare ye sea, but it is not farre off Chelmsford & hatfield where Mr Warren is whose acquaintance I hope to have. the people I am to goe to have had noe good minister among them as they tell mee time out of mind, they are very ignorant great prophaners of ye sabbothe especially the youth & I know not of one godly man in ye towne ~~[illegible]~~ there is but 12 houses in the town & so may more narrowly be watched over & when I preached among them I found this incouragemt that though wth some loathnesse they did not prophane ye sabboth so much & some I saw very much affected & ye most expressed a greater desire of mee than of any else; beside they have beene wthout a minister a good while wch has much strengthened them in sin & if I should not goe I know not whether any else would ye maintenance is so small, & it but a sequestration & ye incumbent old & no conveniency for dwelling. for my removing fro my Lords there is not ye least scandall in it but rather credit among all christians & ministers & others too, & though I shall leave ye family and fro ye highest to ye lowest good & bad wch I wonder at yet none speake against my going, My Lord indeed has asked me divers times to stay but finds no fault wth my going some others have wept but still find no fault, all expresse sorrow but find no fault still, neither can I see any evill in it but I see a very great evill & sin that I have beene here so long & done so litle for theire good feare & compliance & pride & ambition & sensuality have tyed my hands fro acting for Christ, I pray God make mee more syncere in an other place, the town have petitioned for mee and are answered I have passed ye approbation of ye Comrs, all is done but ye taking of my instrumt for induction fro ye clarke, ~~but~~ I now therefore desire yor counsell for I professe I know not what to doe I can call none a church there yet I can not give to any the Lords supper & for baptisme I can not tell what to thinke well, but I shall incline to ye most charitable & mercifull side till I be better satisfyed, for wthout doubt it is much to beare of professors of the true worship & doctrine & of those who will bring theire children to heare it taught. &

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to performe outward acts of Worship & why may not a wicked man dedicat
his child to Christ & send him to schoole to Christ although himselfe doe serve
ye devill & be ignorant, especially seeing there is more then ye parents act in
for there is ye ministers act at least, & this in ye name of ye Lord, so that I am
him truly bound to be Christs unlesse he will disowne it when he comes
age, yea I know not what but that an heathen if he would spare a
child upon such warrants might have his child baptised, but if you think
sinfull I desire yor correction, for I am ye servant of Christ & dare seeke noth
but his interest. I pray sir let me have yor earnest prayers for Gods
blessing both to my soul & body & that God would strengthen me &
teach me & blesse ~~me~~ & prosper me in any thing that may serve his
glory & his church to wch I am wholy dedicated

May 6th 1654. Yor pupill Abr. Pinchbeck

Ever honored Brother,

Yrs of 10ber 28 I rec' from mr Gellibrand about Jan. 17. I have
since bin on a long iorney to visit a sick ffather, so that I could
not send so soon, nor be now so large as I would: I thank you for
2 yr advise in the matter I desired. Concerning wch I may take another
occasion to heare more fully from you: I beseech you seeing you have
promised so freely send as speedily as may be yr advice to ye church: Bis
dat, qui cito dat. I se not why you may not send it before it passe ye
association, it shall be as private wth me as in yr own study. But I will
not be overbold.

I received not yr Answer to mr Eyr till last Saturday. I blesse god, that you
have so cleard the truth, & wth so mild terms. only I find the mentioning p. 9
& yt wthout feare or — 9. 11. par. 1. & last, as Bellarmine confuted —
desired by some that those reflections had bin witheld, for though the
truth, is, that he utterly changeth you from first to last, yet I feare yr
adversarys will make more of those expressions than they will beare,
& say you revile & not reply. truly, Brother, there is so little charity
in that of thinking no evill, that I am most carefull to avoyd ap-
-pearance for others wresting my words, ~~[illegible]~~

I have not yet seen mr Crandons booke but I heare yt in his Epistle to mrs
Hildersly, he makes me the occasion in contending yr bookes to her, truly
I commended yr Sts rest to her, & desired her not to be so offended at any
controversall poynt, as to neglect the practicall, but when I have seen,
& not only heard what he sayth, I shall (if requisite) give you an
account: tis reported in these parts by mr Crandons ffriends, yt you
have retracted yr Aphorismes, it may be what you say in yr last Answ
of 10 s. to mr Eyr occasiond it. It is much desired by al yt honor you
in these parts that you would lett vs fully know yr mind &
reasons thereof by a 2d Edition of yr Aphorismes. yr Enemys say
you are ashamd, unconstant, & know not what to say: What ye Entrea-
-tys hitherto could not, these slanders at last will force you too,

But I must conclude, mr Woodbridge is hastning an Answer to
mr E. & had bin publicke but he is informd yt his quotations are very
ffalse, & yt takes up most of his time to examine them.

I should be very glad that we might have those practicall pieces of
ye deceitfulnes of ye heart, pride etc

Let me desire you to have thoughts of Cases of Conscience upon
the Decalogue, you know how scant & darke & few or divines are
therein, & yt we must often to ye Philistins, to whet

Do not thinke (good brother) that wt you speake of mr Crandon is
any offence to me.

we do heartily here pray & prayse god for you: I desire yt you
would remember me & mine

16[illegible].

×

I am

yrs Hen. Bartlet.

Reverend Sr 47

I know yr time is precious unto yu, and others I cannot beare my=
3 =timencyes; I therefore shall content my selfe wth a bare returne
of humble thanks for yr free discourse, kind letts, and obliging
invitation. Toutching yr proposall, if it were fitt for me to speake my
thoughts of it, & those yt doe promote it, it could not be but wth high
approbation of soe much pious care & zeale, (not wthout charge) for soules.
But for my closure wth it, I must confesse I feare, the burden cals
for a stronger shoulder, & more then budding, middling parts, ma=
=tur'd to a consistency, wch yet I must not hope for. (1) I have not
try'd my Spirit whether it can undauntedly confront those censures
oppositions, frownes, yt an Itinerant must dayly meet wth. I know
an able, pious, resolute Minister (Mr Will Cole of Newcastle) who much
on this account was forct to quitt this undertaking in ye Northerne
pts. Sure, in those ill-supplied places, yu pleas'd to mention, few will
be found, whose humble consciousnesse to there owne deficiencyes
will render ayd acceptable; nay will not stomacke helpe as imposition.
I met wth some, (in my late journey) of those yt goe for honest, yt
take it as a principle of prudence, not willingly to admit of one
yt preacheth better, least yt should raise a prejudice against their
settled pasts. If good men stumble because weake, wt can be hopt for
of those yt are bad, but down-right rayling, shutting Church doores.
(2) I doubt whether it be not an imploymt of much unsettlednesse
yt will eat out time, at least wth Saturday & Monday journeyes.
I'me sure yu will not blame him who being young & raw consults
wth his owne weaknesse (not lazinesse, not low-Spiritednesse) & earnestly
desires to secure time for personall improvemts. ffaine would I bee im=
ploy'd in wining soules, but not in loosing selfe. I've learnt from
Nurses, how daungerous it is to let a tender infant beare much upon his
legs, when he first finds ym, & how it hazards crooking. (3) You hint ye oppor
=tunity I shall have for soules. I am apt to lay much stresse upon ys work
but in this I could humbly wish yt in 2 times yu would instance. Alasse I
have beene preaching many Sermons wth ye greatest evidence of truth I can;
wth the most lively affection forethought or prayer could raise, wth ye
greatest solemnenesse I could expresse ym with, besides indeavours
for to live suitably, & suspect, scarce a fish caught. Alasse wt will
one Sermon then or 2 once in a quarter availe, where laying seige &
storming too, doe prove succeslesse. Nor can I perswade my selfe ye country
feilds are more white for ye harvest, or yt the Spirit will ingage wth
a more conquering efficacy. But I submit these reasons to yr glance
being noe way unwilling to understand yr invalidity, or entertaine wt
you please to advise though opposite unto my present jealousies. If
soe, yu write againe, be pleas'd to intimate. 1. Whether ye weight of
ye worke be Sabboth or weeke dayes preaching & wth what frequency
2. Toutching ye place of residence & in wt distance from yu, a cir=
=cumstance to my selfe & friends not of ye least concernment.
I doe not mention maintenance, for yt I thinke yu will scarce second
this proposall: or, had I judg'd it probable to succeed, should I have
spoke of yt, save to crave leave yt the managemt of yt, might bee
Alvington devolv'd upon yr greater prudence. Sr I humbly take leave, begging
Nov. 23. 55. yr prayers, promising mine.

yr deeply obliged friend
& Servant Edw. Baines

Pardon me I wrote noe sooner. A sad providence
viz. ye death of one of Sr Will. daughters did
necessitate this delay.
Sr Will. wisht me to insert his affectionate respects
to you; & Mr Wadsworth.

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48 4

Sr

I recd this Petition on Saturday 7night; wth direction to send it subscribed, to you, on Thursday after. I could not do so, be I had no messenger: & besides, I thought to get more hands daily to it. I finde ye people too dull & distracted to bee unanimous in it. ffor wch I am ye more sorry, sith it so much concerns ym, & is so very mode-8 rate. I wish it al success. Oh yt it might be so fully answered as to —— I have some measure of hope herein; yet truly its not wthout feares, things have so miscarryed formerly. And if I may be bold wth you, perhaps its not unseasonable to tel ~~ye I thinke~~ you what I thinke, tho I know ye wisdom far exceeds my weakness in ye case. Verily I feare & thinke, yt in case we get a Lawe to curb some exorbitancies, yet it will soone become of little use, unless it be very carefully drawn up, & more generall yn is usuall of late. ffor Seducers are so cunning as to frustrate its force, by broaching new tenets, adding to, or altering, & new modelling ye old, or taking advantage at phrases, or finding some hole to evade, & start away: specially sith our statutes use to be oft so strictly tied to ye letter in yr exposition & application. And yet I'de not have our suit surcease; but let it be considered what improvemt may be made of friends in ye House at reading ye Petition, to get (if possible) such a Lawe made as may settle a certaine standing ordinary power in some ~~sort~~ speciall sort of persons to heare & determine blasphemies &c. wthin yr respective Limits, according to statutes &c. giving ym as much latitude to take cognizance of ye Crime & circumstances as may bee, in yr discretions. Else we may be still to seeke a new law on ~~[illegible]~~ every new dress of old errors. And yt I may speake yet more plainly (excuse my tediousness) its my present opinion (& I matter not if many know it) yt we shall hardly be in any settled good condition of continuance, except some prime Presbyter of choise learning, age, experience, prudence & piety, elected by ye Ministers, may be appointed by lawe, in ech fit compass of ye ~~Nation~~ land: as suppose, an ordinary County (for if it be too little there will inconvenience follow; as also if it be too bigg) or some less extent, yet suitable to ye designe intended. This church-officer, if he may not be called a Prelate (times will not perhaps brooke it) yet he may ~~be~~ have a preferrence in a sort, for ye meeting of ye Church-men of yt Limit in him, as lines in yr center. He may be a kinde of Principium vel ~~[illegible]~~ quasi punctum unitatis to ye rest. Let him be called Bishop, Prelate, superintendant &c. I stick not at any lawfull name, so ye power be pious & prudentiall. Nor need he Lord it over his Brethren authoritatively. It may suffice him to be a Prelate thus far, i.e. in ye estimation of his Compresbyters, for ye eminency of his gifts & graces: wch may be such, as justly to deserve such a prelacy; & consequently may procure that his judgmt & determinations will not be hastily opposed, if at all. I suppose such presidency would be very usefull for ye quiet of ye Church, ~~[illegible]~~ Let him have convocate assemblies & courts of ye Church in his Limits: and his orderly & ordinarily at known & stated times, even of course for more certainty. Wherein himself x may bee but as one of ye rest (except before excepted). Here may be transacted such Church affairs as arise in ye parishes wthin ye whole Limit; And if ye multitude prove too great, there may be a subdivision, somewhat like ye ancient Dean-

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rids; wherein may be dispatched such businesses as seeme too hard for ye parochiall [illegible]
& yet too triviall for ye former Meetings. And in these Meetings I repute all ye particular
parish Churches of ye Limit, as incorporate into one Church, (as suppose ye Church
of Worcestershire &c. so called) respectiv to this purpose & meeting. And herein I
take not downe ye parochiall parish Churches fro being true Churches; no more yn such a
parish Church, does unchurch a Chappell wthin it. I can call ym Churches in yt sense
at least wherein ye Church in such & such a mans house, is so called: yea more may be
granted, & yet my opinion established: at least, as I build it on prudential grounds.
For, what lets but yt these parish Churches may have in ym ye word & Sacraments for ease of ye Mem-
bers: It may also have yr parochiall Pastor for yt worke: yea more, he may also exercise
a true Pastorship over ym, in some sort, by severall Acts yt are either pt of discipline or
in tendency therto, such as Admonition, suspension &c. all such lesser Acts of disci-
pline as may be fit for him: yea, I deny not but fundamentally ye power of all discipline
is in him respectiv to yt church: & yt he has enough of it seated primitively in him to
ye highest Censure; but I say, ye Exercise of (ordinarily (note yt) is then, & only yn
ordinarily, to bee; when he is assisted & conjunct wth others, as touching such greater
Acts. So its not ye sufficiency of it, but expediency of practising alone, yt I am not
satisfied in: And ye addition of meere-ruling Elders is less satisfactory; sith I can
yet looke on ym, but as a prudent provision in ye church, wch may or may not bee, yr
Jus divinum not appearing to my eye) according to occasion. And now tho I grant ye parish
Presbyter ~~&c~~ & his Church to be such of it selfe true, & distinct, yet I de have him
& it ~~but~~ reputed in a sort, but as one part of ye whole Church wthin ye sd Limit
(as suppose ye Church of Worcestershire) And yt wn it comes to ye ~~triall of any~~ [illegible]
right to Church-Commun, he should yn be but as any one of ye Presbyters & whole
Presbytery of ye church of yt Limit. and yt he & his Church should for yt time & ever
more be looked on as fallen in, & imbodied into ye rest, as part of ye whole.
this is yt I plead for, yt tho ye ground of all power which in ym singly (as to ye parish bounds)
yet ye Exercise of it, in ye great Acts, shold be restrained in such sort, as to have
these lesser Churches imbodied into one larger, yt may consist of a plurality
of preaching (not meere ruling) Presbytery, to make up one Presbytery thereof. And
some of my reasons follow: 1. Many Congregations are too little for this, tho too big for
other purposes. 2. Many of ym have oft but young Teachers, yt need ymselves to be guided
by grave Divines; & some yt are older, may yet be but unskilfull in this case. 3. most
have (& are like to have) but one Presbyter apeece: & if he be unskilfull or
young &c. how perillous is it for him alone to ~~[illegible]~~ do all. 4 Vis unita fortior:
parishioners will feare it more to offend; & hate ye particular Pastor less wn they
be censured; or yt hatred can less hurt him, so conjoined wth others &c.
5 And hereby we may have a Church governed by a Presbytery; tho not a Scotish
one, I confess. And indeed if ye present distribution of ye English Church into
its parishes be duly noted, ~~wt~~ I see not how else we can expect Presbyterial
Government, except there be an imbodying of ym many together respectiv to dis-
cipline, to make up a Presbytery: How few parishes can maintaine 2 or 3 Pres-
byters (such as I meane) in ym! and what shall ye rest (little ones) do? And ye
Like one man canot be a Church to be ~~judicially~~ told of offenders in yt way, nor
a Presbytery to come judicially to sentence. [Tell ye Church] points out a plurality, wch must
[illegible] ye offender be avoided as a Heathen, ordinarily; wch is not ye whole

bulke of people: either for the women shold not be silent, but have even a judicial power in the church cases; wch how the Independents answer I know not. 6 And in the way I propose, there will be the joint advise of many, in the Trials: A thing very desirable for many causes. ffor if in trial of ones right to a little land, there be such ado, & it be held so needfull to have a grand Assize, the gravest Judges, the lawyers, the honestest Jurors &c. how needfull then may it seem, Not rashly to commit the Trial of ones Interest in holy things (wch far exceed the other) to the sole umpirage & judgment of only one, who (perhaps) may be both unskilfull & And yet I deny him not to have both the foundation power ~~[illegible]~~ & in some acts of less concernment, a ful power of proceeding, as aforesaid. Suspending is but a kind of calling ones right into question; & no judicial denyal of it, as I understand it; & is in order to a Trial &c. 7 I may take up an Argument from the very name [Diocesan ~~Church~~]. I am so far from hating the old word, as to make use of it in finding (I think) the truth. Except I mistake, the very word imports A ~~Church~~ wth Government in it. ~~[illegible]~~ Not as if, primitive parish Churches had at al no Government in them (as I granted afore); but not such Government. This says Government κατ' ἐξοχήν, eminently, chiefly, fully &c. Not so, they: tho I yeeld know the force of the word [parish] also, to be of kin to it: which I am content shold have Both habitaculum prope vicinitatem et parvam Gubernationem or in it; and a Deanry, more. Thus I have made bold to shew you my judgment more freely, then ordinary, on this occasion: wch whether it may be usefull (all things considered) I cannot tell. How willing these times may be to leave of old things, reviving, tho refined & reformed, is to me doubtfull: But I am very confident of this, or somewhat neer this fforme; as like to be the lasting fforme. ffor my part, I wold neither refuse an old Truth (in my judgment at least) tho derided; nor receive a new Error (as such) tho never so much extolled. And I profess my selfe (for all this) by grace, reclaimable from any error I may be in hereabout. And that I am resolved so to seeke & follow Truth, as not to leave & fly from peace. If I once know wt is Truth; I care the less to know wt is prelacy, wt presbytery, wt Independency (as such). The Lordliness of the late prelats is one reason of my little affecting it; so the nonappearance of meer Ruling elders in the word (that I know of) is agt Scotish presbytery; & lastly, A plurality of presbyters ~~in one [illegible]~~ in the same Church, where concurrency is ordinarily requisite, does much to keep me off Independency. These things (I know) are disputable; & therefore tho much looked at in these daies; yet I feare, the time is not fully come, wherein they will be concluded. The Ld open mens eies, & make all men piously peaceable, if it may sort wt his will; even those that study divisions. I intend to wait on his gracious discoveries wt patience; submitting my selfe to better judgment then my owne. Beare wt my infirmities I beseech you, asmuch as you may; & pardon this trouble I put you to; sith I am the loving neighbour, desirous of the health, & ready to serve you in the Lord, whilst I remaine

John Taylor

Dudley 5th of Jan. 1656.

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it to mr Titon:

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To my reverend friend Mr.
Richard Baxter Min. at
Kederminster these present
I pray

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5

Deare Sr

I cannot bee satisfyed with desiring Mr Titon to returne you thankes (for those excellent bookes you were pleased to send mee) if I doe it not my selfe alsoe: tis a singularity of your owne to excell in every subject: none soe movingly speakes to ye affections or with greater cleareness and power convinces ye understanding: and that wch puts a lustre uppo all your productions is a spirit of holines and zeale which animates them and fires all those who with attention read them: your industry for ye peace and order of ye church and for constraining sinners with a mercifull violence to come into Christ upbraides the most of us for our coldnes and neglect. I assure you without a complement I know not which to value most, either that I love you or am loved by you. were it not for ye respect I beare to your publicke employments I should interrupt your studyes sometimes by letters: desiring to enjoy your converse that way since I cannot otherwise: Mr Gatakers booke is now printed ye price is 12 shillings bound, if you ~~found~~ hod any way to put of a good number of them pray give mee notice

pardon this trouble since it is from
your most affectionate friend London 19th
Wm Bates July

if you send a letter direct it to mr Titon:

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x

Though I am a stranger unto yor. pson yet haveing ac
wth yor. bookes (by wch I hope the Lord hath done me good) & Mr.
liton being my loving friend I desired him to write to yor. concerning
the Seekers, that yor. would put something forth agt those pernicious
errors that they hold & spread about, which he hath done, & shewed
me yor. answeare thereon.

I have onely this to say, that I suppose yor. are convinced of the e
of those errors, & therefore ought yor. selfe in compassion unto those yt
hold them & others yt are in danger thereof to endeavr. to reclaime ye
one & prevent ye other. But if my experience in the thing will be
any inducement unto yor. I shall be very ready to impart it; & it is this
that I have met wth more of them wthin this half yeare then ever I met
in my life afore; And yt it is ye generall report amongst honest
men that the Errors of the Seekers doth much spread both in this
Citty & the Country, some denying the ordinances of the gospell
to be of use now, & others affirming that there is none fitly qualified
to administer them, & others strike at ye whole Scripture & entertaine.
And I am perswaded these things have taken hold on some sincere hearts
& for their sakes (especially) I could wish that something were writ
effectually agt such dangerous errors. It is not my owne case at
all (I blesse ye Lord for it) for I hope yt my heart doth accompt all ye
commands & ordinances of God holy, just & good, & that they are for
the use & good of the saints through all ages to ye end of this
world.

And though they are reserved in their opinions I question not but
yor. know where most of the venome lies, & fit it yt yor. may deale wth.
As for entering into dispute wth any perticular pson of them I thinke it
to noe purpose to attempt it, especially wth yor. neither would it prove
soe conducible to ye vindication of truth & good of soules as writeing
agt the errors themselves would doe, in regard of the wrong constructions
that men are apt to make of such disputes, especially if they be
sought for. This is all from one yt truely honrs. yor. &

Sr.
A friend yt loves yor. on ye best accompt
Edw: Hughes

Junij 1o 1657.

Sir 57

I did not expect particular advise to a generall case. but reserved
ye discovery of my malady in particular till I had hopes of enjoying
ye benefit of yor neighbourhood, wch I confesse are much lesse then
I once thought they would have been. I know not whither you have
not (for some others of my principles received such distaste as may
make you more unwilling then you need (& perhaps ought) to
shew That kindnesse wch my present condition required. for I
must needes say, That it is not agreeable to that opinion wch I had
conceived of yor peaceable & charitable inclination to draw into Xtian
union all sincere dissenting protestants, to require any thing of such As doth
contradict their known principles, or els Not to admitt of them. Now though
I professe to beleeve that neither episcopacy nor our Liturgy bee necessary to
bee embraced by others, yet sure they are necessarily not to bee disowned by
men, who do in my opinion allow of them. And a disowning (as to me it
seemes) it is (I should bee glad to bee informed yt I were mistaken) to
receive ye communion in a way contrary in so many things to ye Liturgy
wch was established by Episcopall & Royall authority, not yet repealed
by either. yet that you may see I doe not push ye scruple in ye nature
of ye thing, were I in any transmarine Congregation, where ye like
Laws had not been settled, I would without scruple ioyne. And where I
would ioyne in all Xtian society in love, and not contradict that in
wch I could not ioyne, but to avoyde all offensivenesse should chuse to
live under such a minister (if such there bee any thereabouts) as did
though omitt much of ye Liturgy, yet not so directly oppose it. Now
(good Sir) I thought that ye way of union had been this, To ioyne
in all such acts of Xtian love wth severall Dissenting protestants, as might
include no contradiction to each others principles. shew me that it includes
no contradiction to mine, & I will ioyne in that also. How certainly is ye
most peaceably minded, That will doe any thing, but sinne against
his conscience for peace sake. Now though I should prove finally
disappointed in my conceived hopes, yet I heartily wish all good successe and happinesse to all
such as endeavour ye furtherance of ye Xtian Religion how dissenting soever. But
I am either a much mistaken (God grant yt it may prove so) or els for ye sinnes
of all parties, The Blessed Gospell of or Lord Jesus is in its Holy simplicity
and purity departing this forlorne desolate Nation: wch before I see, The God of
mercy & Truth close mine eys wth death, or grant mee ye opportunity of living
in some other country & following ye Lamb whithersoever hee goes. Though
satisfaction in other particulars is not much materiall (till ye former be removed)
yet I am a married man & have children, & so not fitt for a Gentlemans family,
besides that I have other objections agt that way. Pardon mee that I have given
you so much trouble who am desirous to bee for ever

March: 19

Yor Brother & servt in or Lord Jesus
Will: Hicke.

Doe mee this favor (I pray Sir as you are a minister of the Lord Jesus his Gospell)
tell me whither you thinke an ενεργουμενος, or person that is possessed, and
perpetually assaulted wth blasphemous, despairing revolting impure
solicitations of that wicked one, but yet strives continually agt
tho hee may not possibly bee in ye state of grace, and if hee in ye course
of his life overcome or not yield deliberately to them, is it not probable also that hee is so?

5 57

(57)

163

+

For Mr Baxter my
loving friend at Kidderminster

Eyre

LETTERS.
fol.164. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverend Sr

Yours I received: And, our designe ~~proposed~~ to you is double Conviction & Accommodation & I thinke yt may bee a fit Title for it, or Light & Love which are fittest to go together. Nor is it ye designe assertion of presbytery, but destruction of those principles & practises which to mee in your writings you seeme to bee as sensible of their ill effects as wee: Wee are farr fro ye disingenuity to desire ~~you~~ to ingage you in any thing repugnant to your principles. But certainly those things which you conceivedly assert with us to bee errours & of bad consequence too, your love to truth & peace obliges you, though in meeknesse & moderation to oppose them. For ye way ~~to use~~ of using your papers & others by us intended is this: Not to put in every word, ~~[illegible]~~ or however not to put it in as such or such a mans judgment (unlesse hee desire it) but as a thing wee all agree in, ye strength & substance of all being faithfully put together. And a cleare full & candid declaration of our readinesse to embrace peace & ~~[illegible]~~ healing wayes & meanes to it: whatever Papers you send us, wee shall bee faithfull to you to do as you desire But wee pray you deprive us not of your helpe wee all know your argumentative head: Your reasons ag Separation & [illegible] will bee very acceptable & seasonable: wee shall bee very glad to see your Papers about reconciliation; for our businesse (wee have here altered ye modell in some circum- I was forced to cast before & now I have reduced it into Chapters ~~[illegible]~~ added some things & the ~~Censor~~ have ~~approved~~ considered & approved if there bee any alteration you scruple at I pray you let mee know & I can give you I thinke a satisfying reason: I shall trouble you no further at present but remaine

London March 23 - 1658

Yours to honour love & serve you

M Poole

I send you 3 or 4 models thus altered, But more you ~~shall~~ have when ye Epistles &c and all are compleated

53

Sir That yor Letter were a quarter of a yeare travelling to my hand was as ~~much~~ my fault ~~that~~ as the rest that hath offended you. That I answered you so soone, was an error, but occasioned by my unacquaintednes with yor Impatience: & is purposely reformed in this: That I answered you at all was an error of the same originall; which I purpose to be guilty of no more: ffor as Synesius of Andronicus (Epist. 57) νουθετῶν, οὐκ ἔπεισα· ἐπιτιμήσας, ἠνίασα. should I tell you
9. that you can ~~[illegible]~~ easilier committ many faults than confesse one, it seemes you would take me for a reproacher. I hope you can preach plainer than you can heare. I cannot Retract that wch hath so happily caused yor Retractation; though under the name of a Defense: & I am glad that you can amend what you cannot confesse. May I but see ye Performance of yor thus alowed Amends, I shall rejoice that una eademq; manus — & y^t posterity may have an Antidote or Candle lit with yor Booke. If, as you say, you differ not from me, then neither do I differ from you: but from yor Booke I do, nevertheless, for this. If to avoid the shew of a Retractation, you will forsake yo^rselfe to defend yor Booke, remember that better advice was given you, by

Yo^r too plaine & faithfull friend

Ri: Baxter

Apr. 5.
1658.

Hæ vulnera monstrare, non est conviciari, sed gravissimis malis monstrare remedia. Grotius Discuss. p. 193.

53

165

x

To the Reverend Mr George
Ashwell at Tame Parke
these dd

My much esteemed friend

100 Yors of Septr the 17th so full of more then ordinary expressions of love I rec. but where as you say you never rec. line from me, give me leave to say that the last letter un answered was mine to you; I say not this for a totall excuse but somewhat to mittigate my deserved blame, and do acknowledg my great neglect to so good a friend. if I should forgete former expressions of yor love yett yor late manifesting the same in those two books I rec. from you by Mr Titon (wch I thankfully acknowledg) wold extorte from me an ingenuous confession of my falte, but I presume ould friendshipp will bury all in a loving forgetfulness.

I have had some strife wth my selfe whether I should answere yor large letter, but how-ever if it be but something like requitall of yours give me leave to scribble a fewe lines to my good friend if not to give a satisfactory answere yet I wold express my respects (if I could express my selfe)

You say you heare I am a great agent for the present powers bothe in theire Courts of Justice and especially in sale of Church lands. truly Sr I take this indeed to proceede from yor loving affection to me and give you harty thanks for the same but if heere we differ in Judgmt lett vs yet still keep the bond of love

As for the present powers I take them to be of god (and soe taking them I presume, then you will think itt my dutie to be serviceable to them) for that I doe beleeve yt all right of humaine Lawes god hath originally vested in the people reserving such a prerogative in himselfe as what they doe itt shall still serve his providence and if this be granted (wch I beleeve will nott be denyed) that the supreame power is originally in the people then I doute not but this will be likewise granted that what Governmt they finde destructive to theire well being they may remove; and what Governmt they shall conceive to be most safe honoble and profitable to them they may make choice of and continue soe longe as to be of good use vnto them; for althoughe I beleeve Governmt is of Divine Right yet I doe likewise beleeve this one that Governmt is left to the election of the people, from this generall theame I gathered soe much as bindes me to dutie; and to adhere to a Parliamt (in all things Civill) except some good reson alter my judgment

For that you call Church Lands I cannot conceive that the Bishops were the Churchs or that the Lands appoynted to be sould were ever belonging to them as Church Lands or as they were Bishops meerly as Bishops, but this appears cleare to me that the Lands appoynted to be sould for the use of the State were formerly given to the Bishops as Barrons to maintaine them in their Lordly dignitie wch was the greate cause they soe many forgot them selves and insulted over theire Brethren, but surely nothing belonged to them as Bishops or Church men but Tithes only the wch with

the forest meanes they had as Barrons made theire estat
great and theire hartes to swell against both good ministers and
good people for which god hath justly taken them a way Surely
Sr there is a great mistake in many who thinke that the Parliament
hath lessened the Church meanes by the sale of the Bpps
and Deane and Chapters Landes but on the Contrary it is
evident they have much increased the same (if you will grant
the Church the ministers of the Gospell which yet I cannot
grant) for that all the tithes of Bpps Deane & Chapters
as also the impropriations of Papists delinquents which the
King Lords or others always I beleeve amount to no lesse
then 120000li yearly and are given to the increase of the meanes
of preaching Ministers, and as yet there is not any thing
diminished of what formerly the Church (soe called) did
enioy and if what nowe they have be not a 4th part of what
is needfull for them as you say surely if you take 3 such it is more
more then ever they had in the hight of popery and
more then halfe England besides hath to live on, doe
but looke about and seriously well and tell me if any meanes
formerly belonging to any ministry is yet converted (by
any Authoritie) to any private or other publique
use truly my spirite is very neare troubled to see our
good minister troubling themselves with feares of having all
of ~~having~~ all taken from them. truly it makes me feare
that our unthankfull murmuring will soe provoke god
that that which we feare shall befale us.

You say you heare I sell the Church Landes, but to
undeceive you in that (altho' its nothing to my credit)
I never sould any but I doe acknowledg I have bought
some of the forsaid Lord Bpps and I praise god that
hath given me a portion there where I had noe and
never thought of inioying when I indevoured their downe
fall. As for the forme of Church Governmt
I must confesse my conceiving cannot reach it you [illegible]
meane a superintendancie I beleeve it was that which
Episcopacie first sprange out of, if you meane a Parrish
then I see noe more in it then was intended by the
severall Classes within a Province, what ever is the right
forme let us be earnest with god for, that he would put it
in the harts of those that are in Authoritie soe to settle
as all the people of god may reioyce in, but I must confesse
I have not faith to beleeve it will be suddainely done
till more experience drive us to see a necessitie of the same
we have not yet bine 40ty yeare wilderes nor have we yet looked
backe and bewailed our murmuring of that which were the sins of the
wicked only and not of gods people alsoe.

you speake of cruelltie used to good men in the Country I am hartily
sorry wth you that any evill shoulde befall them. but Sr leste
~~least~~ we shoulde blame unjustly I pray you lett itt be inquired
in to whether they be outted for preaching the Gospell or for
speaking against authoritie; if for the later (the wch I feare
for that I have not knowne any that have bine in the laste
masters troubled for the former) then inquire in all ages and
States in the world and they ~~finde~~ if you can finde any one that
did publiquely inveigh against the same and yet permitted
to continue in such publique imployment; for powers being
set up will have conformitie to the same by all men under
theire Governmt: will they nill they. I knowe not upon
what grounds those good ministers in the Country were outted
I knowe indeed some in place of authoritie were busie
then theire Commission required, in these pts I doe not
heare of any soe dealte wthall only mr Hawkins and
mr Case and those not for preaching the Gospell but for
a wilfull opposing the Governmt yet noe imprisonmt nor
any restraint from preaching but both of them doe still
freely preach the on in London the other in Essex
As for the sad differance betweene the two nations itt
is to be lamented and surely god was never more earnestly
sought to by his people then in this great differance that
he would reconsile without blood; but the decree was gon
forth and both sides appealed to god in this doutfull
differance and the Lord (who some times speakes by his
workes as well as by his word) hath shewed himselfe
wonderfull in the decission and surely god will worke
a good to his Church by itt att last, and howe ever this
warr is nowe looked on; yet itt will clearely appeare that
Common justice called for this care from those that were
in place; to prevent a second invasion wch wold certainly
have happened if not thus timely prevented; and for
theire evill intentions god will visset upon them though
Brethren as he hath spoke in Isaiah the 66 and 5t.
but lett not me trouble you to long wth my scribling
I doe not looke itt should fully doe what I desire I knowe there
willbe many more scruples in the breast then can be satisfied
wth the same, and therefore I will leave of till god
shall give an opportunitie for a full discourse the
wch I earnestly desire and shall indevor when god shall
sett me a little time free from busines, in the meane
time my respects shall be to you and my prayers for you
and I shall still rest

Sr your truly loving friend
Sil. Taylor

54

Col. Tayloes lre

Reverent Brother 55

Having read over your booke of Aphorismes agayne and agayne, and your other of Everlasting rest, and being out of hope ever to see you in this life, I was surprised wth a strong desire to write unto you. I would have put it off upon this account, yt we weare utterly unknowne either to other, and therefore [illegible] layd it aside some moneths, but I could not rest. Surely an overruling providence had an hand in it. It is true yt my errand is not great, but onely to signify my hearty love to you for your worthy labor, and my thankfulnesse to God yt ever I saw them. I confesse, though I doe not fortiter intelligere every passage in them, yet I never receaved more satisfaction from any bookes of men for the mayne. There is one thing yt I am heartily sorry for, yt you are so weake, and worne; and another, yt your Aphorismes are stuft wth so many references, especially to some bookes yt are not ordinary. Weare I able to give any encouragements to so worthy an instrument of God, I could presse you to finish and publish yor booke about universal redemption. Certaynly it would satisfy above wt its lost, of wch I am assured from some hints upon the by in wt I have seene already. I must confesse I differ from some of our writers, now upon ye subject, on both sides: but I am persuaded I should concenter wth you in yt, as I doe in most other points. But above all, (because it is a most stirring temptation, and captivates some greate witts from the discourse of Dr. Jer: Taylor in his libertas prophetandi) I doe heartily beseech you to communicate to me your medium upon wch you disputed wth Mr Tombes against Anabaptisme. I have readd all [illegible], and have kept out in union wth us, but have not

prevayled wth more yt are more deare unto mee.
I observe yt you say (Saints rest pag: 145.) Children
capable of some ends of ~~y~~ baptisme; and I wish
I saw how you manage yt. I forget not also
your words in your epistle of your disputation
at Bewdley, and this additional, you heard how
little they can say even in the hardest pointe of
baptisme. Sir, it is my earnest desire, and the
request of other learned and godly brethren unto
whom I have communicated your labours, yt you
would be pleased to help us upon this argument.
sith God hath revealed himselfe in other pointes
to you more then to us, yet it may be in yt
also. I would be loath to add to your troubles
being weake. But if I tell you yt it will add
to your comfort to doe it, agood you can both neere
and farre off you can not gainsay mee. Ther=
fore I humbly pray to God for your life now,
now especially, when we want pillars, and heartily
commend unto you the love &c of

Exton in Hantshere
June the 18th
1650

Your fellow laborer in the
work of the Ghospel

Robert Abbott (Ao Ætat: suae
63)

Direct any lre to mr Stephens
bookseller at the Golden Lion
in Pauls churchyard:
or to mr Meredith at the
Crane there, and I
shall not misse it.

LETTERS.
fol.169. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

56

Sir

2

The letter you sent mee by my brother was ~~at le~~ somwhat long ere
it came to my hands. partly I thinke because it was lost by the way
taken up, opened & read. but at last it came to my hands. & I kindly
thanke you for it the rather because I had foolishly bound up my
selfe by promise not to read your printed booke on that subject, upon
a report of some that there were dangerous things in it. I did it more to
justifie them then upon any thoughts of ye reality of ye charge
knowing how usuall it is to call any thing that is not common dange-
rous. I perceive controversies are like to grow hot, & mens spirits are
very fiery. I have withdrawen my selfe from the university to offici-
ate as a minister at Brackley. & doe resolve not to trouble my selfe
with disputes. having (perhaps not without a providence) met long
before my troubles sufficiently settled my judgment in ye point of
justification. that faith which justifieth is the whole soules cordiall
hearty acceptation of whole christ. that ~~faith~~ ye manner of its justifi-
ing it is as it is ye condition of the covenant of grace. that this con-
dition god doth worke in us by his spirit by use of meanes. here I
doe resolve to keepe notwithstanding all Mr Kendals cavils & the wy
of Arminianisme. as for the condition of my soule. I am farr enough
from being filled with joy (as I perceive some body hath told you)
very dead & distracted in duty yet much freed from those blasphemous
injections & melancholy thoughts I was wont to have. I doe resolve
to be more in acting the direct act of faith which is of absolute
& indispensable necessity to justification, then in anxious enquiries
whether I doe beleeve or noe. for it will I perceive doe mee
more good to pray to god to give me strength against my old
sins, & to fortifie my selfe with arguments against them. then
to be study to know whether they be forgiven. I am much taken
with Mr Hookers rule let god doe as he will but let man doe
what he should. I have ventured once to receive ye sacrament
& though I found that it did mee not soe much good as some find in it
yet I shall not make that an argument to abstaine from it.
I have also beene ordained this week. & I hope that in that I
shall find some comfort. trouble my conscience I hope it cannot this
being only ye ~~probable~~ visible way of entring into ye ministry that is
now left. if there were nothing else to be said for it. Sir my greatest
conflicts are like to bee with pride & idlenesse though spiritual
ly with ye former. I shall desire ye assistance of your prayers
to this ~~your~~ end. trouble you ~~with~~ an answer ~~[illegible]~~ I would not
but beseeching the lord to reward your labour of love into
your bosome & to keepe you from being too much troubled with
the books that assault you wth

Jany 7th
1653

Yr thankfull & much
obliged Brother
Henry Hickman

+

169

to direct you both in this & in all things else to doe that, wch may bee most pleasing & acceptable in his sight & commit you to God, in
whom I forever remaine

Clanton
Jan: 24
1673-4

yours most assured
& very much obliged

Thom: Hotchkis.

I forgot in due place to tell you, That my friend who ouerst my Exercitation since it was in your hand, causing to
mee that hee doubted, whether Cumiuim might bee stiled guilt, as also whether the distinction of
 thought good hereupon for the clearing both of the one & the other to add what you
find in the margent p: 10, 12, 18.

Good Mr Baxter

These are to certify you, that I received your letter together wth the returne of my
scripts by Mr Hippisley in the moneth of November last past & for your ~~lab~~ curtesy
labour of love in that behalfe I doe acknowledge my selfe very much obliged unto you,
giving you by these presents most hearty thanks for the same, wch I had done long since
had it not bin for the reason hereafter specifyed,

Having received from you my Exercitation concerning the nature of forgivenes of sin & havin
well weighed your briefe animadversions thereupon, I thought it my duty for several reaso
afore ~~[illegible]~~ my printing it to the presse, to put it into the hands of one, or two Ministers o
chiefe repute in our Association, in whose hands it hath bin much longer then I did expe
& from whom I received it the last weeke; whereupon I have concluded to send it ag
unto you by the hand of Mr Underhil as not knowing by any other convenient way to se
it unto you. For my owne pt I am well assured, that no writing of mine (that I may
not say of yours, or of any other man) wil in this divided age please every godly & learned
man, but that some or other wil ~~[illegible]~~ more, or lesse dislike what is written; never-
thelesse hoping, that my Exercitation may bee of good use to the Church of God & that
I have not erred therein any ~~[illegible]~~ such dangerous errours, as those wch I doe there-
in endeavour to detect & confute, I have peremptorily resolved [after the search of
my owne hart & humble supplication to the Lord for direction] to commit it unto
your hand, & arbitrement also, whether or no to print it, in the meane time
beseeching the onely wise God to direct you to doe therein what may bee most ac-
ceptable in his sight & most profitable for the church. If you iudge it fit to bee
printed, I shal then for that end commit it unto Mr Underhil, if otherwise, I wil
suppresse it. You wil pceive in the perusal of it ~~that I have~~ by several things
in the margent & by certaine loose paps pinn'd, that I have made some additions, ~~&~~
~~explanations~~ [as chapt: 11th, wch is inserted ~~betwixt p:~~ after p: 28] & explanations
I pceive by some of those, who have pused my Exercitation since it was in your hand, that
they doe sticke at my asserting ~~[illegible]~~ our obligation as to eternal damnation to bee taken off
in this life onely conditionally, as also at my asserting, that new sins doe bring a
new obligation to punishment as if every new sin did alter the state of a iustifyed p-
son; whereupon to prevent mistakes & for the better cleering of what is asserted in
those things I thought good to adde what you wil find in the paps, pin'd after p: 14,
& after p: 18. ~~My resolution is within my selfe, tha~~ If this Exercitation, or ought else of
mine should bee thought worthy to bee printed, my great desyre is for sundry causes to have
it attested by some, or other Divine of name & note in the Church & my selfe living ~~[illegible]~~
in a more obscure way without any acquaintance wth any Minister of note in London,
or the Universities, I doe not know any but your selfe, wth whom I may make my
selfe so bold as to desyre their Attestation, & whose iudgment I am so farre acquainted
wth in the points controverted in my Exercitation, as that I could promise to my selfe
the granting of my desyre, should I make it knowen unto them. I confesse, that the
reasons, wch you in your letter ~~doe~~ suggest ~~unto~~ to the contrary are not inconsiderable,
neverthelesse they are (for ought I know) no other, then what may bee made against
any mans Attesting the labours of any ~~an~~other in what kind soever, & therefore I doe hope,
that if you doe upon a second pusal of my Exercitation iudge it fit to bee printed, you
would bee pleased to ~~Attest it~~ prefixe some briefe Attestation thereunto, wch were it
not ~~meete~~ for the truth's sake more then out of any respect unto my selfe, for my owne
pt I must say, that being almost a stranger to you I should scarse have put on the
face to have desyred it of you. In the loose leafe inserted after p: 90 you wil find
somewhat that doth referre to Mr Will: Eyre, in wch leafe there is a passage touching
the late dissolved Parliament, wch if you should think fit not to bee published, I leave
it unto your discretion to blot it out, as I doe also any other passage in any other place,
wch you shal think reason to dislike. I was the last weeke in company wth Mr B:
Woodbridg of Newbery, who doth desyre lovingly & respectfully to bee remembred unto you;
hee is upon an answere to Mr Eyre, wch I doubt not, when finished wil bee to good pur-
pose, & wch hee seemes resolved to impt unto you afore hee commits it to the presse. The
Lord direct & prosp both his & yours & the labours of all his faithful Ministers for his glory
& the good of his church. Whatsoever your answere & iudgment wil bee touching my Exerci-
tation [whether for the printing, or not printing of it] I shal request you to send it unto
mee by Mr Underhil, who is acquainted wth my brother Mr Joshuah Hotchkis at the greene
dragon in Walbrooke, who wil speedily convey the same unto mee. If your resolution shal
bee for the printing of ~~it~~, & if it shal bee thought fit, that I should in order to the prin-
ting thereof make a iourney to London, I shal doe therein according as I shal heare
from Mr Underhil. I doe likewise give you many thanks for your paines in the pusal of my
Manuscripts against Dr Crispe, wch if ever I should intend to publish, I would bee carefull to
observe your advice concerning them; but for the present I have no thoughts to publish them,
but doe intend rather (if my Exercitation shal by you bee thought fit to bee printed & it being
printed I shal pceive it to bee wel accepted by the most of my learned & godly brethren in the
Ministry) to finish what is in my thoughts touching the sayd subiect of forgivenes of sins, I
meane the opening of such phrases, specially that of iustification, wch I conceive to bee equi-
valent thereunto, wch if I shal live to pforme, ~~I am then resolved~~ I shal afterwards resolve
to doe wth my paps ag: Dr Crispe according as I shal bee advised by such godly friends, as I am
acquainted wth; it being my desire to doe nothing rashly & without advice whether in this, or ought
else of moment. Craving your excuse, that you heard not sooner from mee concerning the
returne of my paps & hoping yere long to heare an answere from you by Mr Underhil, in the

3 meane while beseeching the Lord to direct you both in this & in all things else to doe that, wch may bee most pleasing & acceptable in his sight I commit you to God, in
whom I forever remaine

Stanton
Jan: 24.
1653-4

Yours most assured
& very much obliged
Thom: Hotchkis.

I forgot in due place to tell you, That my friends who pused my Exercitation since it was in your hand, having tol[d]
mee that hee doubted, whether punishmt might bee stiled guilt; as also whether the distinction of [illegible]
iudicis ~~[illegible]~~ I thought good thereupon for the cleering both of the one & the other to adde what you wil
find in the margent p: 10, 12, 18.

[illegible] hono^rd S^r /

4 I hope you now count it no strange thinge to receive letters from the hands of those whose face you never saw wherefore I suppose it shall not bee imputed to mee as an unjustifyable thing for troubling you wth a few lines wch are not of the nature of many letters wch I know (having acquaintance wth some that are yor familiars) you have received viz. Controversiall and an equally to dispute it out wth you, but y^t ab origine pandam I am a Cheshire man And have been at the University of Cambridge for long and that in Magd: Coll: till I became Batchelor in Arts and had it not been for the good helpe that Mr Talbotts of Shrewsbury was pleased to contribute to my necessities I had come away sooner (I crave too much of you worthy S^r that Mr Talbott know not of this unlesse you see reason I dare not lest happly some ill conclusions may bee drawn there at to p^rfer one before another and ye one wch I am deeply ingaged though [illegible] verily I doe not take my selfe guilty of an evill act in writing but to returne) I am never likely to returne thither againe unlesse an extraordinary providence occurre wch for the p^rsent hath cast mee into Lambeth there to live wth the Minister having the charge of some gentlemans sons, soe that since I had not time at Cambridge to furnish my selfe wth knowledge in Divinity And at p^rsent my calling hinders mee from spending much time And where I am of my selfe to beat out many things and it should consult wth books And I am not able many to write and see few to study that I doe not expect satisfaction I find see from them whose solutions are commonly of the same straine and if a man ~~[illegible]~~ thinke how his faculties and understanding will not bee cleare therefore have I made application to you who I hope will not refuse mee, nay I desire this favo^r from you (as you would doe good to one that intends for the ministry and is resolved to devote himselfe for god and hath not opportunity to accomplish himselfe) that you would bee pleased to helpe mee wth yor thoughts in these cases and they shall bee concerning that I shall mention to you. I have read many of yor books and to speake the truth for my soule I am so abundantly satisfied wth yor acutenesse in yor solutions and dare say I have gotten more divinity in them y^n in all I ever read, but now since you have not writte of all and I have many doubts I begge yor satisfaction wch I doubt not but will answer my expectations as yor works have done. I doe appeale to god that this is the pure desire of my mind only to be acquainted wth truth And if you bee pleased to condescend I shall desire you would establish w^t you say wth the strongest reasons And if I see not cleare satisfaction give mee allso leave to propose my [illegible] wth my reasons.

1st wch the first is this touching yor q^u those in yor [illegible] for your that it sole yet hath not wholly freed and totally removed the curse from those covenanted wth him or beleevers there was ~~no~~ [illegible] yet of it [illegible] the godly suffer the losse they will be beholding to yet and yet will not see [illegible] and his satisfaction p^rfect bee yet remaine to bee satisfied [illegible] beleevers not the other sort of men truly S^r yor reasons [illegible] I should [illegible] that they necessitate mee to assent [illegible] however [illegible] laid downe are [illegible] then I shall say to the former [illegible] I doe not [illegible] know [illegible] of the punishment [illegible]

2 Concerning mans sin How far man bee culpable and deserve punishment if it be [illegible] according to [illegible] god hath decreed [illegible] man inevitably sinned and [illegible] by necessity of infallibility or [illegible] it makes no matter whether [illegible] but was necessary [illegible] and god hath not determined mans actions but [illegible] foresee and foreknowe things [illegible] are no way determined [illegible] wch I never yet saw by any of this [illegible] clearly and satisfactorily solved

3 whether the sin of [illegible] by [illegible] also originall [illegible] inherent only [illegible] then to solve it and if then it bee this [illegible] of the former [illegible] sin [illegible] was never more guilty [illegible] How can god punish us w^th [illegible] and god would not have [illegible] transgresse before [illegible] many more in my head to propose to you but I shall [illegible] to make an act [illegible] some answer from those w^ch [illegible] I shall doe [illegible] to pray and prayse god for you and wth all fidelity to subscribe my selfe

Lambeth Aug: 21th
1656

Yo^r affectionate servant [illegible]
Samuell Wood[illegible]

The Lambeth is a very good [illegible] Minister and a [illegible] to direct yor letters answer to M^r [illegible] the Minister for mee they will come to be safe [illegible] hand [illegible] in every [illegible]

Dear Sr

5

You are deservedly Dear to me
Both by the Character that I have heard of you in your Concern=
=ness for Soull Good, an in your studious towardlyness, as also upon
the Score of those Great Obligations wch your Worthy and Great=
=ly Valued father and Mother has Laid upon me. Att theire
Request (though otherwise unfitt for such an Enterprise)
I now make bold to offer you these Directions which those
that are with you may Either Rectifie (if unfittly given) or
fittly improove to your advantage, if you Judge it meet to
Communicht them to any.

(I) Your Soull Deserves your Cheifest Care for nothing is known
to purpose till wee attaine to ye saving knowledge of god in Christ; and so of our
obligations thereunto, our dependances thereupon, our business
therewith, & our expectations therefrom. of wch I shall say no
more but reffer you to the Grace of god; and to those better ass=
=istances, of wch ~~the~~ kind providence is so very Liberall to you.

(II) Experience forces me to say that nothing can be prosperously pur=
=sued without Solemn applications unto God by prayer. who tea=
=cheth like god and how can we expect fitt Conduct and assistance
from him but by ~~prayer~~ our Serious and Solemn resorts to him

(III) Howbeit, the Allmighty deviseth means; and expects our provid=
=ent and fitt improvement of them. we have books to read, wee
have things visible and sensible to observe
that bear those intimations of gods name, and will upon them;
and those great instances of his contrivances and provisions
for our improvement of all sorts and sizes, of usefull know=
=ledge, which we must not over look. nature and providence
have God for their origanall and end; as well as gospell grace
and doctrines. the prince of life and peace neither forgets
nor ~~th~~ thwarts the god of nature. they are too fully One, the
Glory of the father. who actid as his fathers delegate, in
all ~~sub~~ servinces to his fathers honour and not as ~~a~~
a contentious rivall, for a distinct throne or interest from
him or for any Superior to him.

(IV) All Learning is reduceable to the knowledge of ye words or things
and when things are to be known by words, by nessessary order
words must be first known in order to the knowledge of the things
themselves.

(V) Words are to be known in their Significations and in
their use. for words are the Signes of things and
and therefore you

Gramer Learning must be well considered, or as to richness of Speach and so takeingness of expression in Carrying of words from their proper, to their allusion sence and uses; and so here comes in your Rhetorick and Oratory, or thirdly you must conside[r] words as relating to argument and method and so here comes in your Logick.

(VI) The knowledge of things relates unto their respective nature their order and their usefullness to their immediate ends, or their tendences towards and their full resolations into their ultimate end from which breif account wch gives but hints, I could more Copiously and accuratly speak then your few years will admitt of.

VII The things that most concern you now are your preparitory studyes; which if well followed will more preparre than you think on for excelent knowledge and Gratefull usefullness in your Generation both as to god and to publike good. it is not (neither will god account it) a sinfull loss of time or the neglect of soull affaires for you to spend more time in schooll affaires then in retirement for sacred reading Contemplating or devotions. and if your parents and master expect this from you they doe no more nor otherwise than what god approoves of whence lett me offer these few articles of advice

(1) Be thorough in your Grammer as to latine Greek hebrew &c but I sopose your progress herein speaks it needless for me to insist any more hereupon, Farnaby, Vossious, or the Oxford Grammer, you will find worth your while to be well versed in as to the Latine toungue, for Greek I know no better Gramer than Busbye, and Caninius, and for hebrew Bithnor and Buxtorf, and for the sacred Ideoms you will find Glassius Philologie Gramer and Rhetorick, worth your while much to Consult.

(2) As to your Latine stile you must read Good authors & well observe them and use your self to speak and write it well and herein you may much improve your self by being master of Erasmus Coloquies Quintilian, Bandi his Epithes, and when you have amind to read somthing of divinity in latine no stile will you find beyond Calvines and were I worthy to advice you I should offer this: viz, that you translate your Authors some of it into ~~latine~~ English: than throw your author by and translate your english into latine: and than Compare your own latine wth the Authors thus will you make the Authors that you read your own, and use your [illegible] [illegible] though they be sent to none

of ſome ſuch Learned freind as you may fitly ~~of~~ a choſe, or freely uſe, or ſafely truſt.

(3) Yet be not too ſeveare in ſtudying but give nature its needfull recreations, ſuſtenances, and repoſes, Lights ſhould not ſwaile away, though you may burn them uſefully. for you may eaſily ~~ſ~~ ſpoil your ſelf in putting nature upon too great a force but if you Jade it your work will prove to tedeous to reach or forward that proficiency wch is deſireable and wch you are aiming att.

More I could ſay but that my time is ſhort. the weak=neſs of my ow right hand forced me to uſe another ſcribe to whome I now dictate and by whoſe pen I now aſſure you that I am intimally yours in all fitt bonds and ſervices Whilst I am

LETTERS.
fol.174. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Dear Sr

Seeing it falls to your share to preach on this sad occasion I
think it not altogether unnecessary (if you think so too) to say
6. some small matter of my poor wife I abhor flattery and nauseous and
fullsome praises at all times but much more in such a season as this
I note it no small crime thats dayly comitted to call good evil and evil
good but it may not be amiss for the auditors especially especiall the
member of ye congregation to heare that one of there fellow members
and friends after a dry foule day as most will a clear evening I think ther
may be something of warning and some thing of comfort drawn from her ~~ex~~
but to say more or less or nothing is left to you
You know her desent and from thence may judge of her education
that was most earnestly inculcated to her she was esteemed by her
dear parents as a child obtaind by speciall prayer they being almost
with out hope of having any more to live having buried severall
children successively one after another she behaved herselfe
very timely as a most dutyfull and tender child — and was early
disposed of by the choice of her father in to that ~~state~~ relation
in which she died having continewed there in upward of 19 years
tho but in the ~~of~~ 36th year of her age in which relation
she shewed beyond the ordinary rate of most (if not all persons)
a most dutyfull humble and most tender respect to her ~~g~~ dear yoake
fellow the holy ghost dus as it were connive or rather allow of
an inordinat love of a man to his wife when he saith thou shall
err in her love but in her it was transplanted and she
acted the part of an inordinat affection to her husband which
(makes the impression of the present stroake the deeper to him)
In tha relation she was a fitt example to most of her sex ffew
or none coming neare her in a most pasionat and cordiall respect to
her husband and nothing ffor great which was so deare to her either
living or dieing she had a most tender kindness to her children
and omitted not but when hindred by her great ~~ill~~ illness to instruct them
in and about the great conserns of religion but to omit what
I might much more abundantly be fast as to her relative dutyes I
shall only acquaint you with some remarkes which I know to be
trew in relation to the many great and long afflictions which
her heavenly father was pleased to lay upon her she was naturally
of a lively briske and redy temper and disposition tell over
mated by her great trouble which began to worke on her

ever since the death of her Reverand ffather followed by the death of one or more of her Children about a 11 years past ffrom which time she has decayed much in her bodily health but never in her Love to God and in her kindness to all most all persons she ever had a very great respect and regard to the ordinances of god and gave a continewall atendance on them and that noble Charecter that our Saviour gave to nathaniel was trewly to be aplyd to her she was one with out guile she was ffar ffrom dissimulation or ~~hippocrysy~~ ffalshood she coud not hid either her Love or dislike to any person wher they deserved itt she was redy to doe good to all and was to her capacity never backward there to and where ~~in~~ she ffailed as to her owne ability she omitted noe care or paines to stirre up others which was of some advantage to some worthy persons not ffitt now to be named that suffered very unjustly in a publick cause and concern — but to draw near the Last act of her Life in her Last and Great afflictions by which you may in some measure judge of the temper and fframe of her soule that she was possest with before her great troubles ffell on her she had been exercised ffor many years tho not many knew or perceived itt ~~ra~~ with Great Temptations and troubles as to her spirituall state as well as what she suffered from an evile word she had been under this Last visitation under wracking paines and torments ffor upward of 5 Months (and such was her holy jelousy of her soule

Conserns — that ffar more commendable then a confident presumption that itt was noe small addition to her sorrows that she could not say Christ was hers) she could not through the weakness of her ffaith (tho sincere) hardly reconsile Gods promises and providences to gether she was redy to aply the complaint of the Church to her self noe sorrow like my sorrow and to think her case much Like Jobs

and often was lead to complaine with the psalmist I am afflicted very much and as often to begg of God not to correct her in his hot displeasure nor chasten her in his anger and would conclude I will bare the indignation of the Lord ffor that I have sinned against him and would as earnestly begg patience under Gods afflicting hand as deliverance and would expresst itt so that I could but be patient

But such was the acuraty and sharpnesse of parts and temper that itt
agrevated to the height her misery which unquestionable was great yea
soe great that her near and surviveing Relations doe think itt a mercyfull
providence to them that they were not soe aprehensive of itt as now they
think they had cause to have binn ffor certinly itt must have pearced a heart
of stone to see a pore creature Live in such great miserys and not be able to
~~help~~ afford any helpe she was very ~~aprehensi~~ aprehensive of her ~~dea~~
death and very ffearfull of itt and was ~~much in~~ very inquisitive if
there was not hopes of her Life and Let this be a warning to you that are
now in health to prepare for death ffor you know not what itt is to Looke
death in the fface on the Confines of eternity) she had as wee all
have a desier to live for on end or othere she was very unwilling to
part with her youk deare ffellow ffaine would she live if God saw fitt
to bring up her pore Children and to pay her vowes that she made
in the day of her distress but thes expressions cam mostly ffrom her
in the time ~~of he~~ and height of her passions but att Last God brought
her to his ffoot in answer to ~~hir~~ her own ~~and~~ the Many prayers
that were put up ffor her about a ffortnight before she died
she was grown much altered in her temper very patient and
very submissive to be att Gods dispose either ffor Life or death she
had her doutes and scruples that ffollowed (tho not to the end) ffaine
would she be sure of her intrest in Christ ~~and~~ then she could dye
Cherfully she had great satisfaction as to her afflicted state ~~at~~
~~to be~~ by ~~we~~ what she read out of her ffathers treatis of
~~self deniall~~ & the Life of ffaith in Reference to afflictions
~~and~~ allsoe as to what Related to her spirituall state ffrom
Many passeges of her ffathers book on ye 11th of the Hebrews
but Chiefly ffrom that passage that you may find in the 20
Sermon page 520 begin thus — but if all this will not help you
to judge your hearts
which she would have often read to her and all tho she could not say
that Christ was hers she could say that she was Christs and if she
perished she would perish att his ffoot and this was good ground of hope
to her sorrowfull Relations as to everlasting estate but the God of
all Consolation who Comforts them that are cast down and ffarther
Comforts both ffor them and her she had the best wines
Reserved to the last

It was the prayer of A Reverend Divine whom she greatly Loved &
that God would give her some well Grounded hopes of her happy state
As allsoe of her most ~~G~~neerest and dearest Relation ~~th~~ who humbly
begg of God if itt might not be A tempting of the Allmighty Graciously to
Answer his ffervent prayers that God would be graciously pleased ~~some~~
to give some more ffull and demonstrable assurance of his Love to her soule And that
to be exprest by her selfe that she was going to endless Joyes ffrom
An evill ~~world~~ world which God ffor ever blessed be his neame was
pleased to Condesend to ffor the support of A weake ffaith good part of
the night and the morning of the day in which she died she was
wonderfully Comforted and ffilled with Consolation she was Afraid
God would spare her life ffor that she would not have her worke to
doe over Againe she tould her husband who used to be the Joy of her
heart and the delight of her eyes tha she had A beter ffrind then
he was And when you yr selfe prayd with her that if God saw itt
would be ffor his Glory that she might Live ~~ffe~~ under her great
weaknes Answered if itt may be soe then his will be done she
was ffearfull ~~of~~ death would be terrable to her and this
she Aprehended ffrom the many exquisit torturs she ffelt in the
time of her sicknes And she thought to incounter the king of terrors
would be more greevious but here in allsoe God was very Gratious to
her ffor her death was As itt were A quiet Resygnation Adeus of
(As the Jews ffancy of Moses death) that God had sucked A way
her death by A kiss And when near her great Change those very Cal
by reason of her Great weakness she was heard to say I Long to be att home and to be with
God And att Anothere time I am full of Comfort and utered the words
of you text with great earnestness and fixed eyes on ~~[illegible]~~
A deare Relation by her
I assend to my ffather and your ffather to my God And your God

As now Sr is it not pitty all this should be Lost but how ever I Leave
itt to you to cut short and to Methodize As you please this matt
As may be most ~~A~~ to ye Advantage ~~and~~ incouragement of ye Congrega
A which she was A member but now gon to the Generall Assem
of the ffirst born and to the spirits of just men made perfe

Sir

my life being now allmost at an end and not hoping to
atchieue what I intended against Dr Durell (for so they
call him now) besides having in all I doe in yt kinde many
inspectors as wise brother Sir on whom i partly depend and being
forced to doe my worke in corners and ye while considering you
ye only good and disinterested man in ye world , qui sin
nullius verba praterquam Christi iuravisti I thought fit
to recommend you afore i dye not only those truths I once
imparted you by writing , but many more , I discoursed
in handling yt question against Durell , it is sir yt all
Church-power is Popery . wch motto if it would serue
for my everlasting condition I would haue it put upon my
tumbe, and as deservedly as yt upon Sir Henry Wotton Pruritus
disputandi est scabies Ecclesiae . This Papismus , Popery or
church-power is ye grand mystery of iniquity yt hath brought Epis
copacy Prelacy Pope regnum in regno all schismes , heresies ,
hath continued them , and hath ~~and~~ doth and will still keep
out reformation not only in ye Romish religion but in the re-
formed whereof i intend to give you an evident proof all
along till wee come to England . As then the church-power
began in ye time of St Paul so it came to its ripenesse when it
produced ye Pope the maine drift was to perswade ye world
yt it must be governed by two collaterall powers one spirituall
thother civill or temporall , the first step was ye usurpation of
ye minister of a magistrates power over ~~Christ~~ flocke the next step
was of a Pastor over his colleagues this church-power ~~hath~~
hath been like Equus Ephippiatus 100 many yeares a dressing and
fitting ere ye Pope got on his back . This church power was no
where so much conspicuous as in England and more distinct
from ye secular power then any where else for before
william ye conqueror the courts yt were ~~[illegible]~~ united before were
then severed ~~that~~ in order that the Pope should be acknowled
ged ye origine and head of ~~it~~ one , This power was entirely devol
ued upon Henry ye viii not as head of Parliament
but of ye convocation and one ye same hierarchy yt was . with wch
he acted independently as ye Pope did ~~from~~ on the King himselfe
sitting in Parliament and ~~from~~ on all iudiciall courts ~~for Henry~~
now this Church-power being ye grand Protector defen-
der and countenancer of corruption abuses in governe
ment doctrine and life and these being tane all should
come straight and right againe it were banished & the cura
tors and overseers of the mystery of iniquity to keep in ye power
in England , haue imitated ye Tyrians when Alexander besieged
them for fearing yt ye shrin of Apollo should leave them
and goe to another place , they would loose their citty
and religion , they fastened it with a golden chain to
the altar of Hercules - the same hath been don in England
for had yt church - or Papall power been quit banished
sure probably and most likely yt power being united to the
King and Parliament they haue made as wholesome
lawes to regulate religion yt as ye state but this being feared
by ye fabricators mysterii iniquitatis they would not let
goe this church - or Papall power but tyed it and bound ~~and~~

it fast to an idoll of their owne wch they called King though nomine tenus; and who (and his Successors for ye same Papall power was devolved on Qu Eliz King James) ever since alone, may be, calling two or 3 of the hierarchie in counsell as Parker whitgift (and Bancroft &c hath been ye church of England and governed Imperio separat all matters of religion without secular courts yea Parliament, making canons injunctions, wch have force of law as ye injunction ao 1615 about ye Sunday sport, for ye transgressing of wch men were pu out of their freehold without Parlamentary law, habea corpus and redresse either in chancery or common law ~~fo~~ now sir all ye world specially in England body abused of this grand cheat of Church power (wch nothing else in its first origine but as you say in yt booke of government but like ye power of Phisitions over the patients and of Aristotle over ye learned) specially in England there is not sound reformation to be expected and wch ~~undoubt~~ undoutedly fall out without any miraculous dispensation but by ye ordinarly cours of providence if men were undeceived of yt power for those yt sitts at ye sterne of yt power will (so long as ye laity is kept off) as in ye councill of Trent never consent to reforme themselves because a wordly interest will still keep on foot yt corruption whereby they get their honour and livelihood whereas if King and laity had been to reforme religion they would doubtlesse by course rooted out Pope and his hierarchye; so in England take ne ye first Parliament 10 Eliz ye ~~the~~ lesse unbiassed laity cryed some for banishing ye Popish church and religion other at least were for reforming of it; but ye whole ye clergy in ye convocation loath to part wth there Bishopricks, Deanries &c cryed high for keeping on foot still ye old religion and rooting out heretica nisme as they call it — so yt had not the Parliament wrought yt rudiments reformations you have had since it could never been expected by ye clergy now ye same Papal power having still been perpetuated and cont need not seated on King and Parliament but in ye King alone without ye Parliament the same spirit of reformation a deformation hath been continued by two or 3 Bs yt possessed the minde of King or Queene and would never permitt yt Parliaments should meddle with sacred things but when they saw yt ye party for them was more numerous but yt happened but seldome I could instance in most of ye Parliament in Queen Eliz time yt when Bills were passed by both house specially by ye commons for regulating cutting off ye ~~power~~ Bishops' jurisdiction sole ordination and ye ceremonie ~~taking~~ away ye rigour of subscription one Parker, whitgift, Bancroft yt offered allwaies

Laud have so possessed ye minds of ye Queen and
King as put them upon to send an ~~and~~ expresse com
mand to ye house not to medle with sacred matters
ye disposing and regulating of wch be (as they pre
tended) solely in ye crowne as a power devolved
from ~~Henry~~ Henry ye 8 to his successors ~~for~~ for that
see ye Epistle of Whitgift ao 1585 to ye Queen
where ~~shee~~ you have a notable passage viz yt shee by no
meanes must not permitt any lawes for reforming the
church to be passed by act ~~for ye reason~~ but keepe yt
in her crowne power alone, for that reason yt if such
a statute doth passe for regulating ye hierarchy or church as
they call it, it cannot be reversed but by Parliament
whereas it is in her sole power to make church
lawes with or without ye convocation. Now for
this is ye Noli me tangere or ye sore pricked of ye
cause why, were all England of a Puritanicall dis
position except halfe dozen of Bs possessing ye hearts
of King yet there is noe hope of reformacon in England.
now observe ye fraud and cheat of the corrupt party
abusing of ye facility of ye best Kings by perpetuating
ye sayd Popery or church power they render and
turne it as in the apologue the vespertilio or batt
wch as it served her turne was sometimes a
bird by her wings and sometimes a creeping thing
by her breasts. so when ye King 8 or 9 years
agone made that large declaration to cast ye hierar
chy into a new modell: had it been perpetuating
and continuing a church-government in the
rigour yt Laud would have had it, sure they
would never have permitted yt it should have
been presented to ye Parliament and would have
stood upon ye Kings prerogative to order churchs
matters propria authoritate: but ye sayd declaracon
being contrarywise a lessening of their power and
being sure that their party in ye Parliament was
much ye stronger they were most willing to
have ye sayd declaration to be passed into ~~and~~
an act by them.

I have but one thing to say more yt I have
observed that is Popery or church power is yet
more prevailing in England then in France under the Pope
for in England ever since the reformacon Experience
and all civilians or English canonists as Cosin
and ~~not~~ many Prelats and of ye best as Hall
witnesse yt the King hath power without ye Par
liament to make Injunctions and canons wch have
force of law see Halls speech 1640 to ye Peers
of ye Realme see Heylin and Stillingfleet Irenicum

par 16 these be his words magno notanda la-
pillo wch i wonder ye more considering yt they
overthrow all ye hypotheses of his bookes where all a-
long he destroyeth all church power The great use
of Synods and assemblies of Pastors of churches is to
be as ye councell of ye church vnto the King in matters
belonging to the church as ye Parliament is for mat-
ters of civil concernment; and as the King for
setting civill lawes doth take advice of such persons
who are most versed in matters of law so by pro-
portion of reason in matters concerning the
church they are ye fittest councell who have been
the most versed in matters immediatly belonging to
the church Sure no Papist could make an ichnographie
of two collaterall powers more apparantly and more
plead for the reasonablenesse of the Papall power
severed from ye civil wch yet i thinke very vnreasonable
yt from one head should spring out two bodies ~~one~~ both
politick both mutually independent on each other
and both supreame and not subordinate now sir this
collaterality is not even in France ~~where~~ vnder ye Pope
where all the Popes bulls canons monitions excom-
munications are meere advices and counsells till
they be registred in the roolle of a high court of Parlia-
ment and they be converted into a civill law and
they be approoved by ye Kings great ~~conse~~ counsell wch is summe
is to make ~~act~~ the Pope church power ~~whereas~~ but subordinate
to the civill whereas Dr Stillingfleet will have them
to be collaterall but i keep ~~you~~ you to long, you may ~~make~~
make what use ~~of~~ you please of this paper so rude and
indigested and pardon tui cultoris summi vale

Sir by all I sayd above one may facili negotio riddle the
No Bishop, no King for graunting this following truth Impr-
imo the church or Papall power or Episcopale or Ecclesiasticum was
independent on the King as head of the Parliament was
devolved vpon Henry the viii and so retayned by his successors
Edward the vi Elizabeth &c they being considered as the Pope
was with a power seorsim [illegible] ordinibus regni et curys
secularibus, this i say being graunted there is nothing
so true but the taking away of ye Bs and the hierarchy it
will be also the taking away of that person nomine tenus
King wch holds ye headship of the hierarchy but it ~~is~~ is
false that the extirpation of Bs and Hierarchy be that
of the King as head of the Parliament, so sir
you have here a true Exegesis of that saying
no Bishop no King and how true and how false it is
having read many vpon ye saying namely the Lord Brooke
but none yet coming neare ye comment of mine

Deare Brother

Truly if I had bin in a condition to travell I should have visited you, & my sister long since this, according to my Lord Conweyes 8 desire I did write to you that I had received your part the which his Lordship promised to pay at Michalmas last, for he was going for Ireland but then I should not faile of it, & in good truth I have written divers times to his Lordship but have had no answer at all & therefore doe intend if God give me leave to goe as speedily as I can for London to speake with his Lordship, & then will not faile to give you an account, let me intreat you & my sister not to harbor any ill opinion of me for truly I will never deserve it, so with my hearty affections & service to you both I am

Your faithfull loving
brother to serve you

ffo: Hunkes

Cleweston
May 8.
1656

pag 16 these be his words [illegible] [illegible]
pillo wch I wonder ye more considering yt they
questioned all ye hypotheses of his booke/ where all a
long he destroyeth all church Power The great [illegible]
of Synods and assemblies of Pastors of churches is to
bee ye councell of ye church unto the King in matters
belonging to the church as ye Parliament is for ma
tter of civil concernment; and as the King for
setting civill lawes doth take advice of such persons
who are most versed in matters of law so by pro
portion of reason in matters concerning the
church they are ye fittest councell who have been
the most versed in matters immediatly belonging to
the church sure no Papist could make an Ichnographia
of two collaterall powers more apparantly and more
plead for the reasonablenesse of the Papall power
severed from ye civil wch yet I thinke very unreasonable
yt from one head should spring out two bodies ~~one~~ both
politick both mutually independent on each other
and both supreame and not subordinate now sure this
collaterality is not even in France ~~where~~ under ye Pope
where all the Popes bulls canons monitions excom
munications are meere advices and counsells till
they be registred in the roolle of a high court of Parlia
ment and they be converted into a civill law and
they be approoved by ye Kings great counsell ~~conse~~ wch is summe
is to make ~~all~~ the Pope church power ~~whereat~~ but subordinate
to the civill whereas Dr Stillingfleet will have them
to be collaterall but I keep you ~~tow~~ to long, you may ~~make~~
make use ~~of~~ of what you please of this paper so rude and
digested and pardon tui cultorem summum vale

Sir by all I sayd above one may facili negotio riddle the
No Bishop, no King for graunting this following truth Impr
notte ye church or Papall power or Episcopale or Ecclesiasticity, was
viium independent on the King as head of the Parligment
devolved upon Henry the VIII and so retayned by his successors
Edward the VI Elizabeth &c they being considered as the Pope
was with a power supremum Ecclesiis ordinibus regni et curys
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Your faithfull loving
brother to serve you

ffr: Hunter

Clewston
May 8.
1656

63 Anno 1666

9 In a letter from Dalanson on the 23th of August now stile written
from one Mr Ducall to a Gentlewoman lodging in the house of
one of ye ministers of the ffrench church in London, called monsieur
Herault. there were these expressions. //
I pray you acquaint me with the truth of certaine news wch is comon in this
Countrey that a fire from heaven is fallen uppon a Citty called Lon-
situated on the side of the River of Thames, where a world of
people have bin killed and burnt, and houses also consumed. //
Mrs Elizabeth Stiles informes that in an eager discourse shee had with a
ffrench servant of Sr Vere Vane, he hastily replyed, you English
maids will like the ffrenchmen better when there is not a house left
between Temple barr and London bridge. To which shee answer-
ed, I hope your eyes will never see that; he replied, this will come
between September and October. //
Mr Light of Ratcliffe having some discourse with one Mr Langhorne
of middle Temple Barrester, reputed a zealous papist, about ffebru-
ary last, After some discourse in disputation of Religion; he took
him by the hand, & said, you expect great things in sixty six,
& thinke that Rome will be destroyed: but what if it be London? //
Mr Tilly of Barking in Essex informes yt one Mrs Yarly a papist of
Ilford in ye said County, coming to his house August 14th being in discourse
with his mother, sd they say ye next thursday will be ye hottest day yt
ever was in England. Shee replyed, I hope the hot season of ye yeare is
now past. To which he answered; I know not whether it will bee
ye hottest for weather or Action. This Mrs Yarly coming to ye same
house a weeke after the fire: Mr Tilly sd to her: with the troubles I
have often thought of yor hot Thursday. To wch shee replyed: It was not
indeed uppon ye Thursday, but it happened as well as ye Sunday
was seven nights after. Mrs Yarly having this evidence geven against
her; shee did uppon ye 13th of August say yt they say yt ye next Thurs-
day will be the darkest Thursday yt ever was in England; but not men
present. Which shee affirmed to have received from a ffriend.
An old woman of Ilford who being examined by a Justice of peace,
to discover ye truth thereof; denied yt shee ever sd any such
words to Mrs Yarly: And yt shee had discourse with her about
any such matter; and as to ye subsequent words shee denyes
ever to have spoken them; but Mr Tilly offered in her pre-
sence if it should be demanded of him to bring his mother
and wife to testify ye same. // 179
Will: Ducal Esq a member of ye house informes yt one
Henry Baker of Chippenham in the County of Wilts; coming

coming from market with one John Woodman of Holloway in ye sd County ye Thursday before ye fire began in London. They had some discourse about ye buying of a yoke of fat bullocks wherein (because Woodman was to sell ym) was desired to keepe ym a while in his hands: But ye sd Woodman refused so to doe: ffor (as he alledged) he could not stay in ye Country till ye time on wch Baker would have ym delivered to him. And being asked where he was going: He refused to tell: Asking what he had to do to aske him yt question. But riding a little further, ye sd Woodman expressed these words; You are brave blades at Chippenham, you made bonefires lately for beating ye Dutch, but since you delight in bonefires, for well you shall have yr bellyes full of ym ere it be long. Adding yt if he lived a weeke longer, he should see London as sad a London as ever it was since ye world began: & in some short time after, he should see as bloody a time in England as ever it was since England was England. This discourse was not much taken notice of at ye time it was spoken, But when ye Citty of London was burnt ye sd Henry Baker gave this information to ye sd Mr Ducket. And thereuppon he issued out a warrant to apprehend Woodman; but he was gone out of ye Country & cannot be heard of since.

Robt. Hubert of Roven in Normandy who acknowledged yt he was one of those yt fired ye house of one Mr ffarriner a baker in Pudding Lane from whence the fire had its beginning, confessed yt he came out of ffrance with one Stephen Piedloe about foure months before ye fire, & went into Sweden with him as his companion foure months & then they came together into England in a Swedish ship called ye Skipper where he stayed on board with ye sd Piedeloe till ye Saturday night yt they brake out, when Piedeloe taking him out of ye ship carried him into Pudding Lane, & he being earnest to know whether he would carry him, he would not satisfie him till he had brought him to ye place, & then he told him he had brought 3 balls, & gave him one of them into his hands to throw into ye house; & he would have been farther satisfied in ye designe (as he says) before he would execute it, but Piedeloe was so impatient, he would not heare him; And then he did ye fact which was yt he put a fire ball at ye end of a long pole, & lighting it with a peece of a match put it in at a window, & stayed till he saw ye house on a flame. He confessed there were 23 complices of which ye sd Piedeloe was the chiefe.

Mr Graves a ffrench merchant living in St Mary Axe informed ye Committee ~~yt he~~ to have known Hubert ever since he was foure yeares old, & ever to have observed him to be a person of a mischievous inclination, & therefore fit for any villainous enterprize

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and because of this knowledge he had of him, he went to visit him in prison, where when he saw him he could not but commiserate ye condition wherein he had brought himselfe, & for his better discovery of ye fact, he told him (ye said Hubert) he did not beleive yt he had done yt of wch he confessed himselfe guilty, but yt hee was but brought to it by ye instigation of Monsieur Piedloe: but not out of any malice to ye English nation but from a desire of ye reward which he promised mee uppon my returne into France. //

It is observable yt this miserable Creature who confessed himselfe to ye Comittee to be a protestant was a Papist, & died so; And as for Piedloe (ye said Mr Graves informes yt he had a full knowledge of him, and knew him to be a very debauched person, & apt to any wicked designe. //

Moreover for a clearer conviction of ye guilt of ye aforesd Hubert Mr Lowman ye keeper of ye White Lyon prison was appointed to set him on horse & goe wth him to see if he could finde out ye place where he threw ye fire balls, & Hubert wth more readiness then those who were more acquainted wth ye place went to Pudding Lane, & to ye very place where ye house was first fired, & stood saying, here stood ye house. The Jayler endeavoured to draw him from yt beleife, & put him uppon seeking of some other place but he positively persisted in wt he first sd, & affirmed yt to have bin ye same house. //

It being insinuated to ye Comittee yt notwithstanding ye confession of ye sd Hubert it was confidently reported ye fire in ye forementioned ffarriners house began by accident; the Comittee sent for him (ye sd ffarriner) before ym who being examined sd: That it was impossible yt any fire should happen in ye house by accident for he had after 12 of ye Clocke in ye night gone through every room thereof & found no fire but onely in one Chimney where ye roome was paved wth brick; wch fire he diligently racked up in embers. He was then asked whither no window or doore might let in winde to disturbe [illegible] he affirmed yt there was no capicity for any winde to disturbe them, & yt it was absolutely set on fire on purpose. //

Dawes Wymondsell Esqr one of his Maties Justices of peace informes yt he saw a man apprehended neere ye Temple with his pockets so stuft with combustible matter, made of flax & tow & such like materialls yt there was enough to fill a bagg; And a woman testifyed yt shee saw the same man throw pte of it into a chamber where shee was. //

Dr John Parker informes yt he saw a man throw some combustible matter into a shop which he thinkes was ye shop of an Apothecary; That immediately thereuppon he saw a smoake & smelt a smell of brimstone, ye party yt did this immediately ran away but upon the outcry of ye people he was taken by ye Guards. //

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Mr Randall, Mr Caslam & Mr Humphrey Boyer all agree yt they saw a [illegible] throwing &c

saw a person flinging something into an house neer St Antlinell & yt thereuppon ye house was all on fire & ye smoke thereof infested ye houses on ye other side ye way; And when this was done there was no fire neere ye place by a quarter of a mile://

Mr Mr Michael Marsh an officer of ye traine bands in a Company of Sr Richd Brownes, apprehended a Walloon in ye time of ye fire at ye Nags head in Leadenhall street wth an instrumt like a darke lanthorne made as it is conceived to lay a traine of powder & it was filled with gunpowder. There were 2 more of ye same nation in his company; they being asked to what use they employed ye sd instrumt they would give no account thereof.//

Newton Ellingworth { He informed yt he apprehended a person during ye fire, about whom he found much combustible matter, & certaine black things of a long figure; he could not endure to hold them in his hands, by reason of ye extreame heate; At this he so surprised at first yt he could not answer to any question being on his way to Whitehall he acted ye pt of a madman, so continuing while he was ye Goal. And for a further manifestation hereof Sr John Maynard a member of this house affirmes; yt he had some of yt combustible matter in his hands: And though it were ~~in more~~ in its naturall consistence, & unfired, yet ye heat of it was not to be endured by ye touch.//

Mr Freeman of Southwark Brewer (whose house there was fallen burnt) affirmes yt in ye day his house was on fire about a quarter of an houre before, there happened a paper wth a ball of wildefire conteining neere a pound; it was found in a nave of a Wheele in a Wheelers yard where lay a great quantity of timber, how his house was on fire he knows not: but this he informed ye Comittee: That it could not be by accident because there had not been any candle or fire where ye hay lay ye whole day & yt ye hay being laid up very dry before Midsumer could not possibly be set on fire in it selfe. Moreover he said, yt ye hay loft was on fire at ye top of ye house: and yt ye fire streamed from one end of ye Roofe to ye other in an instant.//

Mr Harwood informes yt neere ye Feathers Taverne by St Pauls he saw through a grate of a Cellar something like wilde fire by ye sparkling & spitting of it he supposing it to be no other gave notice to ye soldiers neere, who quenched it.//

Richd Tysdale informes yt he being about ye beginning of July at ye Gray=hound in St Martins with one Fitz Harris an Irishman heard him say there would be a sad desolation in September next & in November a worse & in Dec. all would be united into one whereupon he asked where; he answered in London

LETT
fol.181. of Baxter Letters in v

Reverend & much honoured Sr 64

110 Though I am a stranger to your person yet not to the workes & Labours
wch have been so eminent for the Church of God that they call for from
every lover of truth peace & piety many prayers unto God who hath given
such gifts to men as also their utmost endeavours to encourage & strengthen
the heart & hands agt so many without difficulties & oppositions as you
meet withall I having seene & heard how you have lately pleaded agt some
of those burthensome Ceremonyes of the Church and especially that of the
Crosse I shall make bold to commend unto you that which of late [illegible]
have afforded an opportunity & occasion either of discourse or writing
wch I know you may be better able to prosecute & improve than many
others The medium wch I offer to yr consideration is this

1 That water in Baptisme is the signe of the Crosse & proved
this we find that wee are sayd to be Baptized into his
death & our old man is crucified wth him Rom 6 3 4 5 6
it setts out the blood of his Crosse by wch is signified our
death unto sin

2 That ~~Baptisme~~ water as it is a signe, (2) a signe of ~~Xos~~
death & Crosse & so of a crucified Xt (3) It is a signe
of divine Institution of Christs appoynting

3 If water be the signe of the Crosse of Christ by divine Institution
then the signe of the Crosse of mens appoynting is super-
superfluous & needlesse Frustra fit per plura quod fieri pot-
est per pauciora

Ffor men to obiect & say that water wch is signum aquarum [illegible]
~~that~~ signum divinum is not so significant as signum humanum ~~de~~
[illegible] crucis as some have sayd to me that it is not so imme-
diate cleere & significant as the Materiall Crosse of mens appoyn-
ting

To this I answer that signes of Christs appoynting must needs be
more cleere significant efficacious & powerfull to ~~the~~ convey &
worke & conforme our graces then any signe of mens inventing &
men do hereby derogate from the wisdome of Christ as if they
were able to invent better signes then Christ & were wiser then
Christ himselfe These things I have bold to offer to your more ma-
ture Judgment knowing that verbum sat sapienti

Yrs the churches hearty wellwisher
W H

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For his much honoured
friend mr Richard Baxte
these in London.

Animadversions on Mr Eliots Booke for stated Councills

Pag. 1. [With one heart] should not be in the definition of a Visible Church. //

p. 2. (They have power to call officers) they have power to choose those to be their officers, who were before [in order of nature at least] officers, indeterminately. But more fully & properly, the officers have power to call them to be in a Church. Christ as ye Head is ye first pt of the Church: He is the Apostle of ye Father, & a Minister to the Circumcision: He calleth his Church (and not they him): He first maketh Disciples or Christians, & next Apostles; but Disciples call not Apostles: These Apostles call men to be Christians, & to be Churches: They appoint Pastors successively to do the same: They aggregate ye members first to Christ the Head, & then to themselves as his officers: Matth. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 8. 5. As Aristotle, Plato, Zeno, open their schools & so congregate Disciples. But though the people never give that authority wch constituteth an officer of Christ, yet it is indifferent whether he first call them to be his pticular flocke, or whether they first call him to be their pticular Pastor; as long as there is a mutuall consent for this appropriation. //

Pag. 4. §. 6. (Civilly publicke) can meane no more, but their extrinsick respect to the Magistrates call, or to the Civill state. //

Ib. §. 7. The members constituent of a Councill are ye Pastors of ye Churches, whether messengers or not; together with brethren acting only as brethren, if need be. As Apostles were then members, who were not (as such) the Churches messengers, so there should be to the end of ye world, a sort of Generall ministers, succeeding them (not in any of their extraordinary, but) in their ordinary worke, in preaching to the Nations, Baptizing them, congregating them, or forming them into Churches, & taking a comon care of those Churches: And these may claime a place in Councills, (where such are) And so may ye Pastors as voluntarily assembling, though the people send them not, nor any other Pastors send them, (as in case they be ye sole Pastors of those Churches themselves)

I acknowledge yt in the primitive times, when there were many Pastors or Elders in one Church, some one was usually ablest for publicke speaking, & so was most ordinarily employed therein; & the rest did more of ye worke of private oversight; & so may be called Ruling Elders: But that there were then any Elders 1o who were not of the same order or office with the Teaching Elders; 2o & yt had not authority to preach according to their ability 3o nor authority to Baptize, 4o & to administer ye Lords supper, 5o & were not ordained, & that with the same ordination as the others; of this I have bin long unsatisfyed, as finding no proofe of such in Scripture or antiquity; whatever I have found pretended as proofe. But my opinion in this differing from the Presbyterians & ye Congregationall, I expect not that you should take any notice of it. //

Pag. 5. §. 9. I much agree with you yt ye great End of Councills, is Counsell for ye Concord of many Churches: So Bp Usher said to me, yt in Councills Bps were not properly to governe the Church, but to maintaine a communion of Churches; they are not directly gratiâ regiminis, but communionis et Concordiae. But I must adde, yt though congregating in a Councill do give ye Pastors no Authority over one another, or over any absent Pastors, nor any new power over other mens flocks, yet I see not but yt the Pastors there congregated retaining still their governing power over their severall flocks,

may exercise it there, by convenient acts: ffor example, If many Pastors in
Councill agree to ye some onely Translation of ye Scriptures, & one version
of the Psalmes in all their Churches, this actus regiminis as to their flo
& they are obliged to a prop obedience of it, as they are to obey the
cular pastors, if they used that Translation and version without a
Councill, or as a family is bound to obey the ffather or Master in ye
use of it. But yet this same determination of ye Councill, is onely
an act of Communion or Concord as to the pastors among themselve
or any other absent pastors. And I do not see why a Councill by wa
of Concord or Communion of many churches, might not togethe
decree ye common excommunication, e.g. of Arians Nicolaitan
or some common Heresie which anoy them all: wch decree is on
part of the full excommunication, as the publication of it is another
& the execution a third. //

Concerning the Numbers 12 & 24 & ye whole Method here prescri
bed, though I doubt yt that the Scriptures cited will not amoun
to a full proof yt it is a stated number & method of Gods ap
pointmt; yet both those Scriptures & ye reason of the thing do re
present the frame as very handsome & convenient where it
may be had, and such as would greatly tend to concord & edifica
And as those called presbiterians in England 8 or 9 years ag
& more, would gladly on ye termes of this Treatise have bin
united with ye sober & moderate of ye Congregationall wa
for communion of Churches, so do they now exceedingly rejo
to find many healing concessions from New England as are
in ye propositions of your Synod; but much more would the
rejoyce & take our union as allmost accomplished, if this
platforme of Mr Eliots were comonly owned by the brethren
of ye Congregationall way. //

Pag. 33. §. 8. The Law of Moses was ye Civill Law of ye Jews Repu
licke & ye preist himselfe had pt of ye Civill power. But
Christs Ecclesiasticall Lawes are not our Civill Lawes, nor hav
Councills as such any Civill power. I therfore firmly hold 1o yt
no Magistrate is to cutt off or punish any man simply because
he disobeyeth a Councill (nor yet quatenus excommunicate); Bu
he must first himselfe heare & try the cause, & judge accordin
ly. In some Cases a Councill is to be disobeyed. 2o yt Magistrates may t
cognisance of offences comitted agt ye Church or ye interest of Christ
before they come to a Nationall Assembly. I see no reason, but in ever
church, it would do well to have some Church-Justice or Magistra
to keepe peace & order, & to secure ye Civill interest & punish
3o And when a Nationall Councill is sinfully disobeyed
& ye Magistrate too, yet death may be too great a punishmt: The
faults agt them may be various, & require various degrees of
punishmt. And it will be thought scarce congruous to say yt
(Councills are onely for advise): & yet yt (those should be supp
who refuse not their advise) unlesse ye Magistrate have tryed ye cau
& found that ye advice was so necessary as to aggravate ye offence
such deserts. The supreame power in England hath determi
of many points of conformity, by ye advice of a Nationall
Assembly, & yet few thinke yt Non-conformity deser
the death. It's safer doing too little than too much in such ca
But I suppose Mr Eliots speaketh onely of what may
be done in such great & necessary cases. //

Cap. 7. §1. p. 35. He is too pticular & [illegible] strict in describi
ye Qualification of Churches or Church-members
ffor he would hereby shut out allmost all ye Congrega
nall Churches in England (yt I have knowne); by in

posing uppon them a promise (to be guided in ye comon concernmt of Religion by ye holy advice of ye forenamed orders & councills. ffor such stated Councills as he describeth are agt their judgmt. And though I much rejoice in Mr. Eliots reconciling designe & frame, yet I canot be so much for it, as to shutt out all persons ~~[illegible]~~ or Churches from our Comunion or from ye bond of Reforming=Churches, who consent not as long as they consent to all things which are of true Necessity. We that have justly blamed ye Congregationall men for shutting out others by too strict conditions, must not comit ye fault agt them which we have blamed them for. The doctrine of Christ & ye concordant practise of all ye primitive churches teach us 1° That ye qualification required of ye adult when they entred into ye Church by baptisme, was onely ye profession of Repentance for sins past, & of assent & consent to ye baptismall Covent. 2° The title=condition of Infants is ye same in ye parents, & yt by them they be entered into ye Covenant of God, or dedicated to him. 3° The pastors who baptize them & not ye people are by office ye publicke judges of this profession, whether it be credible or not, as being intrusted with ye keyes of ye Kingdome, wch is ye power of intromitting & excluding: And in this judgemt of ye officers ye people are to acquiesse, unlesse it be notorious that ye Baptized were uncapable. 4° Every mans profession is to be accounted credible whose profession of Christianity is not approved. He is not bound Coram Ecclesia to bring any other title=condition from his profession, nor to bring any proofe from his former life, or a distinct account of ye manner or Method of his conversion, that his profession is true. But they that reject his title must disprove it. 5° The onely disproofe is, when it is proved either yt ye said profession 1° is not understood by ye speaker 2° or yt it is not seriously but ludicrously or hypocritically made 3° Or is not voluntary, 4° or is contradicted in ye essentialls of it by some contrary Atheisme, Infidelity or Heresie. He that proveth none of these is bound to take ye profession as valid or credible: Because no man knoweth another mans heart, but God & himselfe. And humane converse requireth that men be believed, till they have forfeited their credit, in matters where they are ye onely competent assertors: And God will have every man himselfe, & not another for him, to be the choosor or refuser of his owne mercies: And if his profession prove false, it is he himselfe yt will have the losse. 6° It is but fide humana yt we are to believe ye profession of any man, and therefore believe him as a fallible person, remembring that all men are lyers, & we take it not for a certaine truth. And there are divers degrees of credit to be given them according to the divers degrees of credibility in ye persons professions: but none is to be counted so incredible as to be invalid, which is not disproved. Nor may you lawfully stay one one day after a mans profession of Repentance & faith, as onely to get a fur proofe of his sincerity by his life. 7° Every person yt is thus by Baptized into the universall Church, hath de nomine uppon

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a right to communion as a member of that Church. 8° No other title condition is necessary to Communion with a particular Church but that the ꝑson be a member of ye Universall Church, (as aforesaid by Baptisme,) & yt cohabitation or propinquity make him capable of particular comunion, & yt he consent thereto; yt is, consent to his relation to ye pastor & yt flocke, & to comunion in ye ordinances there administred. As consent made a Christian, & was his title=condition of admittance into ye universall Church, so consent makes him a member of a ꝑticular Church: supposing his Religious capacity as a Christian, & his naturall capacity as a Neighbor, or competently neare. 9° But he yt can prove yt since his Baptisme, ye ꝑson hath ꝑfidiously broke yt covenant with God & lived in Atheisme, infidelity, Heresie or ungodlynesse & wickednesse of life, doth so farre invalidate yt mans claime, as yt he must by publicke penitence renew his title, before it can be valid. 10° He yt after such publicke penitence professed, doth relapse into ꝑfidiousnesse, hath forfeited ye credit of his bare word, & must confirme his profession by actuall reformation & godlynesse of life, before ye church is bound to receive him to communion. And therefore if any such do offer themselves to be members of a ꝑticular Church, as are publickly proved to have bin thus ꝑfidious after professed penitence, ye church may require the confirmation of their profession, by sufficient testimony of their Newnesse of life. // These are ye true termes of Church Communion as I am ready fully to prove in each particular. And it is a want of our agreement in these, about the Qualification of Church members, which is allmost all yt remaineth to be healed betwixt us & our brethren of ye congregationall way. As soone as young people are started into any profession of Strictnesse in Religion, there is in too many a secret spirituall pride, which hideth it selfe from themselves under ye name of a desire of Church=purity, which maketh them desire to be further separate from the colder professors of Christianity, than God alloweth, & than ye most antient= holy experienced Christians do desire; that they may be the more conspicuous, as a holy people themselves: And these distinguish not sufficiently of mysticall & visible members of ye church and their severall qualifications & priviledges: Nor understand how much use God maketh of hypocrites in ye Church, & how much ye fault & hurt is their owne, where yet the Church may be in the way of duty & benefit; Nor how much unmortifyed sinne is oft joyned with a profession of strictnesse, nor how oft true grace hath bin found under such a common profession of Christianity as hath not made ye ꝑson openly conspicuous in any other distinguishing way. And these young selfe conceited professors aforesaid, are they yt have partly flattered & partly censured ye ministers into divisions & overdoings & are ye Rulers of most of or dividing churches, while they call themselves ye flocke, ye pastors being unable to resist their alluring heats, & beare their bitter censures. And when the pastors grow wise & will follow them no further, they cast them off & despise them, & gather themselves under such new= made pastors as will follow them as farre as they desire. This is our maladie, & ye cause of our confusions; agst which we need yor great

Affectt yor Brother, Ri: Baxter

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2

Sir,

Some change in my affaires enableth mee to tell you, that if you have not yet moved yor vaine ostentation of yor forwardness to another meeting, shall bee noe cover for yor shame. Mr Beresford is willing that it bee here & I shall attend yor comming on Wensday next; you shall choose the houre, soe you send us word tomorrow what houre you choose. And you shall choose whether you shall strictly dispute or discourse, soe that by the glasse or watch the time bee but two houres (unlesse wee after agree on more as wee find strength & need) in which each of us shall take up an equall portion. And you shall choose 1o whether you will hold on the former conference on the Question whether there bee better reasons for Quakers or against it 2o or debate the Question whether they are noe ministers of Christ who take tythes or pay 3o whether wee shall only for mutuall understanding deale by question & answer, you being the Querist one houre, & I another, & answering any [illegible] which you shall aske mee & you answering all

mine, the Querist having power to shorten ~~to~~ impertinent discourse by holding the answerer to the Question. And I must desire you to tell mee to morrow before noone which way you choose; should you refuse Mr Beresfords house I would come to any other neere this Place that is capacious, common & free

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It will be the interest of your Cause to oblige him by being the means of his deliverance. This is the confident
opinion of Your Servant

Sr Since I saw your wish for the Grotian or Cassandrian Concord,
I seeme to know your mind in Religion: I am my selfe so hearty a
desirer of the Union of Christendome, & so great an esteemer of such
as Grotius, Cassander, Erasmus, &c, as maketh me bold to say to you that
I wonder you so farre mistake the interest of yor Cause, as your late
prosecution of Mr Baxter signifieth: Its true that he hath written much
against Popery & to prove Grotius a Papist, because he is for the Councill
of Trent & the Popes universall Primacy in Governmt by the Canons.
But I pray you consider that he speaks against allmost nothing in
the Papists but what many moderate Papists speake against, specially
their Cruelty in damning & killing all that are not for the Popes
Universall Governmt of the world, & for all their numerous Canons of
Ceremonies, & their silencing necessary preaching, by prosecution &
Interdicting Gods worship to whole Kingdomes; which many Catholike speake
against as well as he. And no man living hath done more
to reconcile the Church of Rome & the Protestants in Doctrinalls than he
hath done in his Catholike Theologie & Methodus Theologiae, & in publishing
Le Blank (for it was he that by Blanks request sent them first to the
presse). And do you consider of what importance it is to Concord
that he hath so strongly argued on Rev. & 2 Thess. 2 & Johns Epistles
against the Popes being the Antichrist there meant, & to prove that it
was only Heathen Rome that was Babilon & the whore.
And these things have raised such heats in the Antipapists against
him, that they have written many books against him, & one that
calls him Bellarminus Junior as a Papist. And you will now by
your prosecution reconcile them to him & stop the conflict.
And he hath written so many books for the Divine right & power
of Princes, & against resistance, & against Schisme & separation, &
for Bps & ArchBps & Communion with the Church, as will disgrace with
the Readers those that accuse him of the contrary. And his books
translated into high Dutch have got such reputation beyond sea with
the Lutherans of Germany & Sweden, as will startle them from all thoughts
of Concord with those that cannot endure such as he. And that he
should be called out so soone for suffering will raise a common prejudice
& jealousie in the people, & make them say, Who then shall escape
Is this the tendernes & clemencie of his Maties Governmt. I know
high Drs of the Church of England that think (as the Separatists say)
that he hath done more than any man in London or England to [illegible]
field the Separatists & bring Dissenters to the Church. Where is there
such a booke for it as his Cure of Church Divisions. And if it be
revenge for what is past against Popery, it will but make those
books more acceptable hereafter to Protestant readers, & not disable
them. And he neither purposeth to write more. Though I have read
one Booke that he hath had many yeares ready for the presse that
is likelier to perfect the foresaid Concord in Doctrinalls, than any
that I yet ever saw. He is past worke in constant paine &
languishing: Let him die quietly: make not his writings ~~against you~~
more regarded by his sufferings that will goe for Martyrdome.
If you would have men goe as farre as Cassander & Grotius, & he
will but draw them ~~further then~~ afterwards, ~~a~~ one halfe or three
quarters of the way, & that more effectually than any other man,
is it your interest to destroy or shame him because he can goe
no further. He hath said more for Mercy & Liberty to peaceable Dissenters:
And did not yr Kings Judgm declared in his Declarations from Breda, & 1660
& 1662 (or 1663) for Liberty, & 1673 with his Licenses, excuse him. & the many
invitations that he hath had from the King, & from Bps to treat for Liberty.
He hath said many things that the Law may be against: But did he not do
so when the ~~[illegible]~~ K hath oft published his judgment against the hard Lawes that
are against Papists. And are all Romane Catholikes disloyall or to be reviled that
write against those Lawes & the Oath of Supremacy, as a Nationall crime. Yea
some Protestant Divines have blamed it. If any yet plead against these Lawes
men pass not a charge of sedition agt them. It is his great zeale for a Union more
extensive than the Romane, that drew him into his offensive words & writings.

It will be the interest of your Cause to oblige him by being the means of his deliverance. This is the confident
opinion of
Your Servant

Sr,

I haue inquired for my lord Conway, but I cannot find him or heare of him about London, but am informed for certayne that he is at Ragley by Alcester in Warwickshire; but he wilbe shortly gone from thence, & so to London & so beyond sea whither his Lady is gone before, soe that I conceiue it wilbe yor best course to goe or send on to Ragley Hall speedily, where yu wilbe sure yet to find him, and then yu may receiue full satisfaction from him in this particular. And to that end I haue inclosed returned yu Sr ffowlke Grevile his Lre. And for yor remembrance of my kind respects to yu & yor [illegible] I take leaue & remayne.

Yor most assured to be
Commanded —
Adam: Hough.

Aberdy Jmo.
may. 1656.

5 It hath pleased God to take away Mr Loader whom I made
my Attorney: & I have made in his stead Mr Hunt & other
Agents my Attorneys, Mr Griffiths & 2 Mr Palmers;; Mr Loaders
account of his agreement with you, made me admire
how he came to yield to such a dividend of the estate,
as setteth no more nor better land for my security. But
I hope I may take yor honesty & conscience for better
security than either that land or yor bond; as knowing
how much just or unjust dealing will concerne us in
our approaching judgment & the everlasting consequences;
Besides the kindness which you have formerly professed to
me: I am put to live as a servant: I humbly intreate
yor speedy payment of the arrears; which in
will be I received

Your performance of this justice, will be also a work of
charity to

Yor

R.

Let all my words [illegible]

Ruth Bushell,

[illegible]

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Doctor Whit calls mr Baxter bould impudent
sawcy fellow ~~person~~ for Preaching such a
6' sermon to the Kinge, & for printing himselfe his
Maiestyes Chaplaine, & his sermon to be printed at
his matis Command, when neither were true:
& calls mr Baxter thiefe, murderer, the greatest
of rebells, ~~some of this~~ worse then whore
master, drunkard &c. some of these I heard
him speake my selfe, the rest I heard
from A friend which heard it from mr
Whit

70

Geo: Brent

70

Sr

y as there is not any man in the world i more value then you ~~son~~ soe there is none in quo magis triumphem to have apprehended (if not alltogether at least allmost) the greatest truth in the world: and ye most usefull; (next to yt, yt J.C is come into ye world to save sinners) and when i make serious reflexions on it, i admire, and am most sory for, yt those yt are most concerned, (as ye ministers of the gospell) are ye greatest opposers of it, and most backward to ~~oppose~~ apprehend it: i lay ye cause on selfe interest yt sways in the best, and whom as you have taught me maintaine truths, not because they be truths, but because they have stumbled upon ~~it~~ them, for they would eodem animo defend falshood if it had faln in their way, all (almost) being led by interest, not by choyce.

Now sir yt this i so much urge is a grand and a maine truth, I could make good were it now ~~[illegible]~~ seasonable (viz) that there be two ~~[illegible]~~ mysteries the one of piety, th'other of iniquity; the one is Jesus Christ that spirituall man clad with mans flesh and in ye appearance of sinner or sinfull flesh for mans redemption, the other is ye man of sin, all sin, all flesh, the Pope, appearing (or stiling himselfe so) as a spirituall ecclesiasticall man ye vicaire of christ, ye Bishop of Bishops ye governour of christ flock in chief, whereof St Paul speaketh 2 thessal 2: the iniquity being in ye earthly empire of his, built over kings and nations. ye mystery in ye painting and in ye vizard of an ecclesiasticall spirituall Jurisdiction

this mystery of iniquity hath been a hatching from ye time of St Paul and hath not been fully disclosed till ye Pope appeared; that ecclesiasticall power was like a horse of manage as they call, yt was a long time a dressing ere ye Pope got on his backe, for first ministers from a spirituall power like yt of christ and ye Apostles (as you say like yt of Phisitions over their patients) stir- [illegible] convinces of sin in judgement, and righ-

toorshnesse, from ~~sh~~ such a power (I say) have
passed over to a power of Magistracy a
constraining and punishing power / Like
chap 5. next ~~of~~ one single mi-
nister as Diotrephes hath built ~~a~~ the like
Empire over his colleagues as they all over
the flock of Christ, this grand Errour
hath crept (unheard for 400 years before
from ye times of St Paul) that the world
ought to be governed by two collaterall
powers the ~~same~~ Ecclesiasticall at the sterne
of wch should sit ye ministers of the gospell
this is ye Scala ye ladder yt brought
Bishops, Archbishops, Primats, Patriarchs
and last Pope, who is ye last round of the ladd
and hath caused this same church power to streame
from him as rivilets from ye spring head.
This Scala of church power by the way
was much furthered by the occasion of
erecting (by Constantin) all over ye Roman
Empire Ecclesiasticall tribunall as a good
remedy against ye oppression of ye civill
courts, whereof ye Judges were heathens
who did not favour ye Christians, these
courts being only Ecclesiasticall nomine
and because church men were ye Judges
since ye causes were of ye same nature
as any other; these courts I say who me
~~ma~~ by ye letters patents of the Empire
cadente imperio Romano grew the
~~made~~ greater, and in processe of time disclaymed
to have their commission from ye Em-
perour but from J C and by their
power of binding and loosing and
Keyes of ye Kingdome of heaven they
saying
as Gelasius and Nicolaus I
yt Constantin had but restored to
Bishops what J C hath commissio-
nated them to doe.

In the reformation ye Switzers came
neare ye truth abandoning that part
of ye mystery of iniquity as you may see
by Bullinger Peter Martyr Musculus and
Gualterus holding but one Jurisdiction
in ye governement of Church and State
holding indeed a sacred function severally
and commanding in christ name Kings
and Magistrates but holding also they
could not exercise Jurisdiction but yt
wch is de Jure communi and whether
actu or virtualiter resides in every
Society synodes as well as a collodge
of phisitions, and companys of Marchants,

But ye authority of Calvin (alias ye
greatest man yt ye world had and to
whom reformation is most beholden)
did either continue or set up yt
church power and yt Idoll of ecclesias-
ticall tribunal, by whose reputa-
and example not only ye Switzers
altered their opinion but alsoe ye
French and ~~A~~ English modelled
there governement and it was taken
up by all sorts Independants Presbyte-
rians Anabaptists. The English
though they did not like of Calvin
disipline yet approoved yt church
power, at the head of wch they
have fastened ye King giving him
two bodyes ye one ye Parliament
and the other ye convocation. In
all which ~~abt~~ Pastors have found ye power
of ruling sweet and piam fraudem

though God was not wanting of witnesses
of ye truth, i maintaine. yet were they
few, so ~~much~~ much, mens iudgements, were
prepossessed with this idoll and graced
Diana. yet hath he strangely discouered
it first by Erastus a Phisition (wch is a
shame to Ecclesiasticall order) laying open
yt grand cheat of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction
and Excommunication and wch is a
greater shame to ye holy order, yt he hath
permitted, yt men ill principled as Grotius
and Selden yea Hobbes as bad as can
be should come nearer the truth then
many good men , yet God hath raysed
some good men as i know some in france
yt witnessed yt same truth and Mr Cole
man Stilling fleet Lightfoot are not
far from it

But yt wch doth most persuade me yt
God will in his good time clear yt truth
by good men is, yt I see all your hypo-
theses looke toowards yt truth, if it were
Gods will to put you in minde to presse it
further it would speed with a thousand
time more successe in yr hands then mine
and more then euer Erastus, Coleman or
others haue don vndeceiuing ye world of
yt grand cheat and falshood yt J C hath
inuested the pastors with yt power of binding
and loosing and of ye keyes, yt is as they in-
terpret to erect a tribunal Ecclesiasticall ouer
Kings and nations in ye Church making lawes
Excommunicating absoluing by a Judgement
independent on ye Magistrate courts
Excommunication bottomed vpon this tribunal
hath been ye sword who hath subdued to the
Pope, Kingdomes and their Kings, of the like
nature, is yt of our Prelates for ye non pay-
ment of a groat, and was taken vp by the
Presbyterians who in their reasons against ye
dissenting brethren, say it is no lesse an ordinance
of Christ then the word and sacraments

one

8 one of my greatest desire afore i dye next
to that of knowing my interest in Christ is that
he would throughly convince you to have this truth
further pressed urged, and cleared and by you
who is furnished with more helps giftes and meanes
then I, besides better English for so little i
have is spoyled by using of latin so much of late
Latin and french and sure my English will
not now be relished by ye dainty palate of these
times

But yt you may not want ~~matter~~ stock for a remons-
trance to ye King about these matters I have
entreated my noble friends who is to putt this
letter into yr hands to communicate unto you
this bundle of printed and written things wch
are but ye apographa; another neatter copie
having been sent to Holland: I forgot to
tell you yt there hath latterly been printed
in Holland a dissertation of ye great Gerardus
Vossius, asserting ye same hypotheses ~~as I~~
as you and I (But afore I end this
subject i will turne you out of french into
English the Judgement of a learned minister
of Diepe upon ye sending to him two letters
to ye Professour le Blanc (whereof you have
seen some Divinity disputations) and to
Maria a Schurman to be againe sent
to Mr Justell at Paris and so to Sedan
it is but a posscript after a huge commendation
of these two letters and telling me ~~[illegible]~~ he hath
got a copy of them

Sir
Since my letter written i have communicated your
letters to Mr Cartaat (his colleague) who hath
read them very attentively and exactly and is much
satisfyed therewith by wch reading he had a minde
to read over yr corollarium wch i gave him, As
for me I have so much relished and tasted the
strength of the raisons contained in yr Paraenesis
yt i cannot but give my full assent to it and yt
wch I come Just now to read seemes to me so strong
yt i question not but he will be throughly convinced

I hope and beleeue he will write to you
of ye doctrine
that he hath conceiued an idea farr different
from that ~~wat~~ wch was imprinted in his spirit
by the odious discription that they had made
he
to him; ~~The~~ shall see yt you doe not deuest the
ministers of the power of Jurisdiction allthough
~~albeit~~ you denye this power to be a part
of the holy ministery, or of the power of the
Keyes he will perceiue that this power
doth reside in the Church whether it be deriued
from the Magistrat Souuerain, who immediatly
from
from God is intrusted with yt power or ~~and~~ a
power of Magistracy abiding in a confederat
discipline; In short he will perceiue
that the end that you propound to your
selfe is so good and so usefull for ye
building up of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ
(since it tends to the totall ruine of the
Kingdome of Antichrist) that albeit you
~~shal~~ should aduance some hypotheses some
the
what harsh (wch yet i haue not yet
obserued in your writtings,) you had need
to be excused and borne with, far from
giuing to your doctrine such a hideous
looke and visage as some haue done he-
reto; among whom i know one who
without reading ye Paraenesis and only
casting his eyes upon ye title ~~did~~ cast and
throw his anathema against it and did
wholly disproove it. But wee must
be armed with patience &c and expect
yt truth doth discouer itselfe by its owne
beames and penetrate into ye spirits of men

latin Prodromus and the whole
As for ye Durell, i am still
designe to write against
of the same mind, had I but yt worke to
doe and where withall to subsist (my elder
brother having these 3 yeare last past

withdrawen his benevolence) in alto otio and
tranquillo animo i should not doubt with a
little of yr helps and Strictures to answere
him in a 12 month whereas Durell hath been
8 yeares about his workes ~~and~~ he begged all yt
helps imaginable from hundreds weighing
every periode for ye very latin, but I would
beg that favour of you to dispose all those
that will further the worke they would give me
the liberty and freedome of my hypotheses
about Jurisdiction wch doe rota fronta fight
against Durell as against all Popery hierarchy
yet not intending consultò to speake of it
but only incidently as it comes in my way as
when I shall speake of Bishops whom (as such)
I make ministers not of J C but of the ~~kings~~
King; besides it is not possible to destroye all Epo-
scopacy without spoyling there iurisdiction over Pres-
byters and since i ~~then~~ take in hand to displease
severall parties they must not expect I shall agree
in all to what of their corollaries I thanke God yt mine
come nearest to yours then any

I should alsoe acquaint you with some things viz
that I have many tracts in french written by my
bad hand all about the church power directed to
english affaires and ye Interest of ye King but
I know not how i can benefit England with
them except I had some honest interpreter
well skilled in english and french. if yt were
don i would put them into yr hands but one
must have money to pay such an interpreter
and amanuensis, one of them ~~it~~ bigger then a
sermon is turned into english by Mr Thomas
coke, but somewhat like a soild ~~foule~~ copie he meane
to write faire had ~~it~~ he not been prevented
by his Journey ~~it~~ it is about toleration ye
way of settling religion in England ministers
maintenance and tithes but I doe keep
you too long

LETTERS.
fol. 195. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Worthie sir,

9 The earnest desire of manie godly people here in this place is, that yow would favo^r us soe much, as to give m^r Browne the meeting here the 24th day of June, who hath engaged himselfe to bee here; but hath promised to mayntayne those grosse errors, which hee then delivered: and wee did write about them to yo^w; and wee hope that God which hath made yo^w able will make yo^w willing to mayntayne and defend the truth, and especially that last thinge, which is the ordinance of Prayer, which hee seeketh to deprive the people of: perswading them that there is noe warrant, precept nor example for it; And it doth much hinder the benefitt that many might have of it, for here some will not come, others depart the congregation as soone as it doth beginn. Wee conceave if the Lord enable yo^w here to stop it, it may stay it in the countrey here about where hee seekes to seduce the people, and may cause manie here to returne to o^r Congregation againe, soe hoping these o^r desires will bee sufficient to obtayne yor assistance for the truthes sake: wee remayne yo^rs in the Lord Christ, whose glory mooveth us to seeke this from yo^w which glory wee seeke to advance, and not to suffer it to bee eclipsed amongst us.

Henry fford
[illegible] Higgins
Jhon Doulde
Richard Hemming
Edward Jecocke
Richard Smith
Robert Gworle

Thomas Badland
William Langston
Edward Nalis
Thomas Tayler
John Elowes
John Stonall
Edward Allund
Richard Floid
Thomas Eaton

Worthy Sr

73

120

I pray send the paper I desired of you
by this Bearer I Have Called for it twice
and missed you, by the True English out
of Mr Baxters Booke which has beene so
falsely Construed by others with most
Humble Service I am Sr yor obliged
Servant John Hibbert

11th febr 1696

Bartholmew Close

+

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These

ffor Mr Selvester at
Amen Corner nigh
paternoster Row

J Hovil

Sir!

Hauing in the first consideration proposed two waies of settling religion in England; one of comprehension, the other of Toleration, I haue not interposed my iudgement about the præstantia of one ~~or~~ above th'other nor expressed all I thinke about either of these two waies, viz that either of them are but remedies not to cure but to continue a disease, and ashes couering hot coales, And yet such remedia that (though not suâ naturâ], will per accidens bring a happy settlement in England and therefore I haue been loth to raise in the context difficulties that I cannot solue without hindering parties concerned to hearken to motions of reformation so much desired. for I am of yt opinion that the way of toleration will for the present content most men, since by it the very members of the hierarchy will preach the lesse and suffer no diminution of enioyments of Bishopricks and Livings, whereas the way of Comprehension, will be rather a condiscention then a satisfaction of every body), But yet in fine and ex euentu toleration will be the downfall of the hierarchy when it shall be destitute of the thing by wch only (Like the hierarchy of Rome) it gathers people and so subsisteth, viz inquisition and prison. And when 600 men that possesse the fat of the Livings in England and make up either the hierarchy, or what they call the Church of England, shall walke by themselues and shall appeare so few in number as to be thought vselesse and needlesse and spare the trouble of many consultations about the waies of disposing their spirituall revenues; for this reason (Six) I wish that God would encline the heart of his Maiesty rather to toleration then comprehention, wch will be but but a patch't businesse, whereas toleration (~~att~~ at ye best an ~~evil~~ euill, yet not of sin) will vndoubtedly turne to good euen to the ruine of the hierarchy and to the setting vp ~~a~~ of

Gods-church way in this land, These notions, I was shie in discoursing and making them a part of this discourse but very willing to impart to you.

Nov 75 When after a sinfull & ~~[illegible]~~ calamitous warre his Majestys returne
was desired & endeavoured, the begining of his subjects reconciliation &
ye united promises of their future kindness was the first & great means
yt did procure it; & the hopes yt his Maty would be the great peace-maker
was not the least motive to yt coalition: And we among others
not desiring Church-dominion nor wealth, yet hoped yt we might have
had publike allowance to preach Christs Gospell among the lowest of
the clergie, till all parishes had been furnished with fitter men: Towards which
we must not forget how much his Maty then did contribute by his professed
resolution to endeavor our unity, & his gracious Declaration about Ecclesiasticall
affairs: By whom all was frustrated the judge of all men knoweth:
And since our Consciences have forbid (after our best endeavours to inform
them) some Covenants, Oathes, Declarations & ~~subscriptions~~ practices since then
imposed, & also forbidden us sacrilegiously to desert the sacred Ministry;
we have found that the remnants of our peace have proceeded from the King;
for wch we render humble thanks: professing yt ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ his Majestys favour hath increased our obligations to that
Loyalty wch was still our duty: humbly still craving his protection
with no other ambition, but yt we may live a quiet & peaceable
life in all godlyness & honesty: That we have been above fifteen
years deprived of all Church-maintenance, & the consciences of many
by so long a siege of suffering been tempted to a surrender, some lying
in Comon jailes, & hundreds of families in want, is a thing wch nature allows
us to be sensible of: But it is small in comparison of the ill effects of yt silence
or restraint of neer 2000 ministers, when (notwithstanding supernumerary
schollars) the endeavors of all faithfull men united, is too little to supply the
notorious necessityes of the flocks. And it is a grievous addition to our calamity
to see the divisions yt hence arise! Ministers & people & neighbours like Guelphs
& Gibelines agt each other, by talke, presse & pulpit quenching brotherly
love: Pastors rejecting their owne children for dissent: to the provoking of
the God of Love, to ye danger of souls, seeing he yt loveth not his brother,
loveth not God, & he yt hateth him is a murderer, that hath not eternall life!
To see such a Kingdome weakned by being divided within it selfe; denying it selfe
peace after so sad contentions, when God hath given us more peace than ye
nations round about us: To see his Maty thereby grieved in governing a divided
people; The enemies of Religion & him highly gratifyed; And to compleate our
sorrows, our selves who have so earnestly deprecated the schisme, accused
as ye authors & continuers of all this, & as implacable enemies of peace;
& called to to tell men wt will satisfie us, & accused for not telling
the reasons of our dissent, while we never were heard ourselves speake
for ourselves as to the new conformity, nor have leave to tell men
wt they call for, nor know how to procure leave: And now after so
many years patient suffering, without any just occasion we are defamed
in print as contriving rebellions & suspected of seditious confederacies
& designes. // We desire you to represent our humble profession yt we are
guilty of no such confederacies or designes & promise yt we never will be:
And our humble petition yt as it is his Matys interest to have a united people
it may be by his prudence & clemency & zeale for true religion accomplished;
by giving us leave to speake for our selves, & granting our cause a just reviewe
And yt we may publish the reasons of our dissent, to heale the minds yt
are exasperated by mistakes: we solemnly professe our hatred of disloyalty
& schisme, & yt we will deny no lawfull means on our part to
heale it; nor ever be such adversaries to God our King & Country as to
foment it. But though we must follow peace with all men, as much
as in us lyeth & be ready to give just reasons of our judgmt & practise
when our superiours or scandalized men require it, to save them from
the hazard of their errours, yet we would faine have our healing from
his Majestys hand & shall never seeke even unity & peace it selfe by any
seditious or evill means to his Matys just offence. Yor Servants—

LETTERS.

fol. 200. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

fo 5r 2 1r

Atapla obstaculi (a new booke of nonconformist
separatists] pag. 120 hath these words [There is no doubt
but a good Christian ought as much to dread the
imposing uppon his judgment an Assent to knowne
errours, & uppon his practices the acting of knowne
sin, as the suffering of the very paines of hell itselfe]

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Worthy Sir,

I have read & considered yor papers you left with me; by which I understand you expect my answer to your questions therein contained Which I cannot altogether decline, considering from whom they 3 come, and how much you have alwayes obliged me. But those questions being so numerous as they are, and many of them foreign to the matter of my Address, in the vindication whereof I am chiefly if not only concerned; I suppose you will excuse me though I make but only a brief return to the substance of them, without ~~transcribing~~ reciting them & the reasons of them: for otherwise it would be a business too tedious to me, considering my age & Rheumatick lameness. // And whereas before you come to yor Questions, you intimate yor suspicion that the stream of my thoughts & studies run only but in one channell, & that I do not give them due scope to consider what may be said on the one side as well as the other: I assure you I am not conscious to my self of being guilty of any such partiality. For having been once deceived with specious appearances of what upon better triall & experience did not answer expectation, it hath made me cautious since, lest I should run into a contrary extream. And for that reason I have been willing to hear, see & consider what hath been offered on each side. And I think you cannot but know that my alteration hath not been rash & hasty, but slow & graduall according to what satisfaction I could arrive at by degrees. And to weigh & consider the plea on each hand, hath been part of my work now for these many years which have past since I began to be recovered from those narrow dividing principles & practises into which I had been tempted by the foresaid appearances. But now when after all this I have at last come to so full a conviction of my having been mistaken formerly, as that I thought it meet upon severall accounts to make my repentance as publick as I had done my faults, by declaring the grounds of my conviction & satisfaction; & by stating of those grounds to invite others alike concerned, to a like repentance; I did not I confess think it meet to lay all those reasons before them which have been their stumbling block, but to establish those contrary principles which tend to undermine those reasons upon which our dividing practises have been founded. The generallity of people are better able to discern truths when they alone are plainly proposed ~~[illegible]~~ with the evidence that is on their side, than when they are attended with all the objections the wit of man is able to muster up against them, though at the same time those objections be answered. For those various contrary reasonings do but confound them & leave them under doubtfulness of mind concerning the Truth itself: because those objections will be apt to hang in their minds, whether the answers to them do so or no. But yet for all that, the main business in my Address is to confute the severall grounds, on which the severall parties, Anabaptists, Independents & Presbyterians, have made separation, with such other principles as tend to demolish them. // But now to yor Queries.

1o Seeing my booke is mostly against Anabaptistry & Separation, (as you say) you Querie why I intitled it an Address to the Nonconformists [illegible] you think it will confirm the ignorant multitude in their

opinion

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opinion that the Nonconformists are commonly for Separation.
And truly my reason was, because I am one of that ignorant
multitude, if to think so as you say they think in that respect, will deno=
minate me such. For I take all to be more or less so in common
acceptation of the word Separation, who refuse Parochiall Com=
munion in that ordinance by which those who do not so refuse, doe
declare themselves to be of one body with such a Church & participating
with them of that one bread. 1 Cor. 10.17. And in this sence I take the Anabaptists &
Independents, to be for Separation (except such as Mr Tombs) and the generality of Lay Presby-
terians also, who communicate in the Lords Supper in Churches
gathered out of our Parish Churches. For so far as ever I could
heare, the number of such Lay presbyterians as do hold Eucharisticall
communion both in Parish Churches & in those Congregations wch
are ~~the~~ gathered out of them, is so small, as will not amount to these.
And together with these I take all those Nonconforming Ministers,
to be for Separation, who refuse Eucharisticall Communion with
our Parochiall Assemblies ~~as private~~ in a private capacity; wch
I fear will extend to far the greatest part of them, indeed to all of
them, only a very few such as yor self excepted. Tis this kinde of
nonconformity I treat of in my booke, under the notion of Separation, as any that reads it may
easily observe. But meddle not at all with ministeriall Noncon-
formity, further than it is concerned in promoting the Separation
from Parochiall Communion I speak of. Nor surely could
you yor selfe think that I perswaded to ministeriall Conformity
when you thought I perswaded the Nonconforming Ministers to
believe themselves, for these are irreconcilable. If then you
will but understand Nonconformity in that more generall & comp-
rehensive notion in which I treat of it, I see not but that the
title & subject matter of my booke, are congruous enough. //
To Qu. 2. Its no prevarication in pleading for a Nationall
Church to consider it in the first Notion of it as a Community
of Christians in a Nation. Mr G. Lawson (of whose Judgment you
have somewhere given a high Character) so describes a Nationall
Church, Politica Sacra. p. 191. Is not the Catholick Church visible
truly described by a Community of all Christians in the world though
it be described without a visible Ecclesiasticall Constitutive head.
But the reason why I described a Nationall Church only by the matter
of it without mentioning an organized form, was partly because that
best fell in with my designe of proving our Parish Congregations
to be constituted of right Church matter viz. of Abrahams spiri-
tuall seed. For if the whole community of Christians in a Nation do
consist of such, which was the thing I was proving, then the parts
~~divided into~~ particular congregations must do so too. Besides I
saw there was no greater necessity for it and that it would have
been an interruption in the line of my discourse, I had no mind
to meddle with that controversie who or what is the Ecclesiastic
constitutive head of a Nationall Church. Mr G. Lawson hath told
you it is an Ecclesiasticall Judicatory. Another hath told you it is
a publick Ministeriall ~~pow~~ Church governing power over the whole
under the Highest power. Says the author of A Stop to the course
of Separation. Or if you will you may consider it as consisting
of Ecclesiasticall officers under the King in their severall sub-
ordinations, conducting the whole body of Christians in a Nation
in matters of doctrine, worship & discipline. // To Q. 3. I am no
Nonconformist in pleading for the Parochiall Churches. What law or
rule obligeth me to the contrary? And if you know any Prelates
that deny them to be Churches & that hold them to be only Chappells
so do not I. And if there be any such; the private opinion of a
few, is no generall rule to all. Whence ~~[illegible]~~ can any think that the
Parish Temples are called Churches, but from the peoples be
always

always accounted Churches that Assemble in them for publick worship. They are not indeed Independent upon the Diocesan, provinciall, & Nationall Jurisdiction, but yet are so many distinct worshipping Congregations. // To Q.4. I do not know nor have heard of any such now in Conformity as do hold that if the Bishop command one time, place, translation, ceremony, [illegible] and the King another, that then the Bishop is to be obeyed before the King: But have often heard this or the like laid to the charge of the Scottish presbyteries indeed. // To Q.5. You take occasion from my words p.124.125. to move such a question as my words give you no occasion to ask. But I again ask you, whether you can as reasonably impute the badness of men before our late sad distractions, to that restraint which was put upon the Church by the Liturgy, as I can the sundry strange sects, monstrous opinions & practises, violent contentions, sore breaches & divisions &c the effects of these, to the casting off of the Liturgie & the breaking of the bonds of Government? // To Qu. 6. The Church of Scotland by the severity of her Government, hath kept out Sects: But you know we by breaking down the hedge of Government here, have let them in among us, and still help to increase them. // To Qu. 7. I well know there were other Arguments used against Conformity than those two I mentioned p.129. But these being new, and having not seen them answered as I remember, as others have been, therefore I undertooke them in speciall as reasons in which many seem to put much trust. // To Q.8. When you can prove that the same Ecclesiasticall relation which was between Abiathar & the people before he was thrust out of office by Solomon, did continue between them afterward, and became not transferred upon Zadock & the people, then will I tell you what I shall think of it if Dr. Manton shall say to those parishioners which adhere to Dr. Patrick, you separate from our ~~Assemblies~~ Assembly & set up a sinfull Schism. I do not know but Abiathar was a good man in the maine, and yet you somewhere say he was justly put by his priesthood. Many things might be said upon this Query: but for further answer, I referre you to a booke called A stop to ye course of Separation p.61 to 70 & p.42 to 50 where you will finde yorselfe cited as answering yorselfe. // To Q.9. My words in p.157 with those following do not import that if nothing had been done by the 1700 silenced Ministers for 14 years past, more soules would have been converted & saved than now will: but that if they had laid out themselves in such a way as there I mention, the power of Religion would have been more promoted by them and by those who succeed them in their places, than by the course they have taken it is; and I am not yet of another minde by all that you have said. // To Q.10. I needed not to have answered the arguments used ~~for~~ in sacrilegious desertion ~~of~~ for yor obligation to preach, for that was done to my hand not only by Dr Fullwood, but also by the author of the stop to the course of separation, and never replyed to that I have heard. // ~~To Q.11. If the course had been taken at the first ejection of the nonconforming Ministers which I mention p.161 this would have been [illegible]~~. To Q.11. What I have said ~~in~~ p.161 wch so much offendes you, is not an advice what now to do, as you interpret.

interpret it, but referres to the time past when the Act for ord[er] first tooke place, as showing in my opinion what might have been better done for the promoting the power of Religion, than what hath been done by gathering separate Congregations out of parochiall Churches under such circumstances and upon such termes as it hath been done. And if that had been done then there would have been no occasion for the 5 mile Act to hinder such gathering of Churches. ~~Nor if they had a mind to~~ And you see that Act is not put in execution now for doing more, and therefore it is not to be objected as a hindrance from doing less. To Q. 12. I do not know that the Conformists would not have imitated you in the private diligence you speak of if wisely & prudently managed; nor have I reason to beleeve it as to the generallity of them. And as for the single instance you speake of; one swallow makes no summer. //

To Q. 13. The worse the ministry ~~was~~ were in some places, the more need there was that so much as lawfully could, should have been done by better. But its commonly seen that the people who most need the Nonconformists help, are most neglected by them, and such as are better provided for otherwise are most applyed to. // To Q. 14. Neither God nor wise men will expect more than what men are well able to do. If in some great parishes all could not be addressed to in that more private way ~~you~~ we speake of, so neither are they in yor ~~publick~~ more publick way. And it is no wayes unlikely but that more good in the generall might have been done amongst such people in that more private way, than by that the Nonconformists have pitcht upon. You know how wonderfully the Gospel spread and prevailed at its first going out into the world: and yet I presume that a great part yea probably the far greatest part of the preaching by which it did so was performed in a more private way than by speaking to great multitudes at once. How else did the ordinary disciples go every where preaching the ~~Gospel~~ word, who were scattered abroad upon the persecution of the Church at Jerusalem? Acts 8. How else was Priscilla St Pauls helper in Christ Jesus and other women labourers with him in the Gospel? Nay have not you yourself said in yor Reformed Pastor, that the Apostles preaching at first was mostly in this way? One neighbour or friend will be discoursing to another of things spoken to them personally & particularly, much sooner than of what ~~they~~ is spoken only in great assemblies. And so as one [illegible] sets another on, so will one neighbour in this way set another on discoursing. And this way probably it was in great part that Christianity at first soon filled so great a part of the world as it did. To the rest of yor 14 heads contained under this Querie, I referr you for answer to yor Quedas Salutaris. Whereas you say how should they have lived in this way; I have told you in p. 19 & 19, by them who support them now, and by those who would have reaped the benefit of their private labours, and by many others who would then have ministred to their supply, who are not so well satisfied to do it for them in the way they are now in. Besides, I have suggested in these papers that which is most rationall to beleeve, to wit that such a submission would have been the likeliest way to have had the pulpit doores opened again to you in a little time. I would not have those many souls in great parishes wch you speake of be lost. Nor will it follow that of necessity they must, unless the Nonconformists teach them. None hear them now but such as are willing to hear: and those in the great parishes ~~in~~ about London

that are willing, may with as much ease and at as near a distance to their
dwellings, hear in other parish Churches if their own will not hold them
as those in country parishes do, many of whom live at a great
distance from their own Churches, which yet they frequent. Besides
endeavours should have been used to have procured more Churches
to be built in those great parishes, which yet are grown by many
degrees greater than they were when the Nonconformists were first
ejected and had not then so much yt plea, when yet they did the same thing
except the openness of the action. But besides, this plea reaches
to excuse only some very few of the 1800 Nonconformists you
speak of, who for the generality of them do not preach where
there is such need, but in places otherwise very well provided
with able preachers and room enough to hear them. You would
be loth to argue at this rate in other matters, as to justifie the action
of the whole number by that necessity which only a few places are under
~~And~~ you cannot but know that it hath been oft objected against the Non
conformists, that they bestow their labours generally most in those pla
ces where ~~they are least~~ is least need of them: therefore the
plea of the peoples necessity to justifie their preaching contrary
to publick order in that case seems very insignificant, especi
ally where its done also at the same time in which the parish Assem
blyes are held. And as for those Nonconformists who do preach in those great pa
rishes about London where there is need of more Sermons &
more preachers, it is much wondered at, that such as accord
ing to their own principles can read or cause to be read some
yet if not all of the Common prayers, that yet they do not do
it, since that would perswade men that they are willing to
comply with Government and publick order as far as they can
for peace sake, and out of a desire to serve the necessities
of the people to whom they preach. And that in yorselfe is not
the least wondered at, considering how much you have
written to perswade others to joyne in those prayers, and practise
it yorselfe; and considering also what you wrote at such a
time to tell the world how far you could conform, when con
formity was in a manner out of the fashion, and yet will not
do so much now when there is so much more reason for it
than there was then. I can assure you these things are looked
upon as scandalous by such as are no enemies to you, and
do open other mens mouths against you, and yor friends are at
a loss how to vindicate you. || To Qu. 17. Yor Ordination
now does not oblige you to preach but where and when you are
lawfully called to it, that being inserted in the Ordination itselfe
as I suppose you know. And if you can prove that the Noncon
formists are lawfully called to exercise their function in so
open a way of opposition to all that authority that prohibits it as they
do, its more than I know how to do or have yet seen substan
~~tially~~ tially done. I am sure the old Nonconformists did not
think they were, when they were silenced. And the reason
they gave for it against the accusation of the Brownists, seems
to me weighty & considerable. Indeed (say they) if a guilty
person put out of his charge by the Churches authority, may yet
continue in it, what proceedings can there be against guilty
persons, who in their own conceits are alwayes guiltless, or will
at least pretend so to be; seeing they also will be ready alwayes
to object against the Churches Judgment, that they are called of
God, and may not therefore give over the execution of their
Ministry at the will of man? If it be said (say they) that the Church
is not to be obeyed when it suspends & deprives (as for such causes
as we in our consciences think to be insufficient), we
answer: That it lies in them to depose that may ordain; and they

they may shut that may open. The contrary to this ~~[illegible]~~ in a
Christian State & Government, seemes to tend to erect a Coordi-
nate power with the Highest Power, yea such an one as shall vie
with it, and to introduce confusion. Unlesse the Highest Power
(Saith Grotius) could remove those from the Ministry of a
certain place, not only by way of punishment, but by way of
caution also, the Common wealth were not sufficient to serve
it self. When you ask how many hundred years did prohibited
Pastors teach & guide the Church? I ask you again whether
you make no difference between times and places where and
when there was no Nationall Church State & where there is:
and when & where all preaching of the Gospel was forbidden
and where provision be made by such a State that the Gospel
should be preached throughout all its parts? If you do make
any difference, I wonder why such a Question be put: if you
do not, its matter yet of the greater wonder. // To Qu. 16. I
pray you Sir are you in good earnest when you ask whether
Daniel might not as well have forborn praying? and whether
I may not yea ought not to forbear praying in my own house
reading the Scripture &c if forbidden as Nonconformists forbear
preaching? Can you think their preaching to the people to whom
others are appointed to preach by them that have that trust upon
them, is as indispensable a duty as Daniels calling upon his
God was when he was forbidden it &c. Seriously if any
had told me that Mr B. had in good earnest put such a question
and I had not seen or heard it from himself, I should ~~have~~ have
thought they had greatly mistaken him or much abused him //
To Qu. 17. Whether the preaching of the Nonconformists as it tends
to continue & increase our divisions & so to subvert the English
Church, and to make way for the accomplishing of Popish de-
signes upon us, be not more pleasing to the Papists and the
devil, than the contrary would be, is more I believe than
you or any body else can determine to the satisfaction of sober
and considering men. ⊙ How far flesh pleasing in Nonconformists preach-
ing properly may be concerned in some Nonconformists
ing, I shall not guesse though others will. // To Qu. 19. It is
worth considering with the greatest seriousness, whether preach-
ing the Gospel on such termes as by which such divisions
are produced & encouraged as hinder the kindly effect of the
Gospel in the parties divided, and which layde a stumbling
block in the way of many to question the truth of the Gospel
itself, at which many fall, and which prepares a way for and
greatly endangers the subversion of the Protestant Religion; and whether
may not be called a hindering of the Gospel; and whether
a persuading to desist from preaching on such termes, so long as the Gospel
would be preached without the like danger in continuance and
prejudice, though the Nonconformists did desist, may not more
truly be called an act tending to further the Gospel than to
hinder it. I pray you apply the Question to some other sorte who
24 preach the Gospel, and then judge yourself whether they do not
wrong religion and hurt the Church more than do them good,
though they preach the Gospel. And whereas you seem to
think it so irresistible an argument for the Nonconformists
preaching, in that the good of many thousand souls are concerned in
it; you should as well consider as a balance to that, whether
the destruction of ten times more thousands of souls may
not be concerned in it in time to come if popery should once
come to be established as the religion of the Nation by means
of those divisions which are continued & fomented by
their preaching on the termes they do; besides the hurt and
con

⊙ No question but both Papists & Nonconformists do heartily desire and
[illegible] [illegible] to lay this Nationall Ministry & Establishing [illegible]
Government [illegible] [illegible] their [illegible] and so [illegible] the Popish
no doubt are highly pleased with the Nonconformists for doing their work

III

undoing of many souls in the mean time in other respects. And
whereas you would represent me to myself as guilty of a heinous
crime by perswading neer 2000 Ministers to silence themselves,
I pray you why do you give such scope unto yor pen and build
so great a charge as you suppose you doe, upon only an imaginary
foundation? For where have I done it? which yet if I had,
it would not perhaps have been so grievous a crime as you
think it to be, if what I have said before be well considered.
But however I was tender and sparing I wish not too sparing in that in my booke
I did indeed there in declare my opinion what might once have
been pitcht upon ~~[illegible]~~ to better purpose for the promoting of
the power of Religion in the Nation, than by their gather
ing separate congregations, p. 161. 162. But there in perswade not
to what should be done for the future further than not to uphold a
separation. And in p 163 I say indeed, if this then be found that
yor separation, as all unlawfull separation in the Church,
be of such ill abode to the power of religion as I have
shewed; then if you be in any measure convinced that
it is so, I hope it will not be grievous to any of you to whom
the commandments of God are not grievous, to make a
stand, and bethink you how you may take yor selves
off this way. This way what way, but that which I had
just before named, ~~[illegible]~~ to wit separation? And do you think
indeed there is such an inseparable connexion between
their preaching and separation, as that you might well
infer that when I perswaded ~~them~~ to take themselves
off from separation that in so doing I perswaded them
to take themselves off from preaching? ~~And really if~~
~~you do not finde me perswading them in these words to silence~~
~~themselves, I know not where you will finde it.~~ If so I
should not be at all afraid to perswade them to silence, as knowing that
then I have reason on my side. But really Sir if you do not
finde me perswading them in these words to silence themselves, I
know not where you will finde it. I am sure you will not
finde it in these words in p. 196. where I perswade the Noncon=
formists to abate of their open opposition & to comply so
far as I am confident the greatest part of them can. By wch
I meant that if they would meet, they should do it more privately
and at less offensive seasons, and yet hold communion with
the parish too. By which you might easily perceive that I did
not perswade them to a totall silencing of themselves. ~~Upon the~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~whole matter I easily perceive that [illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~: ~~they [illegible]~~ there is great need of repentance in the Nonconformists
~~[illegible]~~. || To Qu. 19. I do think there [illegible] the affaires of Religion so, as
for managing the work of the Gospel [illegible] is brought into [illegible]
by which the Church of God among us [illegible] present state & future danger. And
stands with reference both to its [illegible] the Nonconformists godly have need to re
when I say so, I do not think the Nonconformists yet they are apt enough
pent, though they more abundantly than many others; when there is great cause for the Non=
to conform. To Q. 20. I do think there [illegible] prohibiting printing both for
conformists to repent of some of their [illegible] I was heartily grieved in reading
matter and manner. I am sure I was [illegible] not only for the manner, but also for
yor sacrilegious distraction &c. not only for the matter [illegible] engaged in so doubt
the matter, when I found you so far & so warmly engaged in a great measure
full a cause, which till then I thought you had [illegible] that you professed
declined. To Qu. 21. I do not say in p. 197 &c. that you good attributed to
that yor private catechising did or would do all the good attributed to
it without yor publick preaching. Nor do I think the publick preaching
of the Conformists if joyned with the more private labours of the Nonconformists would

would have signified nothing. To Qu. 22) If the way of private appli-
cation had been taken up for awhile till the offended powers had been appea-
sed by the Nonconformists submission (and you know who said if the spirit of the
ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place; for yielding pacifieth
great offences.) yor work would not have layn in the parish where
you now are or last were. But if it had, no more would have been
required of you than what you could well have done. Nor do you
know but that you might thereby have counter wrought sin, the devil &
his instruments ~~[illegible]~~ more than you do now. // To Q. 23.
Although it be the Judgment of the supporters of the Nonconformist
Ministers, that the labourer not the loyterer is worthy of his meat,
yet that's no argument that they would not have supported
them as well in their private labours as now they do in those which
are more publick: for if that be true which you have said of
that imployment in the ye heads under the 14. Qu. they would
have been far from being been loyterers had they engaged
in it. // To Qu. 24. I do not meddle with what the Nonconfor-
ming Ministers do with their acquaintance in private, though
some do think they have reason enough to suspect that ma-
ny of them sowe a great many tares among the wheat they sow
there. You tell me that besides yor self other eminent Ministers
in London go to the parish Churches, especially in the country
& countenance honest publick ministers to the utmost, and Com-
municate ordinarily with them, and that many ministers in the
country do as you say I advise, in living in great love and
communion with the parish Ministers, save that they [illegible]
preaching, but yet gather not distinct Congregations. How far you
are rightly informed in all this except in a very few instances, is
greatly questionable. But you demand, must the same course
be taken in London where the fire hath burnt the Churches
and half the people and more have no Churches to go to,
through the greatness of the parishes. I pray you Sir why do
you or how can you say half the people in London & more
have no Churches to go to where the fire hath burnt the
Churches; when as it is well known there is so many empty pla-
ces in those Churches & tabernacles where the fire hath been,
take them one with another, as would in all probability con-
tain as many of the people in those parishes as do now usually
go to the ~~[illegible]~~ Nonconformists meetings, and ~~[illegible]~~ five hundred more for instance in the parish where I live
many more. And therefore it is a strange question you put when
you say must such a famous City be pastorized by the theologie
of godly men for the promoting of Unity & godliness? If yor
information about Nonconforming Ministers communicating
ordinarily with the parish ministers &c. be no truer than yor infor-
mation is touching the want of room to receive half the people
in parish Churches where the fire hath been, yor apologie in their
behalf thereby will not amount to much. // To Q. 25. From those words
p. 142. viz. if those formerly or more lately who desired some alter-
ation &c had not risen so high as to assert things unlawfull, which
by all their mediums they could never prove to be so, you de-
mand, why then did not their charity or yors shew the weakness of what
we took for proofs, nor ever answer our three last long writings
given to them? By such words of yors with what follows I perceive that you under-
stand those words of mine as if they referred to Ministeriall
Conformity (a thing I meddle not with in my book) whereas they
refer to separation from Parochiall Communion, as you
might easily have ~~[illegible]~~ perceived by those words in the
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[redacted]

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C. You seeme to confound – Truely and Perfectly – and Imperfectly and faynedly, and take them for one and the same. Wch is a great mistake. For as nothing can be perfect so likewise nothing can be Imperfect in any kind, But that wch is truely and really of that kind. So an Imperfect Health is yet A True Health, An imperfect Vertue, Truely a Vertue, and an Imperfect Man or an Imperfect Living Creature, is truely a Man and truely a Living Creature. And if it want any thing nay to the being of man or the Being of a Living Creature, then is it, Properly speaking, Not an imperfect man or an imperfect Living Creature. Howsoever Vulgarly and Improperly and abusively it may be so called: Besides. The Question betweene us being. Whither True Faith be necessarily and Essentially A Perfect Certainty. This confusion of Language, is also A playne begging of the question. For if To be True and to be Perfect be all one: There undoubtedly Noe Thing, and therfore certaynely – No Faith Can be true, Unlesse it be perfect: But he that will denye the latter, You may be well assured will much more denye the Former: So that instead of a Reason of your Assertion – wch your Assertion needed, and Your (for) Promised: You have given us a meere Fallacy. And have beene so farre from advancing ever a whit towards the proofe of your Conclusion: that you have taken upon you a thing much more difficult to be prooved then ~~any~~ your conclusion. Lastly. The similitude wch you give us, instead of a reason. (though similitudes proove nothing but onely explaine) makes against you rather then for you. For To love God (though inconstantly) is certaynely to love him: Otherwise To love him is not to love him To love him sometimes, is not to love him at all: He that loves God to day, and loves him not to morrow: certaynely may be as truly sayd To love him to day, As Not to love him to Morrow. And this his Very inconstancy doth cleerly demonstrate. For there ~~be~~ can be no Inconstancy, Where there is not a Change: ~~Nor~~ And what change is here but from Loving to Not loving: The Love

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LETTERS.
fol.205. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Mr. B. So in Faith, If wee beleeve not in God infallibly, but wth an uncertaine and doubtfull opinion (As many, tis to be feared, now a dayes beleeve) then doe wee not truely and perfectly beleeve in him, but imperfectly and doubtfully.

C. Here againe you fall into the Fallacy of begging the question. For you take for granted, that wch is a certaine untruth, That there is no Meane Betweene an Infallible Faith (wch you make an absolute Certainty), and A doubtfull opinion. Whereas A Firme and a Strong persuasion, is much above the latter though it below the Former. And a Weake persuasion but wch is yet a persuasion, is much below the Former and yet above the Latter. You have no infallible Faith that your selfe were Baptized (neither is it possible wthout miracle that you should have, for your assurance of it depends upon humane testimony wch is no fitt foundation for infallible faith) Yet I presume you are not doubtfull of your Baptisme I am sure, I have no doubt or Scruple of mine.

Mr. B. And this Infallibility Must not be infallibility or certainty merely morall concerning our Faith in God: No more then Constancy or ~~Fervor~~ must be Constancy or Fervor merely morall concerning our love of God.

C. It seemes then to make a man a member of your Church, It is not enough simply to beleeve ~~the~~ your doctrine, and to incline to it rather then to any other religion ~~[illegible]~~ unlesse his faith be free from all doubting and wavering Though this doubting be involuntary, and such as he desires to be freed from and resolves never to yeeld to it: For he that is doubtfull unwillingly, is yet doubtfull: And he that is doubtfull at all, whilst he is so is not certaine, nor does not conceive himselfe infallible in that whereto he assents.

Nay it is not enough to be ~~certaynedly~~ and Undoubtedly persuaded of the truth of your doctrine, and to conceive himselfe infallible in that wch he beleeves: Unlesse his certainty be of such a kind: For if his certainty be merely morall, he shall as certainly faile of his salvation as if he were an heretique or an infidell: ~~[illegible]~~ Some of your Church may be subject to fall into a double danger, of Vaine confidence on the

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He that hath any the least doubt of the Roman Religion (though resisted and Involuntary,) though he resolve never to yeeld to it, Is not a true Catholique

He that beleeves not the Roman Religion more certainly, then that there is such a Citty as Rome: and that the Pope is governour of this Citty is not a Roman Catholique.

No Man can ~~[illegible]~~ have any good assurance, that he hath that faith, wthout wch he cannot please God, Unlesse he be able by certaine and infallible notes to distinguish Betweene a Morall and a Theologicall certainty: and find by those notes that his ~~faith~~ certainty is of the latter and the better kind: And this he cannot know by his adherence to such or such objects: For there may be an Adherence to these objects wch is onely morall: Otherwise it were vaine to tell us, that Our adherence

He that is conversant about God wth a weake and wavering Faith, is conversant about God
But wee cannot be conversant about God, but by the most excellent Degrees of perfection
Therfore (according to your doctrine) the most weake and most imperfect faith, hath the most excellent degrees of perfection.

He that beleeves ~~and~~ in God ~~He that beleeves in God~~ wth an imperfect degree of faith: Beleeves not in him wth the most excellent degree of perfection: But he that beleeves not in him wth the most excellent degree of perfection beleeves not in him at all: Therfore he that does beleeve in him wth an imperfect degree of Faith, beleeves not in him. The Major is evident: The Minor thus I prove: To beleeve in God is to be conversant about him: But wee cannot be conversant about him but by the most excellent degrees of perfection: Therfore wee cannot beleeve in him but by the most excellent [illegible]

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Must be more then Morall, if [illegible] could be no adherence to those objects, wch [illegible]
He cannot be assured of it by his adhering to those Objects firmly and without doubting
For so many doe to those things, whereof wee can have but a Morall Certainty.
Nay to many things, whereof wee can have no certainty at all, to witt to
meere errors and delusions. as the Turkes to the Doctrine of Mahomet.

His assurance cannot be by knowing That his Certainty comes from the Spirit of God:
and therefore is more then ~~the~~ Morall ~~certainty~~. For First it is ~~impossible~~ no probable That
he should have any more then a morall certainty of the antecedent, and so can be
but morally certaine of all that depends upon it: Nay it is not without immediate
revelation possible That he should have so much as a morall certainty of it
For seeing he cannot but see, if he know any thing That Education and Authority
of Parents and Teachers, is sufficient to begett in others ~~firme and~~ but a [illegible]
unmoveable confidence even in false opinions; What can possibly ascertaine
him, that his ~~faith~~ flowes not from the same foundation: And seeing ~~the~~
Consideration of those Prudentiall motives wch induce men to ~~beleeve~~ that religion
reason by
may be wrought upon and perswaded: how can he be sure that in himselfe
it is not so. (See Valerianus Magnus.) Besides though the Antecedent be
granted and granted certaine: That his Faith is the Effect of the Spirit: yet ~~seeing~~
still he is short of assurance, That his Certainty morall: First Because
The Spirit may worke, not onely by Immediate Infusion, but also, and perhaps
more frequently by suggesting of reasons. and if it be reasons it
can be but morall: Or if he doe worke by Immediate Infusion: yet seeing
he is not a Naturall but Free agent, and workes not as much as he can
but as much as he will, why may he not give him onely a Morall
assurance, and why may not Morall certainty be a fruit of the Spirit
As not onely the Midday Light but also the ~~twilight~~ proceeds
from the Sunne.

By knowing that it comes from the Spirit hee cannot know it: Because
he must first know to be divine Certainty, before he can know that his faith
comes from the Spirit, or that he has the Spirit: For if it be humane
it is confest it may come from other causes to witt. From Reason
or education.

Your saying that wee must beleeve merely for divine authority. Is a truth but not cleerly and sufficiently explained: For If I should beleeve that they come from divine Authority. Merely because they doe so. I should be ridiculous, and beleeve John the prophet Adam: which if I might doe, then I might alsoe proove any thing by a [illegible] proofe [illegible] beleeve by the same. and thinke my selfe to have more effectually proved our Religion to come from God. By saying - It does so because it does so. Upon our beleefe therefore That our Religion comes from Divine Authority. divine authority it selfe hath no influence: ~~For~~ Wherefore In the Divine Authority of our Faith, two things are to be considered. That they are Truths And that they are Divine and come from God. The latter wee beleeve, either because the Spirit of God, hath told us so: (which is a sure ground if wee be sure wee stand upon it) Or because wee have sufficient reason to satisfye any rational and good man and to free him from doubt that it is so. But the Former That are Truths wee beleeve ~~merely~~ For ~~the~~ the Authority ~~of~~ that God hath told us: which is the effect of our perswasion of him, that being perfectly wise and perfectly good he cannot be deceived nor will not deceive us.

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Sir (77) (2)

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You may remember you sometime promised mee, that if ever you could see a fayre and full answeare to Mr Chillingworths booke, you would turne Roman Catholique, I expect now you should make good your promise, having, I doubt not, seene long since, and before this diligently considered, the little Treatise lately Published against him Entitled ~~Christianity~~ Charity Maintained wch to my apprehension, is a full though short confutation of his ~~booke~~ volume, showing cleerely, that the Principall grounds and Principles of it, are ~~followed~~ attended with absurd and impious conse[illegible] and so convinced of evident falshood, seeing from truth never any the least falshood, much lesse so many and so horrible absurdityes can possibly follow: Now the grounds of any discourse being overthrowne, I presume you will grant that the ~~di~~ structure cannot possibly stand, and therefore needs no farther confutation, then the discovery of the weaknesse of the grounds wch support it.

G. I acknowledge my promise, and should be ready to make it good, ~~[illegible]~~ were the Condition performed; ~~nor this Treatise what it is~~ But for the present, though I have wth attention perused this little booke yet I am as farre to seeke for a solide ~~and~~ substantiall Confutation of Mr Chillingworths Answeare as ever I was. Not that I mislike the compendious way of answearing bookes, by destroying the groundes of them but because I find that that is here pretended only but not performed. My reasons why I thinke so I will sett downe breefly and in order and after, if you please, justifye them fully and largely.

My Reasons why I conceave the grounds of Mr C. Answeare not overthrowne by this booke, are these.

1. Because many of the Assertions wch here he is charged wth are indeed none of his: Neither delivered by him in termes, nor fayrely collected from him but wrested from him by perverting and misconstruing his ~~words~~ wthout any candour or

2. ~~Secondly~~ Because those Assertions ~~wherewith he is charged~~ wch are they indeed are not the grounds and foundations of his ~~booke~~ answeare, but incidentall and occasionall matters, upon wch the strength of his answeare to Charity Maintained no way depends.

3. Because the deduction of the absurdityes wherewith they are loaded is not Rationall but Sophisticall.

4 Because the Author of this booke, doth himselfe wholy ~~[illegible]~~ evacuate and confute it: and takes away the groundes of all rationall discourse.

5. Because it destroyes the Doctrine of the Trinity whereof he pretends to be so zealous a defender.

Because he prepares a way for Antichrist

Because it destroyes his owne Religion, Christian Religion, All

6. Religion: Makes error and Heresy and all absurd and impious doctrines unconfutable: Tends ~~to the~~ ruine of all knowledge, al V[illegible] all States and Commonwealths.

8. [illegible] Because he teaches all men to be obstinate in all the false [illegible]gions of the World

Because he shewing himselfe to be a blasphemous man, [illegible] a sworn into the Magistrates hand to persuade that they [illegible] of maintaining it and specially him [illegible] their owne religion [illegible] therefore should not [illegible] their owne Because under colour of keeping [illegible] from [illegible] the saying
10. Because [illegible] make [illegible] presume.

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He is pleased to afford His Majesty — The Name of a Christian and to acknowledge, that other Churches besides the Roman, are honoured wth the name of Christianity: But whither both these doe not please themselves wth empty names, Whither ~~that K~~ he acknowledgeth the King Really a Christian and not in title onely, And that there are other besides the Roman Christians truly so called, that he affirmes only to decline envy: But what his opinion is ~~was may more then Probably~~ may appeare by these wordes p. 4. I must desire you — to reflect upon the ~~[illegible] whom [illegible] to [illegible] shall [illegible]~~ misery wch they bring upon themselves who forsake ~~[illegible]~~ that glorious ~~considering what consequences might be drawne from them~~ Surname of Catholiques Contenting themselves wth the onely Name of ~~what consequences depende upon them~~ Christians. For having lost the guift and light of supernaturall and infused Faith they lye open to all deceipts. Because not acknowledging the necessity of a He exasperates the King against his adversary, for departing from the Doctrines wch his Majesty beleeves: As if he himselfe agreed wth him in all things.

That he Holds not the succession of Bps necessary in Gods Ch: ~~wch~~ wch he pretends to tend to the destruction of Monarchy: Forgetting That there were Monarchys ~~[illegible]~~ of long continuance long before there were any Byshops. And that there have beene and are Byshops where there is no Monarchy.

In the meane time he forgetteth, That himselfe Professeth that in that Church whereof his Maty professeth himselfe, he acknowledgeth no Byshops at all

He Pretends that his Adversary is a secrett enemy of Christianity and not onely by errour but of sett purpose, doth partly openly oppose it and partly secretly undermine it.

He would not say — All Christians, or all Good Christians. but — All who take comfort in the glorious and most happy name of Christian As this comfort solide and well grounded, in any but Roman Catholiques.

You pretend that you will make it appeare, that I overthrow Christianity Not by Remote Principles or strained Inferences, but by direct assertions and cleere Deductions. Where to lett passe your opposing — Remote Principles to Direct assertions — wch yet may be as Directly if they were Immediate: One thing I would know, how you will this appeare but onely by reason, and how you can doe it by reason, wch teach That Rationall faith — is alwayes weake and Fallible.

He Showes plainely, that his Majesties lovinge him, is for nothing else but because he answers him as he should and may be answered, ~~not~~ changing the cause by granting any thing, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~will follow~~ Grant the whole cause to the Papists. Hinc illae lacrymae.

Christianity (saith hee) so long as it is maintained will afford some common Principles of ~~Christianity~~ of Beleefe wch may direct men to find ~~out~~ That One Catholique Church. That By this one Catholique you meane ~~This is the Christianity wch you pretend to [illegible]. To [illegible] it is not~~ the Roman none knows better then yourselfe and therefore it is apparant that by Christianity you meane nothing else but such a Religion as leades men by the hand to Popery.

p. 6.

p. 6

Guide, they Follow the Light of their owne Reason onely, wch is too Shortsighted to Preserve them from Falling into the manifold Pitfalls, wch they on all sides of the Christian Faith. It seemes then whatsoever Pitfalls I have fallen in, ~~I~~ not I, but onely the Shortsightednesse of Reasoning is to blame: and I no further then for forsaking this pretended Guide. That is for not being a Papist. Verily a most horrible fault and worthy to be persecuted by Protestants. the Prot. Ch.

But then if I have no other meanes but this same Shortsighted Reason to bring mee to this Guide, and this instead of bringing mee to it leads mee from it, and letts mee fall into pitfalls, how am I to blame.

enough to acknowledge wth St Paul and the Ancient ~~Falsi~~ Christians — One God even the Father and one Lord even Jesus Christ — Unlesse you will acknowledge besides Christ another Lord and another Master, and that absolutely infallible. the Christian Founder.

He perswades his Reader of this booke, Not to suffer prejudice to another, or
private Respects spoyle his Understanding From Weighing in an Equall
Ballance that which is here layd before it: The same request he had made in his former booke
which because I professe to have done in the examining his former booke
he makes mee little better then an Atheist.

But you that thus debase and declaime against the Image of God in Man
The Most resplendent ray of the Divinity, The Faculty of Reason and
are so vaine in the meane time, as to thinke that you have Reason
to undervalew Reason, that you have Strong Reason, to esteeme all
Reason Weake. Shall one day ~~have~~ learne that you have done
wickedly in thus vilifying the excellent gift of God which can no
more deceave us, if wee use it rightly then God himselfe who gave it
is, You shall one day find, That Reason Enlightned by Revelation was
not so Shortsighted, but ~~that~~ it would have kept you from Pittfalls
had you not chosen, with Closed Eyes, to follow a blind Guide, which one
Sanguine forward you would leade you into a Pitt: That Pride
or Passion, or Prejudice, Want of Reason, or not using that which they have
hath deceav'd many, but never any Man was deceaved by reason
No more then ever any had ~~the~~ reason to be deceaved.

---

he accuses you say. That against all Truth and against the word of the Letter,
the Author of the direction — as one that Fastens the Imputation of Atheisme. &c. and
this in a different letter as the very words of the Directour who sets for
that neither any such words, or sense. ~~But if he do~~ the
very words and syllables ~~i.e.~~ ~~concerning~~ they are not in him neither doth Mr. Ch.
pretend they are. For he ~~the Letter of Allegation may~~ A different Letter might fitly be used
not onely, when the very wordes but also when the sense of any
Author is used, and besides when any thing more remarkable then ordinary
is delivered: If herein he erred, he begs pardon for it. Besides that
very words of the Letter showes plainly, that he never thought to alledge them
for the formall wordes of his adversary: But for the sense that it
is cleerly intimated ~~it~~ in the very beginning of your booke, I presume
no understanding man will make ~~any~~ it any doubt or question. For
what else [illegible] those. — For that wise and Gallant [illegible]

The same may be sayd for the striping of the ~~secret~~ most Atheisme
And this besides — that the change of the Letter here was the mistake
of the printer, and amended in the second Edition, which was published
~~[illegible]~~ before this Libell came abroad.

charging the cause to Papists by

P. 6. you call it Socinianisme — To Resolve Faith into every mans owne Reason
and Sensation

P. 6. you say it is a true saying — Moderate things may last but no violent can
long endure: But you forgott this saying. When in your ch. you
stood so earnestly For persecuting of men for difference in Religion

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p. 8. He Accuses ^him^ a Calumniatour of the Jesuites whole Order — For Traducing it
That Order wch [illegible] —

For Answear He desires ~~at~~ that it may be obseru'd that he fastens not this imputation upon the Persons of the Jesuites but of theire Order Rules and Doctrine

For theire persons he verily beleeues, ~~many of~~ them would be good Christians and good Subjects though the Pope should expressly command the Contrary. But to haue sayd this Of your Order Rule and Doctrine, it does not Repent him, being able to justifye what he hath sayd euen to a Syllable. For is it not euident to all the world, and euen confess'd by your selfe, in your present Apology — That you take a Vow — To obey the Pope in all things wch he Commands — In Order to the Health of Soules — and does ~~it~~ not all the World know, that you make him judge, what is and what is not auaylable for this end, and thinke it presumptuous to judge of his judgment. and therfore if the Pope shall thinke it ~~ex~~ lawfull and expedient, To Depose an Hereticall King To command you to renounce Your Allegeance to him or euen to execute his sentence of his deposition against him, Is it not apparent that euen by the confession of your owne defence You haue vowed to obey him: And what is this I pray, but to be a subject to your Prince merely at the Popes discretion: The Commonly receiu'd Doctrine of the Doctors of your Orders is it not, That the Pope Indirectly and in Ordine ad Spiritualia, hath power ouer Kings euen in theire temporalls, wch whosoeuer holds, what does he in effect but make Your ~~Kings~~ Tenants at will ~~to the Pope~~, and Kings Not by the Grace of God, but by the Grace and Fauour of the Pope

I am Accused thirdly and lastly, Of A Most Virulent Slaunder and an Unjust outrage for saying — That The Order of the Jesuites makes The Roman Religion more malignant and turbulent then otherwise it, And, That theire Very Rule and Doctrine obliges them to make all men as much as lyes in them, Subjects unto Kings and Servants unto ~~theire~~ no farther then it shall please the Pope.

For my defence I desire it may be obseru'd that I say not that ^The Jesuites^ Generally either are themselues, or doe endeauour to make others so as I haue sayd: ~~Because~~ For I beleeue there be many of that order, wch would be Good Subjects and Good Christians ^after theire way^ ~~of some of theire Religion will permitt them~~, though the Pope should command the Contrary. Those Persons therefor I meddle not wth, Onely I say, That By theire Rule and Doctrine they are oblig'd to doe as I haue sayd: Not denying in the meane time, that as many men are worse so they may be better men, then they are oblig'd to bee By theire Rule and Doctrine.

For the cleering of your selues from this imputation, You say, You might Content your selues wth my Ignorance of Your Order Rule and ~~Ignor~~ Doctrine: Or wth the guiltynesse of my Conscience, In Regard, that Probably I cannot Chuse but know That the Intent of You is nothing such as I Proclayme. But My Ignorance of your Rule and Doctrine (if I be ignorant of it) and the guiltynesse of my Conscience (If it be guilty.) Are Secrett things, and not cleere Your selues, and therfore not fitt to cleere you from this great accusation: Besides methinks You much forgett your selfe in saying You might cleere your selues — Either wth my Ignorance of Your Order Rule, and Doctrine, Or wth the guiltynesse of my Conscience, In regard that Probably I cannot Chuse but know, that the

[illegible] else but such a Religion as leades men by the hand to popery.

~~Intent~~ of them is nothing such as I proclaime. For If I be ignorant of it, how doe I know it: If I know and cannot choose but know Not onely your Order Rule and Doctrine, But the Intent of them, then you were ill advised, In hoping to cleere your selues by my Ignorance of them. And therfore it was ~~well done therfore~~ fitt and necessary for you to endeavour to give His Maty better Satisfaction in this matter then can be given him eyther by my Knowledge and Guilt, or by Ignorance:

Yet to deale truly wth you ~~[illegible]~~ it had beene more discretion to haue rested in those attributes of those ~~[illegible]~~ you ~~say~~ to betray your selfe and your cause and [illegible] as you haue done by your words, as Catts are Catched by there owne Squeaking;

You will touch (you say) briefly some grounds whereby his Maty and all others may receive Satisfaction that there is no such thing in our Order Rule and Doctrine as I Pretend: Verily these must be strange Grounds, the touching whereof will fully and Satisfactorily prove A Negative and ~~[illegible]~~ that such a Negative, whose Contrary Affirmative is Notorious to all the World: For who knowes ~~[illegible]~~ not That the Commonly Receiued Doctrines of the Jesuites are — That the Pope is the Infallible Interpreter of the Doctrine of Christ: That All his Decrees touching Faith or Manners are to be beleeued and Obeyed, without questioning or [illegible], as if they were the Decrees of Christ himselfe: That He has power over The Temporalityes of Princes, though Indirectly, and in ~~Ordine ad Spiritualia~~ order to the spirituall end: That those Princes, whom he shall judge Hæretiques or Tyrants, he may if he thinke it expedient, Depose them from there Kingdome, Absolve there Subjects from there oaths of Allegiance to them, and Authorise any Licence them to take Armes against them: and Authorise any Forraine Prince, to invade and destroy them;: And how farre Short is this I pray, of Making men, as much as lyes in you, Subjects unto Kings and Servants unto Christ merely at the will and Pleasure of ~~God~~ the Pope: Which If the Pope be indeed Infallible, and haue ~~that~~ supreme authority over all Christians, possibly may well be justifyed and defended, but sure it cannot be denyed wthout great immodesty: I say upon this supposition it might be Defended, For what harme is there in Making all men Servants unto Christ and Subjects to Kings at the Popes pleasure: If the (as you pretend) Popes will and Pleasure concerning there obedience be perpetually directed by the Spirit of God: And ought to be presumed in those things, to be one and the same wth the will and pleasure of [illegible] Whither therfore, you doe well or ill in doeing so, is another question — But that your Vow to obey the Pope in all things, wch he shall judge availeable — For the Good of Soules. Your doctrine That the Pope is Infallible in all his Decrees concerning Faith and manners — That he has power over Kings and Kingdomes — Indirectly and in ordine ad Spiritualia, does oblige you to doe as I haue sayd, this I thinke cannot be questioned eyther wth reason or modesty. To the Choose Masty Should ~~[illegible]~~ attribute this ~~[illegible]~~ Power — over Kings and over Mens Consciences, or the Bp of Toledo or ~~[illegible]~~ any who is acknowledged not to be Infallible, nor to haue any title to this supreme Authority, I presume you would make no scruple ~~of it~~ to thinke more as I haue done you? You would not stick to say — That I make all men Subjects unto Kings and Servants to Christ no farther then it shall please [illegible]

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Now to ~~[illegible]~~ His Majesty, to whom I dedicated that Epistle — The Pope is such a man as Infallible ~~and no more than~~ as the Bp of Rhemes or Toledo, And no more: Endowed wth as much Authority over Kings as they, and not one scruple more: And you I thinke, thinke it no matter of faith eyther That he was Infallible or his authority: Those things I pray Consider well, and then say in your conscience, whither for this I haue deserved to be charged — wth a Virulent Slander and ~~[illegible]~~ unjust Calumny ~~As for the defenses you make for your selfe~~, As for that Show of defence wch you make, it is apparently vaine and frivolous and rather convinces then cleeres you from this great imputation: For what if your Vow of Speciall Obedience to the Pope Be wholy — Concerning Missions, in order to the Helpe of Soules — yet so long as you make him absolute Judge what is and what is not availeable for the good of Soules, Kings haue no more security by this Limitation then they had wthout it: For what if the Pope [illegible] Deposition upon him, and command you to [illegible]

The Rest of your defence is utterly Nothing: For Who doubts but the Pope be ready and by his authority to confirme those rules, wch were purposely made to support his authority. Now this is All you have meane by saying — they are confirmed by the same authority wch confirmed the rules of all other Religious Orders. So that in effect you reason thus. Our Rules doe not make Men Subject to Kings ~~&c~~ &c. at the pleasure of the Pope — And why — Because the Pope confirmed them: But there is nothing in them wch is not most holy, and wch hath beene accounted so even by your enemies. Ans: Your Catholique Enemyes whatsoever they thinke of them dare not Speake against them, because they were confirmed by the Pope. But if there be nothing in them wch is not most holy — Then this is not in them wch I have produced out of them: For for men ~~obedience~~ to sweare absolute obedience to a man, and vow to doe all things, wch he shall declare To Conduce for the good of the Society though it may appeare Most holy to those that doe it, yet without doubtlesse the height of impiety; For it is indeed — To dethrone Christ and to putt that man in his place. ~~as I have~~ As in my answer to your Direction I have prov'd at large:

Whereas you say in defense of Your Doctrine, That Your Order approves no doctrine but what is taught by other Catholiques, I If you meane By other — All other — It is apparently untrue For Your Order that is the ~~men~~ Generality of the men of your Order — Approves this Doctrine — That the Pope is infallible in all his decrees concerning Faith and obedience: That he hath power Indirectly over Kings and their Kingdoms. That He is above A generall Councill All wch doctrines are denyed, prov'd by many who Esteeme themselves very Good Catholiques. and whether you thinke otherwise of them I desire to understand: If by ~~some~~ other, You meane some other Catholiques that are infected by the Jesuites, Then in effect you answere thus. Some other Catholiques hold the same doctrine wch the Jesuits ~~hold~~, Therefore whatsoever is held by them must of necessity be good and holy. And yet I am furthermore to tell you, That If I am bound to Call that The Doctrine of your Order, wch is Approved by ~~those~~, who were Deputed for this purpose and Authorized by your Order, I thinke I can present you wth a New Creed licensed and approved by the Jesuites, wch few beside Jesuites, will be brought to approve.

~~But those doctrines are of another straine from those wch here you are charged with~~

But the doctrines, you are here charged wth, are of a different straine from those Speculations, and onely such as Make you Dangerous to Kings and Dangerous to the Kingdome of Christ. wch are Your Doctrines of the Popes Authority and Infallibility. Now while you hold, you must never hope to gaine the Reputation of Loyall Subjects By Professing you are so: For no man But for the Present you are so: So long as the Snake Keepes in his Skin, So long as it pleases, to forbeare declaring the King an Hæretique and thinkes it not discretion to pronounce the sentence of deposition against him: But if upon alteration of occasions The Pope should thinke it expedient — For the good of Soules — To declare the King an Hæretique and to depose him for being so, and to command all Catholiques, as much as lyes in them to execute this sentence: In this case I would gladly know what you would doe — Will you ~~professe~~, that notwithstanding any such sentence, you doe thinke your selfe bound under paine of damnation to continue still a loyall Subject to him and to defend him and his authority to the uttermost of your power. And that Pope hath not power to absolve you from this oath — nor to free ~~the~~ you from that subjection wch now you say is Due by the Law of God, Of Nature and of Nations. Pronounce this Shibboleth plainely and without lisping and I shall acknowledge no Ephraimites.

Reverend & much honoured in our Lord Jesus Christ

78 I have some weeks delayed to give you this diversion, being
hindered from being large, & afraid I should be too large.
7 But now I can delay no longer having gott a little leisure
after my return from Marston, (near Harborow) where
yesterday I preached the funerall of a worthy dear friend
Hornby & Brother, Mr. Walter Hornby, a non conform: minister.
He was Patron of the Rectory of Marston, & had 5 oppor-
worth £ 120: or tunities by death, & removes of ministers, to better his
130. p an. worldly condition by conformity, since the Patronage
fell to him, by the death of his father who had been
minister there above 40 years: but he was fully persuad-
ed in his own mind, & took a conscientious care to prov-
ide as able men, as he could get, to do, what he could
not, & maintained Communion with three of his Clerkes
for the most part, sitting under their ministry. He was
brought very low by Scurvy, Melancholy, weaknesses,
the reliques of a long Quartan, but upon sight of
me the last week, he put forth all his strength, & voice
to admire free grace towards him, & to expresse his joy
at the victory of the fear of death. which was so much
the more remarkable because he naturally was afraid of sick-
ness, & had that great defect of ministerial duty, that he
could not bear sickness, nor visit the sick, tho he loved them
& prayed for them, & would send unto them. His assurance
& joy was so strong, that in strong killing fitts of his
Ague, which otherwise in his weakness, he was not only
patient, & joyfull in himself, but comforted others, & sol-
emnly persuaded them to make sure of Christ, & sal-
vation. I have struggled hard for it, said he, but free
Grace hath given it me; the Lord doth what he will.
He was much troubled for the indiscretions & heats of some Dissent-
-ers, & feared ill effects, & bid me (all others being desired
to go out of the room,) alone, among other things,
Some hott headed people have prevailed with great
Cl. to go up with an Addresse; they have gott the hand,
said he, of honest good simple Mr. L. & 4 min.rs more.
And even by this single instance you may understand
how I stand in the opinion & affection of some N: C.
Most honoured Sr. I humbly thank you for your inquiry after me
& notice given of what was told you by Mrs. Bradsh.
I have but little knowledge of that worthy Gentlewo-
man, but I have a great honour for her, esteeming
her as one of the Elder women described by Paul
the Ap.

I beleive shee would not have told you, what shee did
if shee had not been, as shee thought, well informed.
As soon as this Indulgence came out, I feared the multi-
-plication of offences, & falshoods. I am sensible of
both. Sr. I am of the same mind, I was of, in 16
83. & through the grace of God never repented of
what I had done, in my greatest dangers, which have
been many: only, one thing sticks upon me, that I did no
better. I am grieved at the causes of non conformity,
and at the growing principles of separation, or
in many indeed, separation without a principle. Good Sr. Give me
leave to enlarge a little. Ever since I came to this
place, immediately after worthy Mr. B. I have ventured
upon known hazzards, in point of tenderness. I have
not to this day, administred the Com: with ye Surplice
because I would not disturb any at that holy Ordin-
-ance, whom I know to dislike it, nor ever pressed any to kneeling that preferred standing or sitting. I have often
omitted the + in Bap: upon the same reason. I al-
ways, according to my poor talent, preached the great
things of Christ only, & never medled with differences
among Protestants matters of Cerem: or N. Con. I repeated
my sermons at home, till one great fit of sickness
made me break off, & they who were to come, were gone
over, or died. I have been long laid of as a convenience
for repeating, or other instructions, under colour of
instructing our old blind people, & continued fre-
quently so to do, till my convenience was lost or
I have put away & kept off several from the Commun-
-ion, as unfit, or scandalous: & admitted none to Com-
munion but after instruction, & upon declared Consent
to walk according to their Baptismal Covenant.
& till late years, had a people, who never stirred
from me, but owned me. But since the ~~last~~ late years
of fiery-prosecutions. it hath not been so. Some that
were forced from home, [illegible] found harbour in some of
my neighbours houses. when I understood, that
a Carpenter, One of Mr. Brownings Church at
London, lurked here, & began to sow his ill grounded
notions of separation, I met & discoursed him, at
a neighbours house, where he lodged; but never dis-
suaded my neighbour from Christian kindness, tho I
looked upon him, as dangerous. & fit to insinuate
his spirit very much of Experience, without judgement
& of prayer by the spirit &

About this time, & before, severall of this, & neighbour
townes, who heard Mr Shuttlewood at Sulby (near
Naseby) & heard in publick, also, were very diligent
in keeping meetings, in this & other villages, meeting often
in the night, till 1. or 2. in the morning. Once I prest
mutuall edification of Christians, & gave directions to
manage it, with which a young Carpenter that used
to write my sermons was so wonderfully taken ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ that he brought a Bro: [illegible] with a grave
near me, to consult me, & to be admitted to ye Sacrament.

who but I, with them both?

One night I went to their meeting, having heard of them
way, & directed them. & prayd with them. But this young
Carpenter going to a meeting one night at Naseby, saw
a light which his fancy told him, was a vision; the
effect of which was separation. I observed him absent

from church,

& discoursed him; but he was too high for me, & my
way; he had seen such a sight of Christ, that was won-
derfull to him, he'd come no more to publick, & then
gathered all the cavillings he could against Communion with the ch: of
England. And he & others (likely by his meanes) on a sud-
dain, fell into high notions, & open separation, & to divid-
with the sober party who heard in publick ~~[illegible]~~ others newly
of Breaches among themselves came thick to me: &
we have not had a meeting in this parish a long time.

being divided among themselves & their heads abased.

this Carpenter entertained all strangers that came to
keep meetings, in the time of publick, on the Lords
dayes, & other dayes. And when they durst not meet in
other townes, they resorted hither often, & in great num-
bers, & not one of my neighbours informed of them. yea, when
the Town was noted, & exposed by Observator, &c.
some such Justice as Mr. Bold describes in his sermon,
strictly watcht: & urged our Constables severely, so that
they were forced to give some of dissenters trouble. but so that
they had notice from the Constables, before of warrants,
& warning to get out of the way. Now our separatists
had enough for their dissent, for our chief [illegible] was a per-
secuting church, & tho I was no persecuter, yet I joined
in Communion with a persecuting church. Mr Shuttle-
wood being much molested at Sulby (near Naseby) went away. & after
his going away, some who had taken offence ~~[illegible]~~ at their
parish ministers, & heard Mr Sh. altogether, while he stayd,
came frequently to hear me: & one of them would say, he
could hear Mr. P. of C. with profit

Mr Holdcroft preached at his house on week day to a great meeting, but he is but a confused preacher, as the most judicious told me. Anabaptists have exercised there, & young raw fellows have exercised upon scripture, can conceits, & praid most commonly every Lords day for a good while

But I feard him, for he was grown Conceited &c. One Lords
morning, he came to my church, & went to a meeting at
Nasby in the afternoon, where there was no minister, as I
remember; One of the Company askt this man, whether
he found God in the way of the publ: ministers: whether
God owned them. Indeed said he, I have heard Mr. P. of C.
this morning, but I did not meet with God. Soon after this
person, came to keep a meeting, at the Carpenters house
in this town, with other yong fellowes, & some maids: & as
he was at prayer (it the first meeting of private christians
in my preaching here) he was taken ill, & went home, & soon
died of the Small pox. Some of the rest, have said, that
some would make an ill use of his sickning at prayer
I was informed, that the hottest promoter of Separation
was one Mr. Saunders, who came from Cambr. & studied w
Mr. Shuttlewood, & preaching provokingly at Bosworth
in Warw: shire (his native place) in time of publick, day
after day, was complained of, & refusing the Oathes was
committed to Warw. Goale, where he continued a year or
more. This yong man preacht here, in time of publick, &
other times; so that I could do no less, than desire discourse
with him, civilly inviting him to my house, whither he
came unwillingly, & a hott raw disciple with him. I found him to
be of the highest sort of Separatists, & brought him to
streights in discourse; & with mildness, warned him not to
make breaches, & take heed he did not bring people to se
paration, by breaking moral duties, yet he came again; I
went to the Carpenters house, where I mett some hott yong
disciples with him; after a long peaceable discourse, I warn
him again, against drawing people to separation by break
moral precepts: I gave him some instances, of sad breaches
between husbands, & wives, & other duties neglected: & warned
my neighbours against their scandalous courses, & hindring
the work of God in this place, & left them.* But instead of
hearing me, they grew higher & more offensive. I could
write many sheets. One Lords day here came a Baker, one
of Mr. M. Cl. Church, & a Taylor (that was wont to say, he
could live all his dayes under Mr. P. of C. without another
The Baker took a portion of Scripture, & as some preten
preacht (not repeating another mans Sermon) & the other
exercised, as others did. Thus the Lords day was spent

* Our Conference was mild. But a Taylor present told me with much pride, they would hear nothing against the Church of England. I told him they knew not whither they were going, & their princi
they were such, as would break any church in the world

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Deare friend & my most honoured brother in Jesus Christ

8

I came lately to the sight of a letter of yours dated the 19th of the last month wch I understand was in answer to one formerly sent to you from your kinsman & our loving neighbour Mr George Chambers, wherein he complaines of two Societies neere unto him, the one of Anabaptists, & the other of Separatists (as hee calls them) by the latter hee meaneth mee (though he name mee not) & others joyned wth mee in Society, over which the Holy Ghost hath made mee (though weake & unworthy) Overseer to feede them as the Church of God wch Christ (as I hope) hath purchased wth his owne blood according to Act 20.28. for wch I bow my knees to the father of Jesus Christ to give mee sincerity & ability to performe, That I may bee pure from the blood of all men. When I first saw & read some part of your letter to him & also his to you, I was at a stand whether I was concerned to take notice of it being not at all named in his letter nor yet at all (to my utmost knowledge) guilty of any such things (as faulty) to be charged wch I hope anone to cleere unto you. but finding in ye close of your letter that you hardly finde out who is meant as chiefely intended in your cousins letter, & that you have not altogether forgott your old friend (for I am sure he hath not you) I looked upon your letter as a speciall messenger of Providence sent to call upon mee to write unto you. hoping thereby (1st) to vindicate our present way & actions from all bitter, false & scandalous aspersions (2) to informe you what credit you should (if occasion offer) give hereafter unto such informers (3) to renew our former acquaintance wth your selfe, wch by the interposition of time & place hath been too long & too much estranged.

Si satis est ac-
cusasse, quis inno-
cens erit &c

Sr It is now about 7 yeares since I was first called to ye worke of the Ministery at wch time I lived as Schoolemaster in the parish of Almeley in the County of Hereford, & whilest I was there, I was by our much honoured friend Col: Taylor first invited & earnestly prest (much against my thoughts or inclination the lord knowes) to ye worke of preaching, & being by importunity overcome, I adventured into ye deepe, casting my selfe upon Christ to hold up my chin from drowning, & to manifest his great strength in my great weaknesse & his great mercy in my great unworthinesse, wch (by the free grace of God) I have had sweete & large experience of, ~~[illegible]~~ in reference to my poore brittle body & feeble spirit. The first sermon that I preacht in publique was at Clyro the place where by providence I now am. After some time of triall I was by the Committee of our County (Col: Taylor & Col Broughton being then members thereof) called to Glandestry & not long after was approved of by Ministers of ye Assembly, & so settled there where I continued labouring wth a very ignorant & stiffe necked people (seeking fruit but finding little or none) for the space of 3 yeares & upwards, but (blessed be the lord) I finde to my great comfort, that ye seede wch was sowen then, though it lay as dead a long time under the furrow, is since by the lords watering come forth wth good increase, & severall of them (some formerly very desperat in wickednesse & my greatest enemies, are now (in regard they want a settled minister in their parish) of our society, & more of them coming in. but judging then that ye lord had not much worke for mee to doe in that place after long expectation, prayer, & consulting wth friends, I concluded that it was the lords will I should remove but yet durst not till I had a call to another place, & so thought it my duty to waite a little longer. at wch time Mr Sam: Smith (now of Cressage) was at Clyro, but shortly after (having been there about a yeare) he departed thence to ye place where he now is: whereupon I was desired by the people of Clyro to come to them, wch (in regard of the cleerenesse of my call) I willingly embraced & soe engaged on these termes to come unto them (viz) I promised to preach, expound & catechise amongst them but would not give them the Sacrament nor baptize their children till they were better fitted & I better satisfied, & withall that I should expect liberty (in respect of ye generall want of the word round about) to goe to neighbouring places in the lords worke [illegible]. all wch they approved of & covenanted unto. Nemine contradicente. Presently upon this they petitioned the Comittee of Plundered Ministers, & so an Order was granted for my being at Clyro. Not long after (that you may know what measure I have received from them) there arose some private difference betwixt some friends of mine & some others of the parish upon wch as also my speaking a little too loud (as they thought) of the magistrates duty, & some other things wherein I was necessitated to deale plainly severall of the chiefe parishoners (& if I should tell you that the Informer was one ~~[illegible]~~ I should speake but truth) by the retrograde motion of one chiefe wheele in the [illegible] (& that a Formall society endeavoured to undermine mee, by labouring to bring in (from a distance of the necessity of Welch) Mr Vavasor Powell, whom they most falsely possessed wth a perswasion that I had left the place, though it was never in my thoughts, much lesse in my expressions, & least of all in my expectation to be so dealt with by such professed friends

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friends, who a little before had so earnestly petitioned for mee & so willingly received mee. upon such information of theirs, Mr Powell (believing it to be true) gave them (as it seemes) some kinde of possibility of his coming to them. When I thus found out this their unworthy & unfaithfull dealing with mee, I resolved to let them take their way, & so gave up my late order to Col: Taylor intending never to goe unto them as their Minister any more. Whereupon Mr Powell coming shortly after into the Country & understanding how things were carried went to the chiefe agents in this plott & reproved them very sharply for their unfaithfull dealing both with him & mee & so turned his backe upon them & came to mee with expressions of much trouble at ye businesse, declaring the whole truth of their actings unto mee, as also how farr hee had proceeded in order to his going to Clyro & on what grounds, earnestly importuning mee to goe againe unto them, wch I then resolutely refused (yet the lord who alters ye counsells of mens hearts otherwise ordered it). Whereupon those poore people depriving themselves (for the present) of the meanes of grace were for some time without a Shepheard: yet afterwards being a little more sensible of their former folly cryed out against themselves & those that had drawne them thereunto & came with confessions in their mouths of shame & sorrow unto mee, very earnestly & frequently begging that I would not forsake them. Col: Taylor also sett in with them, & so by his arguments on ye one side & their importunity on the other I could not rest till I had promised againe to come unto them. Since wch time of my returne (being now almost 3 yeares) though I have mett with little better dealings from some of them then before (according to the measure of grace & manifestation of the Spirit given unto mee) I have endeavoured to the utmost (both in publiq & private) to carry on that sin-destroying, Satan-binding, Christ-exalting, & soul-saving worke of the Gospell, that so I might discharge my duty to God, performe my engagements to them, & also finish my owne course with joy. For wch ends (that I may keepe you no longer in the porch) I have observed this course.

First (besides the lords day) I appointed at such an house, every Friday, to come to such neighbours houses most convenient, to speake to them & pray with them, where I have made knowne to them my manner & end therein, wch was, to find out (by proposing sometimes questions to them) their severall particular condition, & so to apply myselfe to them both in publiq & private accordingly that they might first receive Christ into their hearts & then receive the seale of the Covenant in the lords supper.

Secondly I desired (the weeke before) that so many as could with conveniency (those especially that were neerest) would be present at ye place appointed, because I could not (according to my desire) goe to every particular house in the parish, for these reasons. (1) because I live about 3 miles from Clyrow. & (2ly) if I should remove, I cannot have any convenient place in the village. 3ly the parish is large being 3 or 4 miles over, & the houses much scattered. & 4ly because of the great necessity of my frequent preaching abroade on the weeke dayes in neighbouring places.

Thirdly finding by reason of the grosse ignorance & superstition wch was amongst them that many stumbled at this meeting in houses (though I laboured much to beate them out of their conceipt of holinesse in places) I was willing to try another way, & so upon the motion of some, altered ye former course of meeting from a private house to the publiq place (thereby endeavouring to become all to all that (if possible) wee might winne some). Where sometimes I taught from some portion of Scripture, sometimes opened the principles of Religion, & sometimes would question them about what they had formerly heard &c. & that none might bee discouraged for feare of not answering punctually to the question, I acquainted some of them before hand what I meant to aske, & would make them ready in it before I asked. yet notwithstanding this worke went on more slowly then before, in so much that very few would come, besides the schollars that were then at schoole, & not neere so many generally there in publiq as there were before in private. Whereupon I was necessitated to returne againe to my former course, reserving a day in my weekly lectures besides to be with them in publiq. & so have continued ever since.

(Fourthly.) Having thus about two yeares together endeavoured in this worke desiring them publiquely & privately to give in their names, & manifest themselves such as were in earnest in the things of their salvation, to make a publiq profession of Christianity before God & his people, to resolve to learne of Christ, to believe in him, & obey him: In doing whereof, I have frequently before the whole Congregation declared my longing desire after their coming in using these Expressions unto them: that let them manifest themselves willing to learne & declare themselves (outwardly) to be Christians none in England or Wales, should more freely receive them than my selfe. But for such as are grossly ignorant & will not learne, or grossly profane & will not reforme I hope I shall rather lose the best member of my body before I shall (knowingly) receive such a one as a visible member of the mysticall body of Jesus Christ. Which if this doe not leave them inexcusable & necessitate us to this our present practice I leave you to judge, hoping I can with Paul (in this particular) 2 Cor: 4.2. comend myselfe to every mans conscience in the sight of God, & I think I have done no more than wt you would have done yorselfe, had yr case been

(Fifthly.) ffinding (to my great griefe) most of them still standing it out with the Lord [illegible] without any apparent sense of their condition, or any desire at all to receive the Sacrament in Christs way (being many of them resolved not to be cured in their owne way) about 3 quarters of a yeare since, after severall solemne dayes of fasting humiliation & prayer before the Lord as also by the joynt advice & approbation both of Christians & neighbour Ministers having first endeavoured to bring in as many as were willing & fitt to joyne wth us (so many as would make up a competent number) wee resolved in the strength of the Lord (having not received the Lords supper of 8 or 9 yeares before) to sett upon ye worke & so accordingly engaged ourselves, they to mee & I to them & both to god to walke wth him in the wayes of holinesse & obedience in our severall places, in teaching & learning in watching over exhorting, reproving comforting & edifying one another according to the rules of the Gospell promising to submitt unto Christ both in his doctrine & discipline

(Sixthly.) So many of us as are thus united in this bond of fellowship (being for the present betwixt 30 & 40 in number) doe once in a month or 6 weekes in the publiq place celebrate ye Lords supper, & the Friday before wee constantly set apart as a day of humiliation to seeke the Lord, when wee also receive in such as present themselves to us & desire to partake wth us.

(Seventhly) for the manner of our admission, qualifications of the admitted & engagements expected from them, I know none other that wee require then what you mention in the 6th proposition of yor letter, or I in my 5th.

Thus have I given you (as in the presence of the Lord) a true (though tedious) account of my beginning, progresse, & present condition in the worke of the Lord. If I have erred in any thing herein (as I know my selfe by reason of flesh [illegible] as liable as any) by making the doore broader or narrower than Christ hath made it, I hope I can say (through the grace of God) that it is weaknesse not willfullnesse that hath been the cause thereof. & truly Sr when I consider the great difficulty in these last times for a Christian (a weake one especially) to sett up his standing in the midst of so many wayes of shaking dividing & destroying principles of Anabaptisme Free will, Universall redemption, & falling away from grace &c by all wch I am here close surrounded: I cannot but wonder that the Lord (by his speciall power) hath so preserved mee as that I am what I am. It hath been ever my desire & great part of my care to live (for the Churches peace & my owne quiet) as free from contention as possibly I could, for that I see it eates out the very heart of Religion & the power of godlinesse. & therefore have been willing to give as much allowance as would stand without striking at the foundation to such as have differed from mee in opinion, not presently to breake out against them because they could not see wth my eyes: well remembring that I have neede of many graines allowance when I come to be weighed in the ballance of God & good men, or I am sure I shall never passe the former, however I shall the later: & yet am many times in a great strait wt to doe

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And now Sr be pleased to give mee leave to answer the charge given in against
for wch observe these particulars.

(1) That the letter was not written by yor cosin but by another though it seemes
he owned it by his subscribing to it, though he never considered or well understood wha
was in it.

(2) That much about the time of the date of his letter I had a private conferen
at his house wth himselfe & some other of the sixth wch was to answer some qu
they proposed to mee in reference to or present way of fellowship at wch time I fully
informed them ~~[illegible]~~ (as at other times before) wth the severall particulars therof
all wch (the businesse of Baptisme excepted) they acknowledged themselves in
particular as fully satisfied with, & yet (it seemes) presently after wthout the least
knowledge of mine (to have something to say) they invented the matter of the
foresayd letter. So that I cannot but exceedingly wonder (but that I know
the heart of man is deceitfull above all things & desperately wicked) that men
should be of such a light vaine, frothy & unconstant spirit, & the truth
they are so little acquainted wth their owne hearts & the nature of truth, that
they know not what they would have. & I question, had the Informer but
seriously considered what was written as from himselfe to you, & also from
you to him, whether ever I should have seene the one or the other. I
I have just cause to feare that he is resolved to goe to heaven eyther in his o
way or never, for I have seriously & often wth as much tendernesse & affection spo
to him in private of his casting off of his old way of Usury, his frequent taking
the Lords name in vaine, wth ye necessity of setting up the constant worship
of God in his family, as possibly I could, but cannot to this day see any change
or reformation therein, & yet such as these the person that complaine of dang
of infection. Such creatures will make fine church members. The Lord pitty them
in this their condition, & helpe mee to performe my duty towards them, that
I partake not wth them in their sins, & I desire to blesse the Lord (wth many
thankes to yor selfe) for yor plaine & faithfull dealing wth him.

(3) That whereas he sayth (& indeede he sayth he knowes not what) to pa
by many other mistakes) that wee goe to the houses only of such as are conf
to or judgment &c — For answer

1 I know noe other confinement then what I have formerly mentioned, wc
is a great confinement & bondage indeede, to men of corrupt principles & p
tices, that they cannot have their full swinge in sin, when they say Ps: 2
Let us breake their bands in sunder & cast away their coards from us. &
plaine truth is this is the cause of all their discontent, they would willi
receive the ordinance of the Lords supper but will neither reforme thei
former wayes nor yet engage to be of or society. If this be ye confi
ment they intend I doe willingly owne it.

2 For or meeting (as he sayes) at ye houses of none but what are
of or society that is not so, for wee have mett at others houses & I ma
feel my selfe willing to come to any that resolve not in obstinacy to shu
the doore against us, as time & strength will give mee leave yea I ha
offered if one day in a weeke be not enough I would come twice & if
twice were too little I would come thrice a weeke [illegible] the Lords d
amongst them. O that men would learne to speake truth. Surely if
such as take up a reproach against their neighbour are no fitt citizens
to come into the Lords Sion Ps: 15. Then certainly such as invent &
publish it are much more unfitt.

Deare Brother

a I am glad of yor successe in ye worke of personall instruction, & glad yt controversyes are so much quietted as you expresse. As for L. Molinei Paraenesis, its a worke unprofitable, tedious & unhansome for me to anatomize or confute his booke to you, or instance in his particular mistakes. Betweene you & me in breife, he speaks with much partiality as to persons, speaks yt against ye Presbyterians in generall wch only a few of ye rigider hold, if any at all: & yt for ye Independents wch only ye moderate hold, if any: And seemes not to me to understand ye state of ye Controversye. But ye cheife error is, defect of Judgment, manifested in unsound distinctions & definitions, & amonge many senses of words fixinge, upon yt as ye comon sense of ye masters of Interpretation, wch is not so, & definings accordingly. In yt of Potestas & Authoritas wch you instance in, there's little worthy observation, but yt ye words are both of various use, wch who knows not? but his distinction is mostly uselesse. The true Pastorall or Eccl: Power is only yt wch he calls Interna, but doth not fully describe, & yt is subordinate to no Civill power, for they stand not in ye same series, but differ toto genere. Grotius de Imperio Sum: Pot: is much more exact & judicious. But ye maine scope of this booke in reducinge ye true ministeriall Power to yt on Conscience, is sound. For any more for or agt it, you must excuse me. // To yor owne Arguments.

Ad 1m. I answ. Cyprian exercised no more power, yn ye internall on conscience. If he comanded maids to be searched, it was either as one yt was their acknowledged guide, acquaintinge ym with ye will of God, in order to ye needfull discovery of ye truth, with a purpose only to reject ye disobedient, & no more: Or else, it was as one yt would force ym to submitt, or punish ym in body or purse, if they refused. The latter only is externally coercive, wch he medled not with: If he had, it had bin but by their owne consent, wch they might withdraw at pleasure, & so was more their owne act yn his. The former wch only he exercised, was but on ye conscience.

Ad 2m. The Apostle forbids no naturall or civill offices to be done to ye excommunicate; but only to deny ym all such familiarity, as may intimate fraternall communion, & owninge ym in their way. We are comanded only so far to withdraw, as tends to humble & shame ym, & not to starve ym. Its lawfull & a duty charitably to releive ym neverthelesse. But if it were otherwise, it proves no coercive power. If my owne denyinge a beggar an almes or cloaths would starve him, it follows not yt I am his Ruler at all; I have Potentiam non Potestatem Civilem, wch is comonly called Authority: I have opportunity to hurt many, whom I have no power to make yt hurt to be penall, formally: & many hurts may be ye consequents of a penalty, yt are not ye penalty itselfe. All this yt you mention may be done in a Comunity, where there is neither Respublica, nor Ecclesia, nor any Politye or Rule at all. //

Ad 3m. There's nothinge like coercive power in yor instance. Its not words yt we strive about. Coertion by corporall Punishmt or force is ye thing in Question. If I forbeare my owne act of administration, & all ye Churches do ye like, this toucheth not ye body or purse of ye Soveraigne. If I acquaint him & ym wth the will of God, & they obey it, avoidinge his comunion in Christian matters, while we obey him in Civills, is a Xtian Church penalty, no further felt by him, yn he esteemes ye Judgmt of Xtians, & his reputation as a Xtian amonge ym. Here is no shew of outward force, ~~among~~ whatever be ye consequents. If there were no Ch: Governmt in ye world, but every Xtian were bound on his owne discretion to avoid Xtian comunion with notorious wicked men, & so they all did it in direct obedience to God, it would be as much to ye magistrate, as if a Pastor required it. It is indeed a penalty imposed by God yt hath authority, & to be inflicted by Xtians, but not by bodily force upon him, but by denyinge him ye comfort of or approbation or comunion. // Sr accept this hasty returne from

Yor weake Brother

Ri: Baxter

Aug. 14. 1657.

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B

It seemes this Judicious man intends a treatise on ye same or like subject wth ye late pub-
lished paper of ye Interest of Reason in Religion; I soe highly value him yt I am loath
any thing of his should come out wch will not beare ye Assault of Opponents; I know a
few words will serve to notify to soe capable a man the sense of all my exceptions.
pag. 3. He saith n. 6. [Apprehension is conversant wth Things as they are uttered either
by simple words, or by propositions — Sense or meaning is the notice & immediate
object of Apprehension, as color of seing, ye minde apprehends nothing but under
sense (yt is meaning)] — n. 8. 9. the like. 11. Contr. The objects of ye intellect
are entia cum suis affectionibus, Uno, Vero, Bono. they are so conceived or Com-
plexe: things in and by themselves, & by their signes. These signes are things also
symboles. but to know other things by ym is not immediate perception. These signes
are either visible, Audible, or any other way sensible: the cheife of Audible
signes are words. viz: simple words, simple propositions, & propositions in forming by
Connexion. 11 Words & propositions & their meaning are not ye only first objects
of intellective perception; A thing seen by ye Eyes, as light, Color, shape &c. is
instantly perceived by ye intellect, ye externall & internall sense being the
first, & but also signes; but per eadem instanti it is perceived by ye Intellect since
omne sensatum est intelligibile) for every sense receives signes, since words
ye first signum must be perceived, ye signatum; for every perception is not by signes; otherwise
(wch is absurd) or aliud, & so yt should not be ye first; but [illegible] signum, for
signum in infinitum; therefore ye first perception is not by words; but we have yet signi-
fying; words themselves are perceived as Entia (intellectually) before their mea-
ning is perceived, & ye words & meaning are perceived before wee perceive other
things by ym. And words themselves would helpe us to know nothing else, if they were
not by these made signes, wch when we heare they helpe our Memory to thinke of
something, or receive some Idea, wch we may compare wth something else
to be knowne, & soe know it by similitude.
The very things themselves, yt are ~~for~~ before significations, meanings, are first
apprehended; wch they are sensible, Not yt ye things come into ye Understanding
from into ye sense. But it is in ordine Naturae primo sensatum, deinde intellec-
tum, simplici scil. apprehensione, but quoad ordinem temporis alii in eodem
instanti, yet ye intellect being otherwise imployed a thing may be defective
sensatum et non intellectum. The fantasie knowing nothing but by externall sense
unless you will miscall ye Intellect Phantasie. And though some had rather
say yt every simple apprehension, ye Phantasie first receives a Species,
ye Intellect Abstracts, & soe ye species Phantastica is ye only immediate object
of this first intellective perception, yet ye notion of this species is soe ambiguous
or darke, yt it is of noe necessity yet [illegible]. But as ye very word evidence yt visus
tells as well wt sight is, or seeing, yt is ye eyes reception of a visible species,
soe doe ye words [Intelligere] here. For sensation is knowne only immediately in
itselfe: sentiendo percipimus nos sentire, et quid sit sensatio; all ye words in ye
world will give a man noe notice wt visus, gustus, olfactus is, wthout themselves
& hee yt hath ym, doth by words only remember wt he hath sensed them. Soe intel-
ligendo percipimus nos intelligere, et quid sit intellectio; ye words doe but revive
by memory another act wch is like ye former. The false opinion yt sentire et
intelligere are meere passion (or reception) cause mistakes here. Visus e.g.
luminis is by a Congresse of two Agents, ye externall & internall fire as lucide, visio rei
illuminatae is an active & passive reception of ye thing by ye said Congresse of Lights,
the eye is passive from ye externall light & active by ye internall lucide spirits
& sensitive soule, And soe mutatis mutandis it is in intellection.
Agens exterior (God at least: whether alsoe any created one we know not) is to ye
intellectus et passiones et agens interior, wt ye externall light is to ye visive fa-
culty. I conclude yrfore yt before ye meaning of words is apprehended
1o. The perception of some other simple sensible things; 2o. The perception of ye
words themselves as Beings, such as they are. 3o. And ye perception of ye Aptitude of
those words to signify somewhat else, & soe yt their signification is next
4o. And ye notice thereby of ye thing signified is next.

cc N: 8. He saith Sense or meaning is yt Conception or notion yt is formed in ye minde on
cc a proposall to it of an object, a word or proposition, as Color is yt similitude caused in
cc ye eye upon ye impression of ye object.

1o. Here you call it an object as it is exterior impressing & not only as impressed.
Here you confess yt there are exterior objects. By this description you imply yt
we cannot conceive of ye sense or meaning of any thing (or words) as an object;
for if meaning & conception be all one, one is not ye object of another.
conception is not a conception of itselfe objectively, yt is of ye same numericall con-

ception

Conception, for if Color bee distinct when it is not seen; for ye act of seeing doth not itselfe to be a Color then would make the Act & Object all one. There is noe doubt but there is intelligibile et visibile extrinsecum: And both things, words, & ye meaning of words, yt is their Aptitude to signify or notify, are all such intelligibly. And Color is in ye colorata, yt is, are Aptitudes they are they variously to reflect ye light, & itselfe appeare to ye visive faculty. The Objective Aptitude to be knowne or seen is not knowledge or sight. And though we may beare wth ye phrase of those Phylosophers, that say, yt res intellecta fit ipse intellectus, & res visa fit ipsa visio; & then that say yt objectum est naturâ causa materialis idque constitutiva, while they meane noe more, but yt ipsa visio vel intellectio is a reception of yt wch is usually called a species of ye thing in ye sense or intellect, & not as excluding ye extrinsicke object: yet againe they definitions of sensation, intellection or volitions are very defective & apt to deceive & notifie not ye thing defined primarily at all, but only secundarily by reviveing ~~[illegible]~~ memory of yt former notice wch we had by experience. And though they say that sentiendo percipio me sentire, et intelligendo percipio me intelligere, yt doth not make my sensation or intellection ye object of my sensation or intellection; but ye sense by acting on any object, at once perceives ye object & its owne act; not by making that act its owne object, but by an internall essentiall reflection, in wch it is ye image of God, who knoweth & loveth himselfe by an Essentiall simple act; not really distinguished into Act & Object. So yt instead of ye names of internall Colors, meanings, or species, it is clearer & more proper to say noe more but yt ye extrinsicke thing, Color, species, is seen or understoode, wch name sense & Experience doe easily teach us to understand, then a definition.

Ad N. 11. 12. The Ambiguity of words must not tempt us to confound things. Both Aptitudo materi audiri, et ipse auditus may be called Sounds, ye Aptitudo coloris videri & ye ipse visus may be called Color, yt Aptitudo rerum et verborum intelligi et eorum intellectio may if you will be called hoc intelligibile: But these are not all one. And I thinke he speaketh more properly, that is, more intelligibly, because of use, who saith, yt this booke, word, thing &c is intelligible, or exterior, then he yt saith, my intellection of it is intelligible: And soe he yt saith, I heare a sound, rather then he yt saith, my hearing is a sound; & he yt saith, I see ye sun, or Color, then he yt saith, my sight is ye sun, earth, or color. // The 12th hath a dangerous sounde in this age, when ye Atheists dayly tell us yt Good & Evill are but mens conceits, yea some of ym will confess yt they are respective congruitys or incongruitys to each man. But are facultys & powers nothing but notions: [Nothing else is not here said. But ye reader will not understand it.] Is not ye suns power of moving, shineing, heating, something out of or understanding? Is ye power of understanding itselfe nothing but a notion? Is all power annihilated if all men were asleep or thought not of it? And alas is Good & Evill, vertue & vice, verity & falsity, nothing but notions? Have ye goodness of God, yea of his word, works, servants, & ye evill of sin, satan, hell, is somewhat more. And truth & Lying are such in ymselves, whoever notion ym, & are whole & parts, Cause & effect. If all men were annihilated all these would exist. And though sweetness & bitterness be not tasted till they touch ye tasting part, & soe are not sensed such; yet their aptitude to be so sensed is most commonly called sweetness & bitterness. If you thinke impiety so thinke not others, & wch you confess ye reality of all such aptitudes, let men know yt ye lis de nomine is all. God forbid soe worthy a man should passe this passe, yt ye facultys, good, Evill &c. have noe Existence out of ye minde; to be good, & to know it to be good, to be Evill, true, false, greate, small, high, low, light, darke &c. & to apprehende ym to be soe are not all one: though an Object be not in esse sensato, et cognito, as exterior, yt is playnly it is not sensed or understoode) yet it is in esse reali existente & sensibile & intelligibile before. The schoolmen by conceptus objectivos distinct a formalibus, meane not as you say, notions in ye minde wch seeme to be in rebus but are not, but something in ye thing (called by ye Scotists, formality) wch is a sufficient Ratio conceptus formalis. And ye conceptus formalis is ye Actuall conception of ye minde of ye formall essence of ye thing. // The word [Notion] is ambiguous, & sometimes signifieth ye [illegible] significans & sometimes (more properly) ye act of knowing: & he yt looketh for what him, looketh behinde ye glasse indeed. //

Ad N. 13. Notions feigned & apprehended are realitys quoad actum, yt is, are real (false or true) acts of ye minde. But those stood false, are conception of yt wch is not as if it were, or otherwise then it is.

Ad

Ad. p. 14. To have a notion of things is nothing but to have a knowledge or intellective perception of them, And to know ye things is not to know ye notion, knowledge, or simple perception, though ye the ~~concomitant~~ Conjunct. //

Ad. 15. It is indeed impossible (because a contradiction) to know yt wch we doe not know, eodem respectu, et in eodem instanti. //

Ad. 16. you have confessed yt yr is in extrinsicke objects yt wch specifies tasts, sounds, colours &c. //

Ad. 17. The intellect doth, but discerne yt harmony wch is in things among ymselves, wch is ye truth of ye perception: you cannot make sense of yt wch hath not sounds, nor truth of yt wch is false.

Ad. 18. The words are to have a double signification & right aptitude: 1o. to signifie ye thing spoken. 2o. The minde (judgment & affection) of yt speaker. 3o. And be suited to ye receptive capacity of yt hearers. And he yt understands ym in ye said twofold signification, understands ym truly in ye double sence & verity. But ye degrees of cleerness may yet differ in diverse understandings. And yr is noe doubt but he may understand termes, yt understands not propositions, & propositions yt cannot well inferre ye Conclusion or Syllogize. //

Ad. 20. We use to call Enthusiasmes, reall or pretended revelation, & not nonsence: ye Valentinians, Basilidians, & ye rest of those heretickes, ye Behmenists, & ye rest of ye fanaticks in Beckman noe doubt had a sensible conception of their conceptions, but vainely observed & by noe made clearer. //

Ad. 21. Enthusiasme yts reall is from God; delusion & dotage from ye devill, melancholy & other sicknesse from ye braine. //

Ad. 22. Every proud man yt pretends to know more than he doth, & uses new names for ostentation is not an Enthusiast. whether Paracelsus had a devill upon ye credit of ye witnesses cited in Beckman. very uncertaine. //

Ad. 23. You may as well say soe of various Languages, yt they are understoode by sympathy, & not by understanding; I have knowne sober men yt understood not Behmen. //

Ad. 24. All ye doubt of this is, in ye knowledge of ye soule, spirit, & God. //

Ad. 27. Verity is ye essentiall mode (agreeable to substance) & transcendentall distinctness where ye things perceived are distinct. ~~Depths & liveliness~~ Depth or livelyness & cleerness are ye graduall. //

Ad. 29. This wanteth distinctness: Light as to understanding signifies 1o. Ex parte subjecti; 1o. ye faculty. 2o. ye act of intellection. 2o. Ex parte objecti, ~~[illegible]~~ ye evidence of reality & verity in it. 3o. Ex parte causæ efficientis superioris, 1o. ye Extrinsicke revelation of ye object & evidence; 2o. ye intrinsicke revelation of it to ye minde, as to ye Apostles: 3o. the intrinsicke illumination of or understandings helping us to see what is extrinsically revealed. //

Ad. 30. The spirit revealeth extrinsically & inwardly; Naturall Light is either in Evidentia objectiva, or in facultate naturali intellectus: wch when healed & elevated by grace is supernaturall to ye Efficient. // &c.

Ad. 37. The question will not be whether we may soe speake of God (as grieved, angry &c) but how those words must be understoode. //

Ad. 38. If we may not tell, wch is meant by those, any blasphemy may be meant; the common saying is imperfection must be excluded: we know Enigmatically and as in a glasse. //

Ad. 39. Formaliter & eminenter distinguish better then those words. //

Ad. 40. Those aspects of God are true or false; if yr were not some wt in God wch is like to wt we conceive, they were false; And soe we could not say, yt yr is a God or wt God is, but Idol or notion it in us: God is not only in or understanding. //

Ad. 43. Distinction is both of words & things, wch is discrimination, & he yt will not distinguish things as well as words, is far from right apprehension. Is it only ye Natures of God & ye creatures, Angells, & Devills, heaven & earth, light, sun & moon, fire & water &c. Good & evill, yt are distinguishable. Every Definition is a description, but every description is not a definition, to define is to describe a thing as it is in itselfe in its generical & differencing or specificall essence; if it were only to describe a thing ~~as it is in itselfe~~ by ye impressions wch it makes on us, God should be described as evill by ye Malignant & sin as good, & twenty definitions should be twenty men given of a thing. // If Essentiall definitions are nonsence, as you say all definitions & all words are nonsense: if things are defined only as they appeare to ye faculty, then definitions, & consequently all words are not represent things but faculty, that they may appeare rightly & soe informe them, Nor are they to notify things, but or thoughts of things. And yt there is noe truth in or notions, or else an hundred cross notions of one thing may be all true. He yt calls me all yt naught, may truly speake his owne notion of me, & if he truly define me, wch is slander, why should I have an action agst him. //

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Conception, for if Colr be sentient, yn it is not seen; for ye act of seeing doth not [see] itselfe. & to see a Colr then would make the Act & object all one. There is noe doubt but [illegible] is intelligibile et visibile extrinsecum: And both things, words, & ye meaning of words yt is their Aptitude to signify or notify, are all such intelligibly: And Colr is [illegible] in colorato, yt is, an Aptitude they as they variously reflect ye light, & itselfe appear to ye visive faculty. The Objective Aptitude to be Knowne or seen is not knowledge or sight. And though we may beare wth ye phrase of those Phylosophers, yt say, yt res intellecta fit ipse intellectus, & res visa fit ipsa visio; & them yt say yt objectum est actus causa materialis idque constitutiva, while they meane noe more, but yt ipsa visio vel intellectio is a reception of yt wch is usually called a species of ye thing into ye sense or intellect, & not as excluding ye extrinsicke object: yet againe they [illegible] definitions of sensation, intellection et volitions are over defective & apt to deceive & notifie not ye thing defined primarily at all, but only secundarily by ~~[illegible]~~ reminding memory of yt former notice wch we had by experience. And though they say that sentiendo percipio me sentire, et intelligendo percipio me intelligere, yt doth not make my sensation or intellection ye object of my sensation or intellection; but ye sense by acting on an object, at once perceiveth ye object & its owne act, not by making yt act its owne object, but by an internall essentiall reflection, in wch it is [illegible] not by [illegible] of God, who knoweth & loveth himselfe by an essentiall simple act, not really distinguished into Act & object. For yt instead of ye names of intentionall Colors, meanings, or species, it is clearer & more apt to say noe more but yt ye extrinsicke thing, Colors, species, is seen or understoode, wch name sense & Experience doe better teach us to understand, then a definition.

Ad N. 11. 12. The Ambiguity of words must not tempt us to confounde things, Both Aptitudo rebus audiri, & ipse auditus may be called sounds, ye Aptitudo videri & ye ipse visus may be called Colors, yt Aptitudo rerum et verborum intelligi et eorum intellectio may if you will be called hoc intelligibile: But these are not all one. And I thinke he speaketh more properly, that is, more intelligibly, because of use, who saith, yt this booke, word, thing [illegible] is intelligible, or exterior, then he yt saith, my intellection of it is intelligible: And soe he yt saith, I heare a sound, rather then he yt saith, my hearing is a sound; & he yt saith I see ye sun, Earth, Colr, then he yt saith, my sight is ye sun, Earth, or Color. // The 12th hath a dangerous sounde in this age, when ye Atheists dayly tell us yt good & evill are but names [or] conceits, yea some of ym will confess yt they are respective congruitys or incongruitys as to each man. But are facultys & powers nothing but notions: [Nothing else] is not here said: but ye reader will not understand it. Is not ye suns power of shining, heating, something out of our understanding? Is ye power of understanding itselfe nothing but a notion? Is all power annihilated if all men were asleep, or thought not of it? And alas is Good & Evill, Vertue & vice, verity & falsity, nothing but notions? hath ye goodness of God, yea of his word, works, servants, & ye evill of sin, satan, hell, is some wt more. And truth & Lying are such in ymselves, whatever notion you have of ym, for are whole & parts, Cause & effect. If all men were annihilated all these would exist. And though sweetness & bitterness be not tasted till they touch ye tasting part, & soe are not sensed such; yet their aptitude to be so sensed is most commonly called sweetness & bitterness: If yor thinke not otherwise, & wch you confess ye reality of all such aptitudes, let men know yt ye lis de nomine is all. God forbid soe worthy a man should [illegible] this passe, yt facultys, good, Evill &c. have noe Existence out of ye minde; to be good, & to Know it to be Good, to be Evill, true, false, greate, small, high, low, light, darke &c. & to apprehende ym to be soe are not all one: though an Object be not in esse sensato, vel cognito, as exterior, yt is playnly it is not sensed or understoode) yet it is in esse reali existente & sensibile & intelligibile. So the schoolmen by conceptus objectivos distinct a formalibus, meane not as you say, notions in ye minde wch seeme to be in rez but are not, but somewt in ye thing (called by ye Scotists, formality) wch is a sufficient Ratio conceptus formalis. And ye conceptus formalis is ye Actuall conception of ye minde of ye formall essence of ye thing. // The word [Notion] is ambiguous, & sometimes signifieth ye [illegible] thing, & sometimes (more rarely) ye act of Knowing: & he yt looketh forth [illegible] him, looketh behinde him in a glasse indeede. //

Ad N. 13. Notions feigned or apprehended are reality quoad actum, yt is they are reall (false or true) acts of ye minde. But that yt are false, are a conception of yt wch is not as if it were, or otherwise then it is.

Ad

Ad. N. 14. To have a notion of things is nothing but to have a Knowledge or intellective perception of ym, And to Know ye things, is not to Know ye notion, knowledge, or simple perception, though yt the ~~concomitant~~ Conjunct. //

Ad. 15. It is indeed impossible (because a contradiction) to Know yt wch we doe not Know, eodem respectu, et in eodem instanti. //

Ad. 16. you have confessed yt there are extrinsecke objects yt wch specifie tasts, sounds, colors &c. //

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2

Ad: 44. The particular making of our Conceptions, is not difficult Knowledge of the thing. ||

Ad: 47. Can you Know ye sence of a writer or speaker by yr owne sence. ||

Ad: 52. It is not ye Absurdness of ye object, yt makes men err about Quantity.

Ad: 56. 57. Reasoning includeth Concluding Consultation is true, or but [illegible]. ||

Ad: 61. It may be called Speculative wch is without any practicall m[illegible] ... one enquiring de veritate, de Bonitate, & de praxi. It is Practicall wn ye will sets ye Understanding on worke to enquire after ye goodness & ye attainableness (or avoidableness of evill) & is about ends & meanes; for ye practicall reasoning is primarily de Bono, & in order thereto de Vero, de praxi, de finibus et Mediis & for our Religion hath ye Credenda, ye Volenda (so doe ye words) & ye Agenda.

Ad: 62. Verity & Falsity are ye things to be proved, & not ye Topicks or Media to prove them, though ye proofe of ye falsity proves ye speaker false. ||

Ad: 63. This implyes yt ye s[illegible] colour & figure before they are seen & Knowne.

Ad: 65. Alas multitudes yt Know not wt an Idea in God is (wch but his simple essence) try truth by it. Truth in things is their reality in Metaphysicall & physicall, & their Conformity to ye Law, end & object in Morality. Of wch I have said more in my pamphlet called Certainty of Religion without Popery, & Dr. Wallis [illegible] Booke hath much pertinent to yor matter.

Ad: 68. Clearness of Evidence is a Cause of Assent, but clearness of Assent is Assent itselfe in gradu, wch followeth seemes to contradict much before, ssp. n. 69.

Ad: 75. Truth in ye Understanding is ye Apprehending of things just as they are, the agreeableness of ye knowledge to ye thing knowne; when this is perfect of individuall things or words, this is not Harmony of notions; But when it is ye Knowledge of things in their existent harmony, or of words & sentences in [illegible], then ye truth of ye Knowledge lyeth in ye Congruous harmony of conceptions; what followeth in many sections is obscured for want of distinguishing congruity of things in themselves, Congruity of Conceptions with ye things (wch is truth in ye mind) & Congruity or Harmony of Conceptions inter se, wch may be found in well contrived errours. ||

Ad: 81. You make perfect Knowledge & Love to be alone, & yet we Love Knowledge of All things, yt Knowledge (& not in their full Harmony) wch is not perfect in man; Nay it Knowing aliquid verè be not ye only compleat [illegible], to know yt thing itselfe. I fully agree with Zanchez. yt nihil scitur: nihil enim a nobis scitur simpliciter et in tota sua essentia, sed tantum secundum quid. ||

Ad: 91. Suspicion & presumption are almost contrarys.

Ad: 92. Beleife of man is humane faith: fides vel fiducia is due to Man.

I Humbly offer these Notes to ye Author, & should not have so far troubled him, if I had not highly valued him & his former writings.

Aug. 24
1677

Ri: Baxter

2

Reverend Sr. As to yor first worke of collectinge extraordinary evidences I shall
be willinge to doe wt I can, though I tell you againe, I imagine it would take better, if
more wch you would engage in it. // And for yor other worke no doubt but it is an
6 excellent good one: but wee in ye Country are faine to releive ye Church upon lower
termes, & keepe poore boyes as sizers for 10li per annum, who come to doe good service.
And many particular charitable disposall of their owne, may doe best in some places.
But in London I conceive yor way is ye best, where more money may be gott, &
a settinge of it in a Comon stock wth trustees, will make ye worke ye more observable,
& draw in more contributors by ye fame, & it may come to an excellent worke.
But I pray you lay not yor designe so low as 8score per annum; I should hope yt ye
London ministers agreeinge on it, might promote it to many 100s per annum. One thinge
I would minde you of, whether it would not draw in more contributors, & helpe ye
Church, if you let ye natives (now in London) of every County know, yt if it be there
desire, ye youth wch they maintaine, shall be either of ye County or destinated to ye
service of it. And thus you might helpe Wales also, for many would give in compassion
to Wales, yt else will not doe it. Or else whether we were not best in ye Country
whether we can doe ye like, especially for Wales. But one Colledge for Wales were a
better worke. // For ye Controversye 1o yt yor wonder is increased & you accounte me
semi pari, is bec. you never understood ye Doctrine of Augustine & his followers, of Junius
& many other moderates: or else you could never have thought it to begin in me. I will
not be expounded by words, wch have no determinate sense [Supralapsarian & Sublapsarian].
I hold & confidently hold, yt God hath from eternity decreed to create, redeeme,
call, justifye, & glorifye his Chosen. And yt he foresaw no faith in ym, but wt he decreed
to worke in ym; & yt this Decree of givinge ye first speciall grace to certaine persons
rather yn others, is absolute without any movinge cause, or qualificn, besides his will. But
ye object of ye Decree of not givinge ye grace, is a sinner yt hath forfeited it: yet nothinge
in man is ye cause of Gods Decrees. Nay, it canot be proved, yt to ye not-givinge of faith, a
Decree is necessary; & yt it is not enough, yt there be ye negation of a Decree to give it.
2o I confesse ye Decrees of God to be coeternall, though I call ym not wth you coeva:
Time in eternity I acknowledge not. The acts as Gods essence are more yn coeternall; in
nature, so yt they are all but one, & indeed no acts. The objects, whence they are by us denominated,
& apprehended as divers, are not one, nor together in time or nature. 3o God
doth Decree some to life before man was man; but yet ye object of ye Decree of Glorifyinge
is, man overcominge & persevering in faith. And ye object of ye Decree of Justifyinge
is a Beleiver, & ye object of ye Decree of effectuall callinge, is man Redeemed, but
yet dead in sin; & ye object of ye Decree of Redemption (quoad pretium) is man fallen, &
ye fall had either no Decree (as to ye sin itselfe) wch some call a Decree Negative quoad
actum, or only a Negative Decree quoad objectum, or a Decree to permitt it: ye object of wch
permission, is inocent tempted man. And as all these are one in God & nothinge but God, so they
are but respectively & denominatively diversifyed to us, & so far there may be a priority and
posteriority. (4) Its yet a needless fiction about Gods suspendinge one instant of nature to
Decree others to death. for as its nonsense to talke of instants in nature, so there is certainly
a naturall order amonge ye objects, from whence ye Decrees of God are denominated in
specie, but no suspendinge of acts, wch are all but one, & yt but God. Do you not thinke yt
man-created, is before man-redeemed? & ye Decree of creatinge & of Redeeminge
Respectively & denominatively diversifyed from ye objects? Will you say yet yt
God did suspende an instant of nature betweene these decrees? If not here, neither
in ye other. (5) Really do you thinke as you intimate, yt ye object of ye Decree of
damninge was not man lapsed? yea & unbeleivinge? yea & persevering therein?
Its ye Decree of denyinge faith, or determininge to unbeliefe, yt is more questioned,
& yet homo lapsus is without doubt ye object of yt. But man-lapsed is not the
object of ye Decree of permittinge ye lapse (If yt be granted). (6) You putt two [could nots]
upon God, wch I feare to read. You should know more of ye Divine Essence, before
you presume upon such an audacious word, as to say [God could not foresee ye fall
of man, but bec. he foresaw yt he would permitt it] [& this he could not doe &c]
1o no creature, at least no mortall man doth know ye way of Gods knowledge.
If he could not know beyond or comprehension, he were not God. 2o Properly God doth
not foresee, but see (I speake now on ye grounds of ye masters of yor opinion) there
beinge no [before or after] in eternity. 3o If Gods Decrees & knowledge be all
but one act, wch is himselfe, you trouble yorselfe in vaine to assigne ye priority.
4o Nor can you make Decree ye cause of knowledge. God can foresee ye fall of
X man, by wayes unknowne to us. I thinke it no very hard matter (but utterly needless)
to answere all yt Dr Twisse saith agt Ferrariensis & other Dominicans agt ye
compraesentialitye of all things wth God in eternity. One poore syllable [ab] eterno
is ye deceit yt putts a seeminge strength into most of his Arguments: wch yt [ab] is

used to intimate yt wch himselfe accounteth a heynous error, yt Eternity is divisible, & some pt of Eternity is past: But only [in] for [ab] & ye matter is altered. || (7) But wt if I make no doubt to yeild you, yt God doth eternally Decree to pmitt ye fall: what advantage is this to yor cause? you say he did it to some end: I deny yt (tho: ye Schoolmen affirme it). After ye manner of men, yt & much more may be said of God: but pperly to intend an end is an act of Imperfection, of him yt hath not attained his end, & is not pfect, nor is to himselfe instead of an End. But suppose we speake at ye comon rate of Gods intention, Dr Twisse will tell you, yt his end is not ye sin, nor ye damnation of ye Creature, but ye Glory of his vindictive Justice: Nor is it ye end, but ye effect of ye Decree yt you should speake to. If all ends be effects, yn all meanes are causes; but all meanes are not causes: ergo. || (8) If you can find one act of sin Decreed in specie, & find yt Decree equivalent to pdetermination, & so ye chiefe efficiency, you will be so far from pvinge thereby, yt God is not ye Author of sin, yt you will certainly pve yt he is. But if you grant (as other men do) yt ye Decree is not equall to pdetermination, yn you may serve some other ends I confess by pvinge one act of sin Decreed without pvinge it of all. (9) That no act comes into ye world without Gods effectinge or pmittinge will I grant, thus: so yt in evill acts, it is not ye evill or act in specie, yt is ye object of Gods will, but only his owne pmission. And you had Omissions as well as acts to consider of. It sufficeth me agt yor cause to yeild yt God hath circa malum, no will or Decree but wt is negative quoad objectum, though positive quoad actum; as velle non impedire, velle non dare fidem &c. But if I should go higher & say yt in some sins he hath only a non velle impedire, non velle dare gratiam &c so yt there is a negatio actus, I should do no more besides ye matter yn subtile Scotus, & yn Dr Twisse confesseth he sometime was much inclined to be. And I should not speake it without reason: ffor, we are not to multiply causelessly ye immanent acts of God. frustra fit p plura —. But this is causeless wch we deny. There is no necessity of a positive will, where there is no necessity of positive action or efficiency for execution: But &c. ergo. In ye execution, it is but Gods non-agere (ofttimes at least): non impedire, non dare gratiam, is non agere. ergo a non-velle may serve as well as a velle-non. 2o It seemes a horrid presumption to putt a necessity on God of havinge a positive will for every Negation of action: ergo why for ye things in Question? There are infinita possibilia, quæ non sunt futura: God could make millions of worlds, & millions of millions of psons in this world, wch he will not make: must there needs be a positive will for each of these? E.g. [I will not create such or such or such a one, or thinge or world, wch I can create.] must we feigne as many actuall Decrees in God, de non agendo, as there are actions wch he could have done & will not? The truth is, Gods Decrees, beinge specifically denominated & diversifyed by ye objects, & so beinge one in God, but divers respectively to us; we do call yt a pticular Decree or act of ye Divine will, tho: but de non agendo, where we see God forbeare either for punishinge man, or contrary to ye ordinary course of his pvidence, so as yt after ye manner of men, we thinke of God, as restraininge himselfe; & pharps in other cases where God would have his non-actinge observed: But in other cases, we thinke a non-volition sufficient: or yt this name & notion doth best suite ye Divine non-action. And yet wth Scotus I should yeild yt he doth volenter non-velle, & yt it is not forced or through impotency defect or neglect, but pfection & freedome. || (10) That evill acts are not done but by pvidence, is an ambiguous speech. In specie morali, they are not done by pvidence effectinge & specifyinge ym: But they are done 1o by Providence causinge action in generall, & so yt action wch is so specifyed, not as so specifyed, but as to its generall nature of action; & this is generall & not speciall Providence. 2o By Providence occasioninge & not causinge; ye evill itselfe is done: Gods prohibitions, pmises, mercyes, Xt himselfe &c are by mans corruption used as occasions of sin. 3o There is a speciall pmittinge Providence at least about many acts of sin: in wch 1o God willeth certaine consequents of ye sin, 2o & willeth his owne pmission of ye sin itselfe 3o but willeth not ye sin, but only pmitteth it. 4o There is an orderinge, over-rulinge Providence so lookinge to ye events, yt good shall be brought out of all evill, & no evill pmitted but wt shall be made an occasion of good. In all these four respects ye acts of Judas, Josephs Brethren, Absalon, &c fell under pvidence. But in ye two last respects it is unfitt to say [They were by Providence] for in comon sense [by] signifyeth some pcurement. 1o Judas his act was caused by Gods generall pvidence as an act in genere, even yt act wch was ill modifyed & morally specifyed, but not qua talis. 2o many acts of speciall pvidence did yt wch occasioned it. 3o God willingly & by speciall pvidence pmitted it; yt is 1o he willingly withheld yt Grace from Judas by wch his wicked nature might have beene changed or restrained: & this, as a just punishmt for his former sin. 2o He willed ye happy consequts of Judas sin, viz Xts Death as a satisfactory price &c — 4o He overruled all things so as yt ye sinfull wills of men should be pmitted just so far (& no farther) as might occasion his Glory, & he pcured good out of all. || (11) You now come to ye businesse to pve yt pdefinition & pdetermination come to one, viz, bec ye Decree is effectuall, havinge a causall influence — Ans. 1o Decrees are called effectuall 1o wn they are de efficiendo, 2o or wn they do yms. efficere. The former is an improper sense, ye latter proper. The will or Decree of God qua talis, simply considered, effecteth not at all: & so all Divines say yt ye Decree doth nihil ponere in objecto. But it is ye will of God as puttinge forth itselfe by emanation, Effluxe, or such as in man we call executive power. And so no simple Decree or predefinition is effectuall: But all Gods Decrees de efficiendo, i.e. wch have good for their object, are so far effective. 2° But you quite mistake in thinkinge yt I will grant the permissive Decree de malo to be thus far effective. Its only Decretum permittendi; & not either de efficiendo or efficiens. I speake de malo, & so de specie actus morali: for I confess it is de efficiendo, so far as God is ye cause. || (12) Yor instance in Decreto creationis is vaine: for 1° yt is decretum de efficiendo, but this in question is but de permittendo. 2° yet indeed for all yor [who doubts] I deny ye Decretum creationis qua Decretum to be effectuall but as conjunct wth ye exertion of Power, or as workinge by effluxe or emanation. If Decretum qua Decretum do efficere, yn omne Decretum efficit: but yts not true. || (13) You say ye will of man is no infallible meanes of accomplishinge Gods imutable Decree, unless guided by Gods predetermining irresistible will. Ans. 1° God havinge no Decree de efficiendo, but de permittendo malum, there needs no effectuall meanes to accomplish it, but a certaine permission. Datur tertium besides ye will of man, & ye irresistibly determininge will of God, viz, the permittinge will of God. 2° Infallibility hath respect to prescience: And whatever God certainly knoweth will be an effectuall meanes, is infallibly so; for God is not deceived. 3° I scarce thinke you beleive as you write. yt ye will of man is no infallible meanes of execution of decrees de malo. Do you indeed thinke yt ye will of man canot & will not certainly infallibly faile & sin, upon Gods bare desertion & permission, without his irresistible predetermination, viz by ~~[illegible]~~ physicall efficient premotion. I thinke it will as infallibly sin (in its present lapsed state) as a dead man will lye still unless he be stird or quickened. 4° And do you thinke God is not able, if he have a mind to lead a man into temptation, to ascertaine ye event by providentiall occasions, without physicall predetermination or efficiency? I am not forward to put such [canots] upon God. He can in just judgmt withhold his grace from Absalom & make his very mercyes such occasions, as he knows his sinfull heart will fasten on. || (14) You say [ye Decree beinge invincible, it is as stronge & irresistible as premotion.] Ans. 1° Invincibility & Irresistibility suppose some motion or attempt upon another, to be resisted: but ye bare decree makes no such attempt, it doth nothinge on you: & so its absurd to call it invincible & irresistible in this proper sense. It inferreth but a certainty of ye futurition of ye event, but not ye rem futuram; or rather a certainty of ye non-futurition of yt good yt should heale or hinder ye evill. Indeed if you take irresistibility unfitly for Imutability, so Gods decrees are irresistible: But they cause not yor sin & so need no resistance in such causality. It is but necessitatem consequentiæ, wch is logicall in ordine dicendi et demonstrandi, & not necessitatem consequentis, wch is physicall or causall in ordine efficiendi; wch Decree inferreth (as such). And it might end these controversyes to observe yt herein ye Arminian & Antiarminian are agreed. Prescience inferreth necessitatem consequentiæ, & this Arminius owns (both ye prescience & yt sort of necessity): Decree inferreth no more. & this Dr Twiss professeth is his owne opinion & all ye schoolmen. So yt they profess yms. agreed upon ye necessity inferred; yt it is only consequentiæ or logicall; & not consequentis or causall. But I perceive you are singular from Dr ~~[illegible]~~ Twiss & schoolmen all. When yor owne bare foreknowinge yt e.g. yor servant will steale, & yor resolution to permitt him, yt you may catch him & convict him, is proved all one as yor takinge him by ye hand, & puttinge ye money in; Or when yor infallible knowledge yt e.g. a traytor will kill ye Kinge of Spaine, & yor purpose to permitt him (for good will follow) are proved equall to yor takinge him by ye hand & stabbinge him by his hand & yor owne, yn I shall confess ye equality of prescience, predefinition & predetermination physicall, & of necessity Infallibilitatis a scientia, Imutabilitatis a decreto, infallibilitatis et veracitatis a predictione, & all other necessity consequentiæ wth causall necessity & yt wch is consequentis. || (15) You say now yt I see my 3 Argumt fall to ye ground. Ans. Not so much as I see London fall to ye ground. What should make yt fall wn you never spoke a word to one of ym? But you thinke so, bec. yt you seeme to yorself to have proved predefinition to have ye same effects & consequents: wch as I am far from beleivinge so if you will follow it till you have convinced me, I doubt not but I will rather cast off both together yn Xianity. 1° You say [The veracity of God is no less infringed by supposinge an irresistible decree yt a prophet should enunciare falsum; wch wth more was done. 1. King 22 — Ans. 1° It seemes yn you thinke yt God doth [more] yn both decree & physically predetermine men to speake falsly. 2° I acknowledge no such irresistible decree, as yt a prophet shall enunciare falsum; but yt God will permitt him to speake falsly, in punishmt of an Ahab, I grant. 3° When yt you have proved either yt permittinge & effectinge is all one, or yt God doth but permit ye prophets & Apostles to reveale his will to ye world, & interest hims. no further in their revelations, yn a bare permission comes to, yn you will have done yor best to unchristen us. 2° The like you say as to ye causinge of sin, sayinge Gods decree is ye cause of ye act & doth influence ad productionem effecti. Ans. wch I have denyed & you have not proved (supposinge we speake of ye act in specie morali) Prove this by ye next. || 3° You thinke it no less harsh yt men are damned for not beinge agt an irresistible decree etc. Ans. To wch I have told you, yt wch doth not touch or move you is unreasonably called irresistible. Its not harsh, yt a wicked man is irresistibly (as you speake) foreknowne to be wicked; nor yt he is permitted to be so, wn there are such evident reasons even wth man to justifye ye permission. But yt he should be made so is another case, & yn damned for beinge wt God made him. So much to yor reasons. || Its none of ye Question betweene you & me, whether there be a βάθος in Divinity or any insolubilia scripturæ. These are to be pleaded by ym yt maintaine revealed open truths & canot solve every objection brought agt it. But I canot allow a Socinian to deny Xts Godhead & wn he hath done, yt be ye βάθος of scripture or divine things. Much less yt Xianity & all Religion should be nulled, & yn men should cry ~~β~~ βάθος to save ym from scripture opposition. || As for yor Argumt for premotion from ye dependance upon God in esse et operari, I suppose you would not have me as curtly answer it as you have laid it downe. And so I crave yor answers to mine, & yn desire you in forme to argue wth ye utmost strength you can for predetermination, & (if God will) you may expect my answere. In ye meane time I do but halfe thanke you for this preposterous reply, wch speakes not to one of my Arguments: & so I intreate you 1° to answere ym satisfactorily before you say any thinge to this second part, & if you do proceed any further, yn 2° to speake to this & 3° to lay me downe ye full strength of yor Argumts for predetermination. || Sr pdon ye defects & errors of ye well-meant endeavours of

Sept 11. 1657. Yor Brother Ri: Baxter

3

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr Mathew Poole about Predetermination

3

the ordaining of elders, Act. 14.23. insisting on the original word, which [illegible] in right translation is, *suffragiis creatent*. Now it is clear, that the election of Matthias was to the office of an Apostle, & of the 7 men to the office of Deacons. From this sort of election you barr the people generally, & appropriate it to bishops or senior pastors, under the name of ordination. — *The power of authoritative determining who the man shall be is clearly in Scripture denyed to the people. For it is appropriated to the Church-rulers under the name of ordaining. So you in your Christian Concord.* As for those in Act. 14.23. they were ordained *cum [illegible]*, & so you grant all ordinations regularly should be. And do we read in this or any other place of a two-fold election, one by ordainers to the office of the ministry as such & in general; another by the people ~~[illegible]~~ who shall be their ministers? If you wholly barr them from the former, there can be no place for the latter. Deny me right & power of judging, deciding, & consenting who is fit to be a minister; & you deny me [illegible] right & power of judging, deciding, & consenting who shall be my minister. What now is become of the peoples right of chusing their ministers, & of your doctrine of the necessity of a particular Church-covenant or consent mutual between pastor & people additional to baptism?

Cyprians words are one of the clearest testimonies of antiquity for popular elections. And Cyprian saith not as you say, that it belongeth to the people to chuse their ministers; [illegible] but not to chuse fit persons to serve in the office of the ministry. And that *plebs maxime habet potestatem vel dignos eligendi, vel indignos recusandi*. And you say the people have no power from Scripture, or in nature to chuse fit & worthy persons to be ministers; ~~[illegible]~~ but only to consent or chuse who shall be their ministers, which Cyprian never said. Princes, magistrates, patrons, people, your doctrine makes them to have no right in an ordinary way to elect, determine, consent, & decide, who are persons fit to be ministers, & to exercise the sacred office. I do well grant a difference between electing a man to the office of the ministry in general, & the electing of one who is already a minister to this or that particular place. And I deny that those can have power to chuse who shall be their minister, who have no power at all to chuse fit persons to be ministers. ~~[illegible]~~ If you can reconcile your own assertions, for my part I cannot. Nor am I singular in my sense of your words: but there be others wiser & better then I who do so judge, & that you say more against the peoples right then any Episcopal divine hath said, or then can stand with truth & the interest credit & sufficiency of Gods saints, & of substantial, wise, and godly princes, magistrates, patrons, & lay-brethren. And though I cannot subscribe to every thing in your writings, I can unfeignedly love & honour you, & acknowledge you in deed & in truth my reverend father in Christ much more then many so styled: & I shall ever thank God for your writings, & for your continued love & kindness to me; & thankfully take & bear your hardest words & severest rebukes. And if [illegible] at any time through temptation or frailty I shall act contrary, I hope Gods grace will not be wanting for my recovery. And for a conclusion I do humbly propose to you this expedient: do but briefly pick out of my writings those things which you suppose to be evil & scandalous, & allow me but the free use of mine own judgment wth all other helps, & upon conviction I do sincerely promise to make such repentance & retractation, as your self with Dr. Bates, & Mr. Silvester; ~~[illegible]~~ shall agree upon.

I entreat your pardon for this tediousness, the occasion whereof was to me unexpected, & hath put me to this sudden task, having only my bible at hand, & a broken paper or two by accident. God almighty preserve you long to his Churches good, & do your soul good by all occurrences. I rest

yr unworthy fellow-
servant
John Cheney

May. 17. 1682.

Worthy Sr

Yors of Oct. 20 I received Oct. 26. I must acknowledge yor candor in yor favo[illegible]
acceptance of my last, & now must crave ye like for this; yt if I misse ye marke or con[illegible]
dict in any thinge yor judgment or expectations, you will shew yor gentlenes by yor [illegible]
or patience, rememberinge yt you may partly thanke yorselfe: for if you will [illegible]
a lame or stumblinge horse you must beare ye inconveniences. If I write amisse
my owne fault, but yt I write is yors: if you had not written, I had not written amiss.
Now to ye matter as it lyeth in yors. 1o I said yt its in vaine to search after Unwr[itten]
Traditions: for if they be not among ye knowne allready they beare not ye badge [illegible]
confesse yt ye observation of Easter & Lords day are so ancient & so universall yt I
yt I find no beginning of ym since ye Apostolicall age; nor doe I meet with any con[illegible]
derable resistance of ym: and yet I beare a very great reverence to ye observati[illegible]
ons: And in these pts we never omit ye administration of ye Lords Supper (in mo[st]
of or congregations) on Easter day, & other notes of Reverence are shewed. But
Christmas day is of ye same Antiquity, or neere it by some hundreds of yeares, I fin[d]
proofe of no such probability: sure I am yt ye ancient writers use not [illegible]
on it when they write of ye festivalls & observances of ye Church: nor doe I know
any one (but spurious pretenders) before Nazianzene yt makes any mention o[f it.]
But yet for ye antiquity of observance which it may plead, I am not void of Re[verence]
ence to it. But yn I must adde yt there are customes & traditions even of things
indifferent, & yet all is not necessary yt hath beene anciently & comonly used, esp[ecially]
it were used also as necessary not only accidentally to ym but to all places & a[ges]
of the Church. Even as ye Easterne Churches & ours in Britaine did probably long diff[er]
from Rome about ye time of Easter, & Polycrates & his fellow Bishops were as confi[dent]
of an Apostolicall Tradition as Victor; & Polycarpe & Irenæus thought it not a ma[tter]
for ye Church to contend about or to breake ye Unity in. //
2o As to formes of Divine Worship, they are constantly used through England (for
generality) in ye Psalmes of David, which are every Lords day both read & sung:
If any would compose more yt are purely Evangelicall out of ye Scripture, I have
formerly professed (in my Directions for Peace of Conscience) yt he shall have [my]
approbation & consent. The Te Deum is an excellent heavenly Hymne. I shall ad[d]
[illegible] against ye prudent use of any such. But I must confesse yt [illegible] of
Responses, Repetitions, & frequencies of Endings & beginnings [illegible]
relish, internall sense & experience [illegible] soule, [illegible]
~~making yt falling~~ [illegible] of ym, as a [illegible]: The
same I say of ye uncouth, unintelligible musicke of former Cathedralls, in severa[ll]
3o We must not bringe downe ye Rule or frame of worship to mens corruptions or
darknesses; but bringe up them to ye prescribed worship. No forme of worship must
appointed in ye Church for men yt have only ye light of nature, to worship God on[ly]
of Christ, not to magnifye his attributes, without ye observance of ye worke of Rede[mp]
tion: for without Christ we have no accesse to ye Father, & without faith it is impossi
ble to please God. So yt I suppose it is only for Christians (how weake soever) yt yo[u]
would have ye formes of worship fitted. If Heathens will give God such
worship as they can, yt is not to be done in ye Church & so wee need not be solicitou[s]
to helpe ym to any forme. And it is but in voice & not in spirit & truth yt ye worsh[ip] of
men are such Imitators of heaven as you expresse.
4o I confesse yt objects have their operations as well as words. And therefore it is yt
Christ hath appointed ye Sacraments in his Church. But I dare not go be an intro
ducer of more such objective meanes. For 1o If Christ would have had more, he
could as easily have appointed ym (whether it be Images, ye Crosse &c). He knoweth
better yn I doe what is profitable to his Church & what will please himselfe; & he is
not carelesse of his Church; & he hath neglected nothinge yt was meet for a Lawgiver
to determine of. And yt it belongeth to his Lawes to determine of teaching signes
is evident, in yt they actually did it by institutinge ye Sacraments. Carnall wisdome
is never worse imployed (except when it riseth up agt God) yn in devisinge God[s]
worship: and it will prove at last an unthankfull office. It is a subjects duty to
obey ye Lawes yt are given him & not to turne Lawgiver himselfe. 2o I am not
sure if we fall upon such additions, yt we shall escape ye violation of yt great
comand Deut. 12. 32 Whatsoever things I comand you observe to doe it: thou shalt [not]
adde thereto nor diminish from it. It is ye things & not only ye words of ye Law yt
must not be added to. // 3o It is not multitudes of teaching signes yt [illegible]

a few will doe somewhat, when many will but burden us: Those few therefore wch
Christ hath appointed may suffice. // 4° It was not for nothinge yt ye Law was called
a heavy yoake, and intollerable, in regard of ye operous taske of Ceremonyes; & yt Christ
tooke downe in mercy to his Church, those yt God himselfe appointed; & yt Apostles call
ym beggarly rudiments: And may we yet sett up more in their stead without his
comand or manifest approbation? why should Gods institutions be called yoakes, bur-
dens &c & ors be thought a necessary helpe. // 5° I find my selfe so unable to doe all
yt allready is made my duty, & yt I so often breake ye Lawes of God, yt I am afraid of
makinge more worke for my selfe, before I have better done yt which God hath
appointed me, lest thereby I condemne my selfe ye more for all my disobedience to ye
Lawes of God, while I will needes be makinge more, as if I had not worke enough
6° To make more teachinge signes will make a great deale of worke for Minist
to teach ye people ye meaninge & right use of ym, & to lay downe ye necessary Cautions
agt ye abuse of ym. And why should I thinke yt ye body of Christian Doctrine & Precepts
is not long enough allready, when I find all Creedmakers so sollicitous to contract
it as much as they dare? It will allso make much more worke for ye People to
learne ye meaninge & right use of their signes. For we find by experience yt it is
a great deale of worke to teach ym ye true meaninge & use even of Christs Sacramts
insomuch yt after 20 yeares Preachinge, not one of many (in many places) doe under-
stand ym. And must we clog these poore soules with a longer Catechisme, before we
can gett ym to learne a short one. And if they should use such Ceremonyes & not un-
derstand ym, it were a brutish unreasonable worship. // 7° The Church hath had
longe experience of ye sad effects of such Ceremonious additions & pompous forma-
lityes in ye worship of God. Austin complaineth of ym in his dayes. The Church of Rome
hath enow of ym: And what doe they but inthrall ye People in Ignorance, & not helpe
ym out of it by their teachinge vertue. They quiett & delude ye Consciences of ye ir-
religious; who by ye opus operatum, perswade ymselves yt they are Religious Christians,
when some of ym know not what Religion or Christianity is, & others of ym abhorre
or neglect yt which God requireth. // 8° It was not for nothinge yt Christ doth
describe ye Gospell Worship by its Spirituality. God is a Spirit, & they yt worship
[illegible] must worship him in Spirit & in truth: such worshipps ye father seeketh. In
[illegible] worship [illegible] teachinge for doctrines ye precepts of men: And who seeth not
[illegible] Ignorant carnall people here in England were most for Cere-
monyes, & when they had fed upon ym all their dayes they were Ignorant & carnall
still; & so far from beinge led up to Spirituality by it, yt comonly ye more zealous
any were for those Ceremonyes, ye more they hated, & desired ye extirpation of, seri-
ous godlynesse & godly men. And who ever knew a man converted by their Ceremonyes! //
9° I am much afraid of accusinge ye Scripture of insufficiency, or departinge from it
as ye Rule of Worship: For if it be Gods Law it must be sufficient in its kind. And if
I leave this Rule, I am at a losse & shall be lost in such uncertaintyes, as I know not
how to gett out of. I know yt ye determininge of meere circumstances, wch in generall
are necessary, & beinge mutable must be prudentially determined in specie, by the
Church Guides, this is no accusation of Scripture of insufficiency. But to adde new teach-
inge signes, wch are of no more necessity in one age or country yn another, wch God might
have as well comanded if he would, this I feare is guilty of yt evill. // 10° Worship
Ordinances & teachinge meanes must have Gods speciall blessinge to make ym effec-
tuall: And I canot promise my selfe a blessinge from God on yt which he appointeth
not. And indeed it would sound but harshly for minister Publickely to Pray to God for
his blessinge on such Church teachinge Ordinances of their owne; or to found their
sermons in teachinge ye use of ym. // 11° I am very much afraid of dividinge ye Church
by Ceremonious Impositions. Do you thinke yt ye Church is not more likely to accord in
a few thinges, yn in many; & in Divine Institutions yn in humane? Can it be expected yt
all Churches should agree in ye same Ceremonyes, when men are ye contrivers of ym?
In Gods appointment all are more like to Center: but what humane Judgment will
all subscribe to? By long experience it is found to or sorrow, yt its ye multiplyinge of
ye Articles of faith, & prescripts of Worship, which hath broake ye Church in peeces
And there is no hope off ye recovery of Unity & Peace, but by ye returninge to the
simplicity of divine Institutions: when we have tired or selves in vaine the mult

yt way. Every new Article & Ceremony (of generall Impositional [illegible] is a new engine to teare ye Church in peeces. For when you sett up a signe, its expected yt others agree with you in it for uniformity: wch how can you expect of all? And you long ym also to withdraw from you, though you impose it not on ym. For in ye same Congregation you cannot expect yt all good men will be satisfyed with all humane Ordinances; & yn they will withdraw for feare of guilt: whereas if you would be content with ye Ordinances of God (prudentially circumstantiated & [illegible]nata by ye present Church Guides) you might prevent such separation & have a comoner accord. // 12°. I also foresee yt Ceremonyes will be but ye engines of persecution: As long experience in Rome & England hath told us: For when you have introduced such [illegible] objects what will you doe with ym? will you be content yt the Church use ym & another refuse ym? yea yt one halfe ye Congregation use ym, & ye other from professed dislike doe neglect ym? no this will not be long suffered: you will say, what insufferable confusion is this? they that must have such Ceremonyes this yeare for ymselves, must ye next yeare for uniformity force others to use ym: And when Consciences will tell ym yt they should rather suffer yn sin, yn you must fall a persecutinge ym; & so you will cast ye most conscionable Christians out of ye Church yt you may keepe in yor Ceremonyes; wch is to sett up mawkins & putt out men: And yn what a Church are you like to have ere long? Even for ye generality a company of Ignorant histrionicall formalists, yt worship they know not what nor how. // 13°. I thinke it is Gods Prerogative Royall to prescribe his owne worship, as it is ye Kings to make his owne Lawes & Coine. // 14° Worship is an act of obedience; & therefore supposeth a prescript or precept. // 15° They were so lately ye occasions of silencinge, castinge out & banishinge such abundance of learned, able, godly ministers, yt we tremble to thinke of touchinge agayne ye engines yt did it. // 16° They were the means of ye lettinge into ye Church abundance of Ignorant unworthy ministers: and so its like they would doe agayne: For a man of small understandinge may read over his Liturgie & doe his Ceremonious taske. // 17° Doe you thinke ye Apostles did not worship God aright? Or should we be so proud as to thinke yt we can doe it better yn they did? Or can we propound any wiser or better men for or imitation? If they served God well without these Ceremonyes, why may not I? // 18° If once we fall a settinge up humane Ceremonyes it will be hard to know when to stop? And when we have enow? // 19° Will it not lead us to most of ye Romish rites? For why not theirs, & why not ye rest, as well as those of ye same sort? // 20° What can you say is wantinge in ye worship of Gods appointment? what would you have yt is not there? would you have plaine teachinge to informe ye Ignorant? he hath appointed ye ministers doe teach ym plainly in season & out of season: would you have ym taught by a forme of wordes? The Scripture is a forme of wordes, wch we daily read to ym: would you have ym Catechized & privately instructed? It is or weekly worke: we doe it in publike or private as they shall desire ymselves. would you have publike Prayer & Confession & thanksgivinge? we use it constantly accordinge to ye Direction of Christ & his Apostles as neere as we can: would you have this in a constant forme of wordes? we ordinarily use ye very forme of wordes, called ye Lords Prayer, wch Christ gave us for or directory. And if any will use a forme of their owne or other mens ~~[illegible]~~ framinge we shall not blame or censure ym; but freely joyne with ym & desire yt they may have their liberty: for this is no addition to Gods word or Ordinances, but ye meere determination of an undetermined mode or Circumstance. God hath Comanded us to Pray & for what, & on what grounds, & with what Spirit; but he hath left it to humane prudence what wordes to use. I desire not yet yt ye liberty be taken from Church guides wch God hath left ym (to Pray with or without a forme as they find most suitable to their pts): For if yt had beene necessary, would not Christ or his Apostles have prescribed us sufficient formes? what is it but height of Pride for one or more men to thinke so exceedinge highly of their owne pts, as yt no body should Pray to God but in words of their devisinge? or yt all must use their prescribed formes? what Power hath God given one Pastor or many, over others to make ym such Lawes? A Liturgie comended as a helpe to the weake, & not enforced by persecutinge & silencinge ye Ministers yt use it not, I speake not against, nor doe I dislike it, so it be composed gravely & to Edification, & as much as may be out of ye Scriptures. And if I live where it is imposed by lawfull power I will not disobey: But I would not have ye Peace & unity of ye Church laid upon it: we need no devises to torture & divide ye Church. // Furthermore if you would have ye Prayses of God, yea & in formes, we daily use such; in ye Psalmes of David in prose & in

-mester. And if any adde other convenient formes I will not condemne them any more then for formes of Prayer. If you would have teachinge sealinge signes, we have ye Sacraments of Christ. If you would have a stated solemne day time we have the Lords Day, ye first of ye weeke, comended to us by ye example of ye Apostles & ye Apostolick Churches: And it is in ye power of Magistrates & Church Guides, to appoint any other convenient times for Church Assemblyes upon emergent occasions; it beinge but the circumstances of a duty commanded in generall, & left to their prudentiall determination. What need then [illegible] these? Do but [illegible] ye entertainment of those Ordinances appointed in ye Scriptures, & you will find no want of more. Yt way yt Peter & Paul went to heaven in, is certainly a safe way. But if you will have more for yorselfe, yet leave it indifferent to others, & make it not an engine of division & separation. So much of yt subject. //

Whereas in ye end you wish those in Authority to weigh ye course proposed in ye Epistle before ye Saints Rest, I thinke it a shame yt ministers themselves will not in ye meane time doe what lyeth on them to doe, for reconciliation; havinge so much leisure and liberty as we have. // As to yor motion about ye reprintinge alone ye 20 considerations for humane Learninge, I leave it wholly to ye Booksellers; If any one perswade them yt it will sell, they'le easily hearken to ye motion for their owne gaine. And I shall not forbid it, if it may edifye.

I heartily thanke you for yor comunication of ye matter of Apparitions. I am apt to thinke yt ye man you speake of was in a dreame & rose in his sleepe: If it were not so its like they were witches. // That about ye dead mens Candles I never heard of before as comon; but only of one once yt had it. I should be glad to have ye certainest evidence & to have as much of yt nature as you can communicate. We have a house 3 miles off yt is haunted, with nightly knockinge & walkinge: we spent a day in prayer & they were free 5 or 6 nights (after ye followinge) but since it is as ill as before. The strangest apparition of those times yt I have heard of is yt of Leivt. Colon. Bowen in Glamorgan Shire, wch I doubt not but you have heard of. // Sr. I pray you pardon ye freedome & plainess of these lines. If they crosse yor Judgment & expectation, as I gave you what was in my heart, so I am so conscious of my owne weakness, as yt I have great cause submissively to receive any evidence from you yt may lend to my better information, & to remaine

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Yor thankfull servant
Rich: Baxter.

Kederminster Octob. 27th
1656.

4

worthy Sr

The reason why I have forborne all this while is because I desired to peruse Strangius that I might see if there was any light there to convince mee: And I must needs acknowledge hee hath taken very good paines & I thinke said as much as can bee said yet I must confesse I see not yt cogency nor evidence that I expected in him, and but that it is a tedious thing to write largely, to you especially that are so full of businesse I could give some account of it. & something I shall hereafter say: In one thing I am sure hee agrees fully with mee & yt is an allowance of ye argument a decreto ~~absoluto ex considera~~ ad operationem, & fro supralapsarian predestination to physicall predetermination And yt you know was ye ground of my wonder yt you should bee a supralapsarian (wch Strangius sees a necessity to disavow) & yet an Antipredeterminant, & in your later you strangely explaine ye supralapsarian way to bee this that gods decree of election doth make & not presuppose its object, yt god did not foresee faith but decree to effect it, wherein all sublapsarians agree with them. I passe by diverse strange animadversions of yours upon mine (not onely strange to mee, but to a very worthy man to whom occasionally I shewed them) but forbeare replying to them all (though I could very easily do it I am perswaded to your satisfaction in those things) because it is not worth ye while neither to shew yt you have mistaken, nor to free my selfe fro ye disrepute of mistaking. I come therefore at your desire to your arguments: 1 ~~For your~~ thus the strength whereof lies here If god can predetermine to a lie, I cannot tell when ~~he~~ any man guided by him speaks true, but for ought I know he predetermined the Apostles to lies &c = I Answ: 1 That god doth move a creature to speake the words of a lie (whether antecedently or concomitantly I neede not) Strangius grants & I suppose you will not deny, yt there is an influxus & concursus &c so yt ye difficulty remaines how shall I know whether god did move (though not premove) him to a lie, & this cannot bee knowne ~~as~~ by yt act of gods, seeing it is common to all actions of men whether good or bad, but it may bee knowne thus, God concurres to lies by a secret, common, & physicall action ad materiale: But god concurres to truths by a morall, speciall, manifest, & act of approbation, testifying by miracles, converting soules &c in a word your owne arguments in Saints wch stand unshaken for all this ag-ster your 2 arg- which indeed is ye considerable argument, & you know diverse very learned men have confessed their Ignorance: I onely say this at present, I see no such vast difference (for all Strangius saith) betweene pre and con: I deny not but predetermination may seeme to plead more for mans excusablenesse then concurse, but not for gods guiltinesse: And indeed ye argument fro concurse is so strong, to make god concausa peccati, that I confesse, were it not yt god is agens supra legem, it would seeme very close (as, for ought I see, all do agree) ~~nay I~~ and ye permissio malitiæ (wch all grant) would make god causa mali culpabilis, were it not for his supremacy above all lawes, &c for a man permitting sin is culpable: And I would gladly know of you, why gods superiority above ~~all~~ law will not acquit predetermination, as well as other fro beeing ye causa mali sil. culpabilis (for that you meane or else nothing) or from being a sinner, for (though you & others distinguish those two, yet) indeed ye one infers the other: And for mans guiltinesse I offer onely this one argument at present If good actions (~~not~~ non obstante Prædeterminatione, wch Strangius & you grant) bee praiseworthy (& so judged by god who commands them, takes ~~it~~ them kindly at their hands: You who have followed mee &c) then bad actions (non obstante prædeterminatione) are culpable

& onely one thing I cannot but observe yet, say that my wondering at you is a signe I never understood ye doctrine of [illegible] & his followers: I confesse I understand but little, onely thus much I know [illegible] was [illegible] judgmt in truth, I dare say you (& so doth Strangius doth) judge him to bee a sublapsarian & what is this to your case?

of Scripture

take ye word favourably

~~[illegible]~~

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And this weakens your third argument that then men are damned for not resisting an irresistible power: ~~Yea~~ It is every whit as strong an argument of Arminius that men are damned for not going against an immutable decree de dandi fidem. One answer serves for both. Men sin freely (his non obstantibus) i.e. spontanie, for that Strangius grants ~~it~~ to be consistent with predetermination, and that is indeed freedome else Christ acted not freely upon earth: I forbear other things. The truth is — to Predetermination I am swayed for ye reasons yt before moved me to writ the ~~necessity of~~ order of causes wherein ye first cause must act first (prioritate naturæ) and that ye futurition of all actions is necessarily to be resolved into ye will of god which argument I thinke Strangius by no means satisfies: To make Adams will the prima causa in ye act of eating &c & that a causa contingens as Strangius doth, is to me very strange, for then ye effectus must be contingent, and so not certaine, and then all other sins will be contingent too, (for ye reason is ye same)^x and so whether Judas betray Christ (ex natura rei) must be wholly contingent. for ye præscientia dei doth not ex incerto facere certum for that leaves all things in statu quo. So that ye decree & counsell of god, seeing sin came into ye world by chance (in a great measure) is put to play an after game. If this be not ἀδιάφορόν τι I am much in ye dark= Next yt which Strangius so much insists upon of malum per se. you will grant & so doth he (if I forget not) that any other malum suppositâ lege is as immutably malum & so determining to that as dangerous as determining to malum in se. In both of them: It is extended no further than this: a determination ad totam entitatem in which ye ~~Identity or individuation~~ individuation, & all the circumstances (so far as they are entitative) but no further, are taken in: If there be any further difficulties in Strangius I pray you point me to one, which you judge ye thickest, & I shall consider of it. But many mistakes are apt to be in writing I should be very glad if once ye providence of god so order things as yt wee may meet together, for then things may be much better ventilated. I writ to you about ye additions to your Gildas Salvianus I wish you would take order that they might be printed by themselves, for many have your other edition, which they will not lose & so they want your additions for whom you principally intended them. After ye authors about ye Sacrament let me againe intreat you to send mee your Crisis upon ye Authors yt treat of it who are best. Do not thinke I am so weake or wicked as to despise it scornfully The lord knows I do not, I shall never be ashamed to learne of you: However if you will not do it as a superiour do it as a friend: [redacted] Excuse my tediousnesse

Remember mee in your prayers (I beseech you) that god would pardon my unfitnesse & make mee fitter & faithfull in ye work of ye Ministry. The lord direct & sanctifie & prosper you & us all & lead us into all ye truth. I rest

Sr Yrs in deed & truth

M. Poole

London Novemb 14. 1657

£ Whereas you say, do you indeed thinke that the will of man now being left to it selfe will not infallibly sin? Yes indeed Sr I do beleeve it will sin but not commit this sin rather then another, not commit adultery with this woman rather then with a thousand more &c. & for all gods desertion of it ~~[illegible]~~ I suppose you will not hold that it is necessarily determined to this sin, ~~but~~ either a se or ab alio (that were a good step to predetermination) but still habet indifferentiam agendi vel non agendi at lest in this or that grosse act.

£ But still I feare much; your tying ~~them~~ many to that worke ~~twice~~ 2 dayes in a weeke ~~will bee~~ will, with other intervening occasions, bee very prejudiciall to young men, ~~& take~~ in taking them of fro their studies, whereby they will unavoydably bee much unfitted not only for publick preaching but also for yt worke of private instruction, for which indeed a Minister should bee ad omnia paratus.

usually there is some one thing where ye strength of any cause lies, if you please to take notice what that is, I shall more especially consider it

ffor his very honoured friend
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of ye Gospell
at Kedderminster
these
in

3

Worcester-shire

7

Dear & much honoured Sir

9 yesterday I received your letter, for which I thank you. If I say nothing, it will savour of offence, & occasion your harder thoughts of me. And if I write, I am afraid of offending & grieving that way. *Dilige et dic quid vis*, was the saying of one to his friend. I know you love me, & therefore say what you will to me. If former admonitions have not as you suppose prevailed to an effectual & through repentance, perhaps this may; or if not this a next, though I desire not to create you any trouble of writing to me, or on my behalf beyond your own judgment & inclination. We are far gone when we are past conviction & reproof & hardened against repentance, honest & wholsom repentance, which I confesse hath been a good friend to me, & a very powerfull salve through the grace of God in Xt. Jesus to my wounded soul. These following points I take to be contained in your published writings referring to Churches & Church-government.

1. That there are two polities or forms of Church-government, of Gods appointment, never to be altered by man, essentially differing: the universal Church consisting of all the baptized headed by Christ alone: particular Churches headed by their respective pastors.
2. That to the being of a particular Church there is necessary a mutual covenant or consent between pastor & people, & the people one with another, as a corporation ~~a polity~~ by themselves, additional to baptism, & the universal Church-covenant.
3. That the change of one altar into a Diocesan Church of many altars & parishes is it which hath confounded the Christian world: it alters the Church-*Species* of Christs appointment, it unchurcheth all the parish-churches, it maketh discipline impossible & impracticable, it altereth the ancient office of a bishop & of a presbyter, & setteth new ones in the stead.
4. That none have right to Sacraments before God but the regenerate & their seed; that none have right before the Church, but the seemingly regenerate, that is such as a godly man is bound to believe regenerate, & their seed.
5. That Conformity in it self is a complication of heinous crimes.
6. That your book, The true & only way of Concord of all the Christian world, is answerable to its title & preface, sure, divine, infallible, fitted to the interest of all good men, & of all the world.
7. That there is one universal visible Church which is a proper policy or political society, & not a community only.
8. That baptism as such only enters us into the universal Church directly & not into any particular Church.
9. That the common opinion, that a particular Church is an homogeneous part of the Church universal, is an errour.

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10. That a verbal serious profession by a Simon Magus & all such is to be judged by us a due evidence & token of sincerity in order to Baptism & we may not suspend our judgment.

11. That such as have been baptized in Infancy, & are now grown up, before we admit them to the priviledges of adult Church-members, we are to enquire after their lives; & if upon faithfull enquiry we cannot judge them to be regenerate, & sincere in the performance of the Christian Covenant we are to barr them from the priviledges of adult Church-members, & keep them in a state of expectancy.

12. That if we do not execute Christs discipline according to Gods word we are traitours to Christ rather then true pastors, we set up a new Church-way, & betray the Church to licentiousness. If we do execute it, we shall render discipline vain & contemptible, set the souls of our people the next step to hell, & endanger a rebellion & the overthrow of the Churches.

13. There is a threefold exclusion, from Christianity or the Church universal as such; from all [illegible] incorporated or particular Churches as such: & from this or that particular Church.

14. That unlesse a man be a greater sinner then Solomon, & ~~to~~ have done worse acts then Peter, Lot, & the like: we cannot for this say he is ungodly: ~~nor~~ though he be a swearer, [illegible] guilty of whoredom, drunkenness, neglect of prayer, hearing the word & the like; we may not therefore judge him ungodly, ~~nor though he~~ unlesse he be impenitent in them.

15. That there is no such thing as a national Church by divine law under the Gospel; & that when we say, The Church of England, [illegible] we do either denominate the Church from an accident, or ascribe that to a part which belongs to the whole, or equivocate by confounding a polity with a community. So that properly & in right speaking there is no such thing as the Church of England: nor can it be told who is the constitutive head thereof. These with some other I take to be in your writings, some of them I have by publick writing made mention of: & some I have not. If it is upon occasion of what I have published that you judge me guilty of; & humbly entreat me to take notice of 1. frequent gross untruths, deliberately printed. 2. Impenitence herein. 3. & hereby manifesting an extraordinary over-valuing mine own understanding: these three great sins.

I entreat you give me leave to go over the forenamed particulars briefly, or some of them, & then I shall answer what is in my heart to what you here charge me with.

1. As to the first; Either the word, headed by Christ, & headed by pastors, is to be taken simply & univocally; or it is not. If not, then there is equivocation in your words, one & the same word is used in a double sense. You ought then to have opened the divers meaning. The preface to your cases Ecclesiastical signifies to the Reader as if the following solutions did carry their own evidence along with them. But when you tell us of two forms of Churches, one headed by Christ another headed by pastors: if this same word, headed, have a double meaning mean one thing in the former clause, & a contrary or divers thing in the other clause; & ~~[illegible]~~ here is not

not self-evident solution, but equivocation, which cannot be convincing & argumentative. If you do simply mean, that look as Christ is head of the universal, in the same sense are pastors heads of ~~the~~ Churches particular: this to my apprehension is a dangerous assertion. I say no more as to this.

2. For the second: in your Christian concord you set down your ~~a~~ form of Church-covenanting, & therein give 12 reasons for it. But there is not one Scripture, which in a business of this nature would have been much to our satisfaction. It is a ~~[illegible]~~ marvell saith Mr Hudson in his vindication, that such stresse should be laid upon this Church-covenant, so as without it there can be no right to the seals, & yet the Scripture say nothing of it. And I remember bishop Nichols ~~in his apology~~ or Nicholson in his Apology makes challenge to his adversary to cite but one Scripture, or any footsteps for it in antiquity, & he would yield: or something to that purpose. And Mr Rutherford in answer to worthy Mr Tho: Hooker makes it to be the setting up of a new Gospel. And Mr Cawdrey to me counted it a great piece of superstition. I shall not say whether they were right in their judgment or no: but suppose them wrong, it may somewhat diminish your hard thoughts of me, in that I do but say upon the matter what wiser & better then my self before me have said. I cannot discern but that you & the Congregational brethren in this do hold one & the same principles & premises: if you differ from them, & they from you in the conclusion, & go not one way in practice, that concerns not him that only shows you & they to hold the same principles, & both wrong. That which gives me further light into this your Church-covenant, is your own practice at Kiddermynster, where you call the people together to know if they took you for their pastor: & either they said no, or were silent. Now say you there, "I take my self no more bound to baptize the Infants of such, then any other strangers. I am not bound to baptize all the children in the country, therefore not theirs, though I deny not their right to baptism. I cannot think this to be strong reasoning. I cannot do the work of a thousand men, therefore I cannot do the work of one. I cannot baptize the Infants of parents a hundred miles off, therefore not the Infants of godly door neighbours & parishioners who weekly request me.

I cannot think but that when I come into a strange place to inhabit, being by office & calling a minister, I owe some more duty to the people of the place then to others remote, who come not at me nor I at them.

If in the arguing of this point I have either mistook your meaning, or raised misinferences; yet if I have hit upon that sense wch others before me have taken it in, as Mr Calamy in his Epistle before Mr Hudsons book, & many more who have writ against the Independents, & said as hard things as I; for their sakes & reverence to so many & of so great learning & worth, I may hope to meet with moderate censure, so far as my case & theirs are parallel; & wherein I am alone I desire not to be favoured in error.

I do not lay the concord of Christendom upon every word in your book. But the being of particular Churches is a matter of great weight, & if it shall happen that your way of Church-covenanting is an error, & you lay the peace of Christendom upon it, & oblige us by doctrine to submit to it as infallible; this to me is a great matter. I think all your 12 reasons for it answerable: but I shall not do it. If you bring us no Scripture for it, we shall be obliged to take the lesse notice of your reasons.

3. For the third, this is it which your present letter seems principally to point at, because of mine to Mr Read: the substance whereof is this, that if your

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& Mr Clarksons principles against Diocesans prove any thing, they prove beyond what ~~they~~ you would have them, that is no Church, no Saints, no ministry, no godliness at all.

I have read & weighed your questions, & if I may be free to say what I think, I cannot see how there can be Saints & Sincere people of God & yet no Church. To be a Sincere Christian, a Sincere godly man, & a Sincere Church-member, so far as my apprehension serves me, are for substance the same, & convertible. If a layman being by providence cast upon an heathen Country, shall by teaching & example make them Sincere converts, I think they are a true Church of God both name & thing; & dying so would be eternally saved. And if any of ours shall deny the Churches beyond sea to be true Churches, because they want bishops, were that true, saving to them their secret meaning & qualifying interpretations, I cannot see how there can be any Saints among them. Sure I am, that such men as bishop Hall, & Davenant, and Jewel &c were far from thinking such to be no true Churches. We believe the holy Catholick Church, which taketh in all Sincere regenerate Souls & godly men, & only them. Besides this there is no other Church of God upon earth, saving that hypocrites may be as tares among the wheat.

You ask me, "Is it true that he that saith (& proveth) that the Diocesane frame as here "*quantum in se* overthroweth the old Church-*species* & discipline, that therefore he in-"ferreth that here is no Church?

I answer, that if *de facto* the Diocesane frame do overthrow the institution of Christ, then I conceive the inference good, that there is no Church. But if the Diocesane frame ~~[illegible]~~ do not over-turn the institution of Christ, then the doubt with me is whether your assertion can stand which saith, that the institution of Christ is overturned. You say that the species or kind of Christs institution is altered, & a new one is put in the room thereof. Now if for substance Christs institution be not there, then I conceive clearly we cannot be a Church. But if for substance we have Christs institution, notwithstanding the Diocesane frame, then I conceive it to be an errour in any to say, that the *species* of Christs institution is overturned. As for your *quantum in se*, I am very willing that you put in that limitation & restriction. But I find it not in that place which was in mine eye, & whence I had it, namely your Abridgement of Church-history pag. 12. where you deliver your self concisely & argumentatively concerning this matter, without this limiting explication. Take your words in their native sense, & I see not how my inference be false or evil. But if you have mistook your words, & gone beyond your compass, the blame is yours & not mine.

Your words are *that by this ~~[illegible]~~ Diocesane frame true discipline is become impossible & unpracticable.* Now in my simplicity there is so much true discipline as there is true godliness; & where there is sincere godliness, there is the substance of discipline. Granting me this sense, which so far as my understanding serves me I cannot discern to be any other then sound, & I must needs say that your principle makes true godliness with us in England impossible & unpracticable, by reason of bishops Diocesan: & it is not *quantum in se* that can salve the rigour of it.

Perhaps you will say that all this while I confound the Church mystical, with the Church as political: or the Church invisible with the Church visible. My answer is, that I hold fast my ground creed, believing the holy Catholick Church: though others [illegible] Church, yet they are not the Church. As paul saith, all are not Israel, that are of Israel. ~~The Church~~ A minister not sanctified must be acknowledged a minister, & his administrations valid: but yet he is no part of the Church mystically & by saving faith. And you have our whole disputation against Mr Blake to prove, that hypocrites are but Saints equivocally. To be a Church is to be coetus fidelium, or ~~[illegible]~~ coetus evocatorum. It is the godly in Christ Jesus which are the Church, others may be Church-people outwardly, having a name to live, when indeed they are dead. I suppose Mr Clarksons principles & yours be the same, & the fall or standing of one is the fall or standing of both: ~~[illegible]~~ you do not deny but that there is the substance of godliness with us notwithstanding the Diocesane frame; yet say you the Diocesane frame as such is corrupt, & blame me as making you to assert such principles as do by genuine deduction inferre no Church, no godliness. I on the other hand will yield unto you many things in the Diocesane frame wch need reformation, & might be reformed to a better state if ~~[illegible]~~ all were but as they should be. As for the truth & warrantableness of my inference, if I shall say I see no evil in it taking your words in the common sense, I incurre your deep censure. If I shall say I do, I belye mine own understanding, which I dare not but act by till I can get a better.

"you say, an Independent kingdom & a subject kingdom are no more "ejusdem speciei then a king & a maior of a citty. And so of the Church: & "that there hath been a designe these many yeares of subjecting both Church "& state to a forreign jurisdiction. If I had said thus, I should have feared you would have thought me of weak understanding. You knew there was ~~[illegible]~~ a time when Zedekiah was king of Judah, & yet was under some subjection to Nebuchadnezzar, against whom afterward he rebelled. Was ~~[illegible]~~ Zedekiah no more ~~[illegible]~~ a king then is a Lord maior? our Brethren in New England be a kind of free & independent state, yet do they willingly acknowledge themselves the kings subjects, & pay allegiance to him. By like reason parish-pastors or presbyters may have the power & office of Gospel pastors & presbyters. & be Rectores Ecclesiarum, as our law styles them; & yet have a limited dependency upon the bishop Diocesan, as superintendent over all the pastors & Churches in the Diocesse, after the example of ~~the first churches~~ paul, 2 Cor. 11.28. A Lord maior is not a kings he hath not supream jurisdiction over all the kingdom. But so hath the state of New England over the people there, & yet acknowledge our as soveraign over them, upon whom they are limitedly & out of choice dependent. For the designe mentioned I shall spare to insist on that.

4. For the 4th you in your book of Disputation of Right to Sacraments referre your Reader to Augustines whole book De fide et operibus, for proof of antiquity in that point. I have carefully ~~perused~~ perused that whole tract, & if my understanding fail me not Augustine doth flatly assert the contrary to your assertion. His judgment is in the mean between rigid Donatists & separatists, who would have none admitted nor any tolerated in the Church, but such as be visibly godly & regenerate: & lycentious admissionists, who are for the admission of persons upon a dog=

dogmatical belief without so much as a verbal renunciation of sin & Sata
And proves that we may admit to Sacraments known hypocrites upon a ver-
bal renunciation of sin, & covenanting their Soules to God, when with the pow
of the ~~Church~~ such persons cannot be excluded: which I take to be
contrary to your assertion. And that therein your confident sayings that
all the ancient Churches are on your side, as taking all admitted
to Sacraments to be visibly regenerate & in a state of pardon and
Salvation, are not true. For Augustines book to which you refer us
will evince the contrary: & Augustine cites Cyprian who would have
the baptized, to be ~~[illegible]~~ verbis saltem etsi non factis seculo renunti-
antes: which is the sense of Mr Blake & others of their Dogmatical
believer, against whom you have writ. Saith Augustine, Retibus
bonis capi possunt pisces et boni et mali. Retibus autem malis ne
capi possunt pisces boni. The sense whereof I take to be this,
Let but sound doctrine be kept up in the Church, & all be told that
without regeneration & heart-purifying faith no Salvation: & no
be admitted to Sacraments but who shall verbally at least avouch
God for their God, & renounce all idols & lusts, as well as profess
faith in Christ, & so the Sacraments may come to be converting.
But when you admit upon a dogmatical faith such as live in
open sin, without so much as a verbal renunciation thereof, ye
though they profess they will not part with their idols, this tends
to lay wast the Church. In short you your self grant tha
if the unregenerate come to the Lords supper, they find much there
which tendeth to their conversion & frequently effecteth it; &
that this is the true mean between those who say it is, & those
who say it is not, a converting ordinance. But Augustine doth
not say as you say that we may admit none to Sacraments but
such as we can groundedly hope to be regenerate. Maintain this
saith Mr Thomas Hooker in his Survey to Mr Rutherford, & prov
Infant-Baptism, if you can. I grant indeed that you have one
come off by a distinction; that the ancient Churches took all th
baptized to be godly & justifyed distributively, but not so collec-
tively. But I suspect your distinction will not hold.

5. For the fifth, I confess my rashness & incivility in publishing
a secret between you & me. But if in your judgment conformity ~~[illegible]~~
be a complication of heinous crimes, how can you so much as
motion any man to a Church-living? Is it sufficient to say to
a man, here is a cup of poison, which I would not drink for all
the world, nor do I perswade you to drink it: but if you should
you have an antidote at hand that will ~~[illegible]~~ expell it, or be
of nature able to overcome it, & so will do well. It grieves
me to say this to one that so dearly loves me, & whose love
&

& civility I have so often experienced. But since you allow me to be plain with you, & not spare, I say this: rather reproving & blaming my self then you: & yet do question how your principles in this & you do agree.

For the 7th, that there is our universal visible Church which is a proper polity or political society headed by Christ alone. For further proof of this, you send us to my [illegible] in the end of your plain Scripture-proof for Infant-Church-membership, to Mr Hudsons vindication, where you say it is admirably & fully proved.

Now mark what Mr Hudson himself confesses of his book in his Epistle Dedicatory, three things. 1. That such was the darkness & sublimity of the subject he could not make it plain to ordinary understandings, but was forced to make use of Latine & logical terms above ~~the~~ vulgar capacities. 2. that seemingly his opinion crosseth the stream of our protestant divines. 3. That it is a point in which he can find so few going before him. And is this admirable & full proof?

This point I charge to be popish, & to set up a pope. And if I do erre, I erre with no worse company ~~then company~~ then Mr Tho: Hooker, Dr Whittaker, & many more of our protestant worthies. I remember ~~[illegible]~~ reverend ~~Mr~~ Cotton calls it a Chymera. A political body or society must consist of head & members, governor & governed. And as is the body so must be the head. A visible body must have a visible head. But Christ is not nor ever was a visible political head to his Church on earth. I do grant that when upon earth outwardly as a man he was seen & to be seen. But consider him as very Christ, God & man the saviour of the world, so he was not seen, but believed on, Joh. 14.1. Joh. 6.29. 1 Tim. 3.16. And now we do not see him, but believe on him, 1 Pet. 1.8. Faith is of things not seen, Heb. 11.1.

When we treat of political government that by divines is referred to the 5th Commandment. But as for Christs government & headship over all, that is spiritual and internal, & is referred to the first commandment. I grant Christ to be the head over all things both visible & invisible to the Church. But I deny him to be a visible head. You have three or four reasons in your Ecclesiastical cases to prove this point. I think I can repeal them truly. Obj. 1. Is not Christ visible? Answ. To the essence of a political society it is necessary that the head be as visible as the body or members, that the king be as visible as his subjects. I grant that we Christians are visible, I deny not the company of Christians upon earth to be visible in their particular, & in their assemblies; & laws, & ordinances, & worship, & [illegible] pastors

& smaller & greater communions. But I deny that the universality of baptized ones on earth is a visible political society, headed by Christ. ffor Christ is not any where on earth to be seen.

Obj. 2. He is seen of his courtiers in heaven, as the king may be seen of his courtiers only, & yet be king over all the whole kingdom.

Answ. But if the king be no where seen, neither of courtiers nor any other, nor is to be seen on earth, certainly he is not a king. Gods Saints even while on earth are spiritually courtiers, & have accesse with boldnesse into Gods gratious presence. But we do not see Christ, nor is he to be seen by us: but we believe on him.

Obj. 3. He was once visible on earth, & is now visible in heaven: & therefore it may be denominated a visible kingdom.

Answ. To the same purpose argueth Mr Hudson, that as king James by leaving Scotland & coming into England, ceased not to be visible king of Scotland. So Christ by leaving earth, & going to heaven ceaseth not to be visible king over his Church. Whence therefore Mr T: Hooker warneth in the fear of God to beware of making Christ, but a meer man & temporal monarch. May we say that because David was once king of Israel, & is now visible in heaven, that therefore he is visible king of Israel now; & that Israel is now his visible kingdom?

Obj. 4. The ~~kingdome might be called~~ Church may be said to be a visible political society, though Christ be not visible, in that the lawes, officers, subjects, assemblies, & government are visible.

Answ. I conceive that it is as essential for the head of a political society to be seen, as for the society or people governed to be seen. If the Church be a body without a head, it is a carcass or headlesse multitude, having no governour, none to center in. If the body be visible, so must be the head. An invisible head cannot be a proper political head to a visible body. David now in heaven cannot be a political head to a nation upon earth. So that of necessity we must yield to a pope, if we grant the universal Church to be our visible political society. If you think my understanding & reason to be nothing, yet let the judgment of such men as Dr. Whittaker & Mr T: Hooker weigh with you. Mistake me not as though I did deny the Church universal to be visible. I grant the church universal is visible as mankind spread up & down the world is visible each one in his person, in ffamilies, markets, armies, traffick. But you contend that the Church universal is a proper political society, & not a community. This is to set up a pope.

8. For the 8th that baptism as such entreth only into the universal
Church directly, & not into any particular Church. This is one of your
Solutions in your cases Ecclesiastical, & in your Disputations of right
to Sacraments. But if a Scripture should be ~~produced~~ desired for this
you would be hard put to it. 1 Cor. 12. 13. saith we are all baptized into
one body; but it saith not that we are by baptism entred only into
the Church universal, & not into any particular Church. And to my
thinking it is a contradiction. For how can a man be entred into
the whole, & not into every part? He that is related to the whole
body of Christ on earth, as a Christian man, must needs be rela-
ted to every part. Exclude him any one & you cannot say he is
a member of the whole.

9. For the 9th you confesse the common opinion to be against you:
therein then I am not alone. And for the truth of it, if all
Christians & Churches be not homogeneal, then they are heterogene-
al, & so they are divided against themselves. Christs body is but
one. Let a godly man be at sea, in a dungeon, at the Antipo-
des remote from all Churches, yet is he a godly man: & all
godly ones, & none but godly ones are homogeneous parts of
Christs body. It is hypocrites & false professors who are
of a contrary kind, & differ *toto coelo* from the godly.

10. For the 10th no Scripture saith it. But it saith, Pro. 20. 6. most men
will proclaim every one his own goodnesse: but a faithfull man who
can find? If indeed all men were holy & true from the womb,
we might be bound to believe every ones bare profession till by
apostasy they had forfeited their credit. But we know from Scripture
that in Adam all be dead, we are ignorant, blind, & deceit-
full, & many are called but few are chosen. The greater part
are ~~[illegible]~~ unfaithfull. If there could be no doubting of
~~[illegible]~~ anothers syncerity, why should Paul say I stand in doubt of
you? Says Abraham, peradventure there shall be fifty righteous
be found in Sodom. He was charitable but withall wise with his
Charity. Peradventure is not certainty. You your self confesse that
you fear the state of many whom yet you hope of. Now what
difference between you & me? You ~~judge~~ have no such hope of
this or that man, but what is mixed with judicious grounded
fear. I judge neither way, but suspend my thoughts; if I be
uncharitable, ~~[illegible]~~ you will hardly escape. In a word it is only regene-
ration which restores ~~[illegible]~~ to sound credit. As to some things the
word may be believed. But as to syncerity & heavenly matters
great caution is to be used. To justify the wicked & condemn the
righteous are both alike abomination to God: if we go by bare words
& verbal profession how serious soever

we shall leave out a great deal of practical evidence, most strong these words. Jam. 2. 18. Joh. 5. 36. Joh. 10. 37, 38.

11. For the 11th it is questionable how far you extend the priviledges of adult Church-members. The pope in ordine ad Spiritualia claimeth boundless soveraignty. not only Sacraments, but the chusing of ministers & Church-officers, the rights of patrons, & many things more be priviledges of adult Church-members. If your principle were to be put in practice in its full breadth, I fear it would be found impracticable.

13. For the 13th I do still conceive, that Gods Church on earth is one, & that no man can be a member of the whole, but he must needs be of every part; & if you exclude a Christian man from any one part of Gods Church, you cannot say he is a member of the whole. And Christs body is not divided. I grant that outwardly a man cannot at once be in more places then one: but regularly where is a mans ordinary dwelling, of that Church he is a member, if there be one. If you cut off the hand from the arm, you cut it off from the whole body. I grant I have said of your doctrine that you leave neighbourhood out of your definition of a particular Church; ~~[illegible]~~ for wch you tax me of breach of the 9th commandment. And had I but otherwise expressed my self, or opened my meaning, you had not had cause to have charged me, & yet my meaning was not far to seek. I grant indeed that you do require that all the members of the particular Church do live in vicinity; but withall you deny them to be members of the particular Church, unless they shall enter in by the door of the Church-covenant additional to baptism. Though they be godly men & parishioners, yet not consenting to your particular Church-covenant, you exclude them. And if you exclude them from any one part of Gods Church, you cannot say they are members of the universal: it being a contradiction for one & the same man to be at the same time a member of the whole, & yet excluded any one part.

14. For this particular, I have said nothing of it in publick writing. I confess you do caution your Reader not to mistake nor make an ill use of your meaning: but I think that is no salve to heal the sore, & save the rigour that I say no lycentiousness of your sayings. I do grant that Noah, Lot, David, Peter were most holy men, yet did they fall into these & these gross sins, some whereof it is not usual for the wicked themselves to fall into, much less for the godly. But he that will from hence gather a general doctrine whether negative or affirmative, & teach it publickly, that no man may be accounted ungodly, that falleth into no worse sins then those holy men did, or that is but guilty of such & such sins, I think would teach ill doctrine & untrue. For it contains an implication, if we do but commit such & such sins, & stop there, we may yet be godly; which is dangerous doctrine. If you say I wrong your meaning, my answer is that I do not wrong your words simply meant. And if your words & meaning do not agree, & the one out-shoot the other, I cannot ~~[illegible]~~ help that. From one swallow we may not conclude a spring; & from one rare accidental & unusual case, we may not infer a general doctrine that though all London or England should be guilty of such & such gross sins, yet can we not for these conclude many of them to be ungodly, unless they live in them impenitently. As if it were possible for a whole multitude or generality ~~living~~ to be guilty of such sins, & that ordinarily, & yet be godly & penitent. Some sins are so gross & contradictious to repentance, that if men should die in the act of them, we might justly doubt of their salvation though they had been holy before; how much more when their whole course hath been unholy.

15. ffor the last, you your self do grant a Christian kingdom. Now I aver, that a Christian kingdom, & so every Christian kingdom as such is a Church, both name & thing. It is your own arguing from Isa. 55. 5. that where is Gods call of a nation, & a nations answer to that call, there is a Church. In the end of your plain Scripture-proof for Infant-Church-membership. Whether you call it a national Church, or a Christian nation, is but a matter of words. You say indeed our controversie here is as if it should be asked, whether all the Grammar schools in the kingdom may be fitly called our national school? But rather I conceive this to be the point, whether the king & his English subjects be a kingdom; & being Christened, whether they be a Christian kingdom; & whether a Christian kingdom ~~[illegible]~~ as such be a Church of God or no, in a proper sense? I prove from your own words & Isa. 55. 5 forecited, that such there shall be under the Gospel, & the event proves it. And it were easy to be large in this point. So that you needed not to have upbraided the conformable Clergy wth this question, what is the Church of England, & who is the head thereof? ffor the answer is easy. Christ is head of it as he is over all the Church: & under him the king is supream governour ~~[illegible]~~ in things both civil & ecclesiastical, according to our oaths of allegiance & supremacy, as was David, Josias, Constantine &c. And being a Christian he is a Church-member. We do not denominate the Church of England either from the king, or from the convocation, or from any other man, or number of men; ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ but from Christ & God by him. And so the expression is sound & proper, Gods Church in England, that is all the godly & faithfull in England, as distinguished from transmarine Churches, & such outlandish Churches as be with us; & also as distinguished from heathens; yea & from hypocrites too.

And if you shall say, that this is only a community & not a polity; ~~[illegible]~~ if I may answer *ad hominem*, it is a proper polity, for here is Christ the *pars regens*, & Christians the *pars subdita*. But for my self I frame this answer, that where there is *coetus fidelium*, a company of godly souls there is a Church of God both name & thing. Though the Church may be without a Christian magistracy, yet not without a magistracy ordinarily in this world. And magistracy is not an accident to the Church, but an ordinance of God by wch the Church of God doth in an ordinary way stand & consist as it doth by other ordinances & institutions of God. But if any shall go about to subject both Church & state to a forreign jurisdiction, whether pope or general Council, we with you shall gladly withstand the same. But while you do assert, that ~~[illegible]~~ there is such a thing as one universal visible Church, which is a proper polity & not a community, it is you who lay a foundation for such forreign jurisdiction, & leave us no way to avoid a pope, but by running into worse. This is that which you do so much blame me for, as charging your doctrine to infer worse then a pope. I do acknowledge it a great sin & piece of uncharitableness to wring & force dreadfull consequences from a mans doctrine, which it will not bear. The greater the crime, the more is my wo if I have run into it. But if you shall call your doctrine self-evident, & as clear as the Sun at noon-day, & that two & two is four; & upon examination it shall be found that either there is palpable equivocation in your words ~~[illegible]~~ or they are truly lyable to ~~[illegible]~~ worse consequences then that of a pope, I will leave it to you to judge whether I be so criminal as you make me. You know very well that some of our Divines have found fault with giving that title, head of the Church, to any but Christ, though it was meant by us in England in the days of Henry 8th & Edward 6th in an honest sense. But when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, it was altered, & in stead of being styled Supream head of the Church of England, she was styled Supream governour. And yet that too gave some offence to some tender consciences & scrupulous brethren, for the clearing whereof she put forth injunctions or explications, which gave satisfaction; & ever since our kings have been styled ~~sup~~ supream in causes as well ecclesiasticall as civil.

Now you contend for the word head, as proper to each parish-pastor. Mr B. head of the Church at Kidderminster. I shall freely allow you the expression sano sensu, as I know you mean it. But then if you shall rigidly contend, that God hath ordained two essentially different forms of Churches or Church-policies, never to be altered by man: the universal headed by Christ alone, particular Churches headed by their respective pastors; I say as before, either the word headed, is univocal & meaneth the same in both places, or it doth not. If not, it is not clear teaching, you must be beholding to improper speaking & equivocation, or it is beyond my understanding to make your doctrine tolerable. Our protestant writers against the papists use to say that Christ is sole head of the Church, that is in a mystical, divine, transcendent, & incommunicable sense: & do deny ~~[illegible]~~ that any meer man or number of men can be a head to any one Church or soul or more in the sense as Christ is. And I know you say the same, nor did it ever enter into my heart to fasten on your thoughts or judgement the least of those black consequences, for which I am in your dislike. But may I not innocently detect the evil & inconsistency of some expressions of yours, not assented to by you, without fastening on you the consequences of your assertion? Is it more evil to detect errour then to write it? ~~[illegible]~~ If you pretend to accurate speaking & clear self-evident solution, & tenaciously adhere to your terms; which they are neither found in Scripture, nor in the common Creeds of Christendom, nor in ~~the~~ any the Confessions of the Reformed Churches; nor in any sound Catechism or godly book that ever I read or heard of; nor can they stand without equivocation; I shall neither embrace your terms as proper nor contend with you about them, but leave you to use your own words.

~~[illegible]~~ There is none that I know hath writ more for the peoples right & power of chusing their pastors then you. And I know none that hath said more to overthrow it then you, in two books wch I have seen of yours, ye Christian Directory, & Christian ~~Direct~~ Concord. The summ ~~where~~of is this, that by all law & right it belongeth to the people to chuse their ~~pastors~~ ministers: that by no law or right doth it belong to them to chuse ministers, they have neither leasure, ~~for it~~ nor are they fitted & capacitated for it. You distinguish between chusing to the office of the ministry in generall as such, & chusing who shall be our minister, barring the people ~~f~~ wholly from the ~~the~~ former in an ordinary way; not from the latter. Which to my thinking is as if women generally should be said to ~~be~~ have no right to decide who is a man, & fit to be a husband, nor any ~~of~~ ability to judge thereof: & yet without their consent there can be no marriage, & so no husbands.

They which contend for popular elections, do use to alledge these new testament scriptures or instances, the chusing of Matthias to be an Apostle, Act. 1. of 7 men to be Deacons Act. 6. &

That it must bee acknowledged God hath blessed this nation with great plenty & liberty of Gospell-preaching beyond what it hath injoyed in former times.

That it is yet to bee observed & lamented yt ye Gospell hath not a successe proportionable thereto.

That a more generall conversion of soules throughout the Land cannot but bee a thing most desireable to every upright & honest heart both as a pledge of Gods continued presence among us, & ye great end (as is to bee hoped) of all ye salvations hee hath wrought for us.

That however the spirit of God is acknowledg'd most free in all its operations upon the soules of men as ye wind that bloweth where it listeth. yet since it is its wonted course to worke by meanes. it cannot but bee much the concernmt. of them who by their calling are more especially obliged to intend the conversion of soules, to take heed lest they bee wanting in any such indeavours as ye Lord may probably blesse & prosper unto that end.

That ye publiq preaching of ye Gospell is to bee confessed an Ordinance of God. of great necessitie & usefullnesse in order thereunto.

That it is yet to bee hoped it might bee a great furtherance to the successe of the Gospell, if they who are appointed to the worke of publiq preaching, did also (within their respective precincts) use other more private indeavours wth their hearers (such as shall admit thereof) Instructing them in the things of God they are ignorant of, pressing upon them what they know, inquiring into ye state of their soules & applying themselves to them accordingly.

That it cannot but seem probable that many ignorant hearers. not so well capable of understanding a continued & transient discourse, might yet by a way of private & familiar interlocution bee brought to some knowledge of ye doctrines of ye Gospell they are yet unacquainted wth, & that many unattentive hearers (who regard not, often, what is spoken to them from ye pulpit, though of weightiest concernment to their soules) would yet bee obliged to attention unto such a discourse wherein themselves are to beare a part.

That upon ye account of ye publiq maintenance such persons in the Ministry injoy for their workes sake, they are necessarily obliged in justice & equitie. to make it their businesse to seeke the good of soules & spend their time & strength herein, having an universall care (as much as in them lies) of ye people among whom they are placed.

That however this infer not an obligation upon them of dispensing unto any, such priviledges or Ordinances as they are not in a present capacitie for, yet it cannot but bee obliging them not to neglect any necessary indeavours for the good of their soules, & by wch they may bee instrumentall to help them unto that capacitie for more peculiar ordinances they are yet short of.

That therefore the minrs of the Gospell within this nation, as they would approve themselves persons seriously intending the honour of God & saving of soules, bee exhorted to give all diligence for the fullfilling of their ministrie. And that besides their constant worke in publiq preaching they designe some time from week to week for visiting of families within their severall charges, or otherwise conferring wth particular persons (to whom their labours in this kind shall bee acceptable) about the state of their soules, & the concernmts of another world; & that (where either the numerousnes or aversnes of their people do not render it impossible to them) they labour to bee acquainted wth ye spirituall states of all under their charge. & accordingly to instruct, warne, exhort, or comfort them as ye case shall require. Furthermore,

That ye people bee exhorted to accept & improve their offered help & assistance herein, And,

That whereas the present differences in judgment & practice among the professors & preachers of ye Gospell about some circumstantiall matters relating to church-order & discipline, together wth their too visible distances & estrangemt from each other upon that account, are so apparently obstructive to the progresse of religion, & conversion of soules (through the scandall & offence that arises hereby unto many) The Godly minrs bee invited to maintaine (as farre as is possible) a Christian & brotherly communion wth each other. And to that end. That they hold frequent meetings together within convenient circuits, for the amicable debating of ye things wherein they differ, & the strengthening one anothers hands in the things wherein they agree. ye repressing the growing errors of the times, & carrying on (wth as much unanimitie & consent as may bee) the great worke they are ingaged in. & Finally,

That all lawfull protection & incouragemt bee promised them. while they are thus faithfully active (within their spheres & in the things that concerne ~~thik~~ their calling) for the honour of God & the good of soules.

J Howe

I

Reverend Sr,

I cannot yet meet wth an opportunitie for further discourse wth Mr Nye. [illegible] Nor do hope for much successe in any further treatye wth him. I perceive so steady a resolution to measure all indeavors of this kind by their subserviencie to the advantage of one partie. I resolve therefore to make tryall what his Highn: will do as speedily as I can. My time will not serve mee long. For I thinke I shall bee constrained in conscience (all things considered) to returne ere long to my former station. I left it I thinke upon very faire termes. For first wn I settled there I expressly reserved to my selfe a libertie of removing if ye providence of God should invite mee to a condition of more serviceablenesse any where else (wch libertie yet I reckon I could not have parted wth if I would, unlesse I could have exempted myselfe from Gods dominion) My call hither was to a worke I thought very considerable. ye setting up of the worship & discipline of Christ in this familie wherein I was to have joyned wth another called upon the same account. I had made as I supposed a competent provision for ye place I left. But now at once I see the designed worke here hopelessly laid aside. Wee affect here to live [illegible] in so loose a way that ~~I~~ a man cannot fixe upon any certaine charge to carry towards them as a minr. of Christ should: so that it were as hopefull a course to preach in a market, or in any Assembly met by chance as here. In the meane time the people I left are breaking into parties, cannot meet in any one person as they professe they could in mee, & are now wholly destitute. & having heard of some inclinations on my part towards them, invite my returne. I cannot meet wth any argt. against it but fleshly ones, wch I hope God will helpe mee to slight. If you will please to afford mee yor thoughts about it I shall bee thankfull. being desirous (so far as I understand myselfe) to spend my little time in ye world to the best advantage for the glory of God. I am through hast constrained abruptly to subscribe Sr,

Yors to honor & love you
John Howe

Whitehall. May. 25th

Sr, The affected disorderlines of this familie as to the matters of Gods worship (wch arises my despaire of doing good here) I desire as much as is possible to conceale. & therefore resolve, to others, to insist upon the necessitous condition of the place I left as the reason of my removall (if I do remove) to yourselfe I state my case more fully as expecting some direction & helpe from you about it. but desire you to bee very sparing in making it knowne as 'tis here represented.

Mr Symes

[illegible] ye Army to make a settlemt [illegible] to make [illegible] settlem[illegible] made you [illegible] hope [illegible] cast downe ye trouble of all [illegible]. This is no time to [illegible] my suppositions, but I shall lay before you some of ye most concerning points, wch I doubt not to yeild to yt end you may not goe agst ym tho you disowne ym. 1. God is ye absolute & universall Soveraigne & hath universall Laws & hath in ym appointed governmt & subjection in particular commonwealths, limitting ym by his Lawes, assigning ym yr ends &c. 2. All ye Power of true Governors is derived from him. 3. The People as such are not ye fountaine of governing Power, not any yr efficient cause, for it was never in ym to give. 4. Any Signum Voluntatis Divinæ sufficeth to determin who or how many shall have ye Soveraigne Power. And God hath many ways to signify his will. (And its ye Whole & ye How Many, (called ye species) yts left undetermined in ye Universall Law.) 5. Among a free people theire consent is ordinarily a conditio sine qua non, for ye Specification (How many) & designation of ye Individualls. But wn they chuse ye Person & mode of Governmt, they give not ye Power. 6. The dispositio materiæ being necessary ad receptionem formæ, usually ye materia disposita is soe eminent & knowne yt ye people therby are obliged by God now to chuse, & before they chose. (but not always). 7. Wisdom to Governe, goodness to aime at ye due End (ye Common Good) & Power to execute are ye capacity. The 2 first in ye Person (as ye Intellect & will in personall Governmt) & ye 3d in ye people united to him by his Interest (as ye inferior facultys to ye will). And soe much Interest as [illegible] sufficeth to a governing & executive power is essentiall to a Govrnor, & noe more consent always. 8. Providence oft disobligeth us from Governors (perhaps yt are innocent) by making ym incapable or [illegible] matter. 9. The deposing of a person is noe alteration of a Species or fundamentall constitution thereabout. Q. Wt if ye old Governmt in Specie be changed, if so, quo jure? Not by a Law: for Constitutions de Specie Regiminis are by Contract antecedent to Laws (for Law is an act of Authority & Constitution makes ye Authority in Specie), but by contract; for wt & by wm? Q. Wr Parliamts bee ye Representatives of ye Subjects & soe bee subjects or rather a part of ye supreame Power, or both in severall respects? & wr did ye people gave ym power to consent to alter ye fundamentall Constitution? or only to Governe according to it? &c But these are preliminary. —— 10. The begining is ye end: ye Universall Soveraignes will is both. 11. The bonum publicum is ye nearer essentiall end of Governmt. 12. Spirituall & eternall good is ye chiefe part of ye common good. 13. It can bee noe Governmt or power yts inconsistent with ye essentiall end of ye Christian Religion. 14. Ye first & greate care then must bee to secure Gods honor & ye means of salvation to us & or Posterity, & deale with or money & libertys in subordination hereto. 15. The Gospel & Godlyness are in exceeding danger of ruine in England at this time, 1. By swarmes of Papists masked under divers names &c 2. Above all by ye danger wee are in of future Parliamts; ye farr greater part of ye people hate practicall godlyness: more of ym are slaves to their Malignant Landlords yt hate it worse: soe yt (for all ye Interest of honest gentlemen & Ministers) if ye feare of ye Army were but removd & ye people free to choose a Parliamt, experience, sects, taxes, exasperated Landlords &c would irritate ym to chuse such as would tread you & us in ye dirt. The next free Parliamt (fully free), if you prevent it not, is like to make us as much worse yn K. Charles would have made us as Enymys to Piety will choose such as will play ye part of Enemys. (I will not say to you as ~~O. C. to L. F.~~ they will fart you out) Stand for ye Libertys of ye wicked rabble as much as you will & flatter ym to ye utmost by decrying all yt seems agst it & ye reward shall be to perish with ye Brethren, or weepe ovr ye ejected practice of Religion. Grotians & Papists &c ~~[illegible]~~ are stronger yn you imagin, among those yt can leade ye vulgar. 16. Give mee leave then to tell you, yt wee groane, wee cry betweene hope & feare for ye helpe of yr extraordinary opportunity to secure us a succession of Religion, yt ye next Parliamt undoe us not. And accept my opinion of ye meanes in Briefe.

They spied a bitter yt sort of Gods way.

1. The begining & summe of all is in ye Regulation of Elections of future Parliamts; here are two ways [illegible]. 1. ye only perfect way; But I doubt too good for us. viz: yt Presbyt: Indepts all honest christians may agree (wch I hope you may effect) & settle discipline through ye Land, & none but ch: members may governe or chose Governers. And to secure ye Majestrats Interest let evry Presbytery have a Justice or officer of yr appointmt, & as to these secular libertys noe man shall bee taken as ejected, if hee dissent. 2. If this bee too good then let only one word bee added in ye humble Petn & advise viz: yt ye qualifications required there in ye elected bee allsoe on greate penaltys required in ye (Electors). Make a Law yt noe drunkard, swearer &c shall choose: & set on foote a course for trying, viz: any one convicted before a Justice &c — But ye first is ye perfect way: wch might at present thus be qualifyed till wee can agree further [yt none be Electors yt are for drunkenness, swearing, scorning at godlyness &c Cast out of any approved Church by ye Consent of ye Church, Justice (wm you may chuse only for ys worke in every parish, where noe Justice is) or yt joyne not for ~~some~~ Gods worship to some approved or tolerated Churchs in ye Land] And hereby set a guard at ye dore of toleration after ys act is past as well as at ye dore of Approbation, viz: yt no Ch: have a Tolerated Pastor yt hath not an Instrumt of Toleration, as others of Approbation.

[illegible] agree [illegible]
the [illegible]
Malitia in honest hands: but [illegible]
~~[illegible]~~
only but yt bee watchfull agst ye [illegible] of Papists. 2. Settle a Malitia of Godly Officers (to have a power of refusing & not chusing theire souldiers) in each County. 3. The Governmt (supposing you leave it in ye name according to Law) will bee either elective or successive. If elective (1) Let ye Parliamt bee sworne to choose ye wisest & godlyest & faithfullest men yt they can, for a Standing Counsell of State. (2) Let ye Councell bee sworne uppon ye Princes death to choose 4 of ye wisest & best among ym for succession. (3) Let one of ye 4 bee chosen by a Lot (regulated by Law for full security) & let London at least seeke God by fasting & Prayer for ye decision by Lot; & ye Councill governe till ye Lot determine. 2. But if ye Governmt bee successive let a most strict Law secure ye education of ye Prince & impose Tutors on him (punctually described) both for civil & Religious Education, he being more ours then his Fathers.
Its pitty wee are put to talking at this rate: but wt remedy?

Heres most of ye greate worke: but in order to it take heed of enemys: all ye rest are none by ye Papists: Fryars & Jesuits I am confident swarme in London. The new Democraticks are silly of ym (yt would confound all yt they may have roome to play their game) & silly Infidels, & silly halfwitted seduced honest men. I beseech you stand for noe higher Liberty for ye Multitude yn is consistent with ye ends of Governmt & Interest of it. Why should those have liberty to choose Governors in Engl. yt were put to death in Israell? Study an answer, yt is Blasphemers, obstinate disobeyers of Parents or ye Priests, wth abundance more yt I can prove were yn cut off, if it may bee usefull. — All ye business will bee to bring on these things soe as may take with ye house, O me thinks with all sober men it should bee a matter of ill forme & fame for a Parliament in a reforming time & Land to stand up for ye Liberty of filthy ungodly ones to choose or Parliamts & soe dispose of or Religion (which they hate) & lives. It will communicate a dishonour to ye House yt yr choosers shall bee such & yt by yr owne Law & resolute defence. Is yr not ye same reason agst a vicious Elector & a vicious Elected person? The best Law yt ere England had made of late, was yt in ye Humble Petition for reformation of Members. I may run out now noe further into these matters; but to beseech you alsoe yt you much mind ye Protestant Interest abroade & if or purses stretch for it, lett us beare it. Watch ye Leaders of ye seditious gang: you know ym I hope through ye maske — Liberty extensive to such as Papists, is one of ye chiefe doctrines by wch you may know ym. // I imagine if you agree not with ye P. they will take out of ye Lands of Delinquents a stated Revenue for ye Armies & take off ye taxes. [Such Harrington himself in his Oceana & Nevill (yt helpt him) take for just & necessary, as to all yt will not by a day appointed submitt or begone] //

For Religion itself I shall now say nothing, but yt wee shall not bee well till 1. Able Pastors bee forct to exercise discipline; ~~without~~ ye Non=exercise of it continueth ye Independents withdrawings more yn any distance in principles. 2. Till all ye sober godly people bee brought as neere as may bee by a Reconciliation, & Laws of Toleration made; wherein ye [illegible] Episcopall may bee included, & strict Laws made agst ye Propagators of Popery. (Ye Oath of abjuration is not well composed) // I pray you let yt strange clause in ye Humble P. & advice bee revised, yt gives ye publick maintenance [to ym yt differ from us in worship & discipline] without limitation: Ridiculous! yn hee yt is agst worshipping God shall have ye publick maintenance for worshipping him. Hee yt is agst Preaching, Praying Praises Sacraments, shall bee maintained as a Minister to preach pray &c.

Q. Whence is it yt ye Jesuits in yr Politicks are most for Democratie?

8. I pray you remember ye E. of Lauderdaill & helpe him to ye same favor for his estate as others had in his Condition. Its a hard case yt a Learned, wise godly man must bee soe hardly used for such a cause as hee was taken prisoner in: wn ye Laws of yr owne Land, & ye Covenant & Honor of ye Protestant cause did seeme soe much to justify ym; when yet ye implacable enemys of or owne Nation are admitted to composition (& have more yn Liberty) while ye Nation must bee at ye coste of maintaining an Army for or ~~[illegible]~~ defence agst ym, as if wee were still in warr. I pray hasten his deliverance. / Present my service to Mr Grove, C. Birch. Mr Beale & communicate these (ill shaped soe words) to such of ym you please. All this is written in meer obedience; but without any hope yt any good will be done in ye position wee are in. Just

K. ffebr. 14.

Yr Servant R: B.

Take heed how you take downe ye Approbaters at Whitehall till you are sure to set up a better way, for this have done much good.

The Governors know well enough how little you & I are for them, & therefore plaine dealing is best: it is in vaine to hide it.

To my honored friend
John Swinfen Esq a
member of ye Parliamt
This dd

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Reverend & deare Sr.

Since my returne from ye West (where I suppose you may have heard I spent some months of late) I have often been putting pen to paper to write to you, but have deferd being still held in expectation of some happy issue that I might know what to write that might bee a ground of some action or Praier for the Churches good. Such expectations are now at an end. I know not to what purpose it will now bee to fill a letter wth complaints of mens iniquities & ye present & approaching miseries. My kinsman Mr Upton (now in Towne) shewed mee a lr of yors. wherein you expresse yor wonder at ye late turnes as well you may. Hee hath made it my taske to give you what account I can. It cannot bee newes to you that ye Councill in ye old Protectors time was divided into 2 pties. ye one was for a settlement upon such termes as might please ye nation (as hee himselfe allso was) & those (except one of late) had no present relation to the Army, the other who were (the chiefe of them) Army-men were not much pleased wth nor did study any such thing but thought it their duty in order to the safety of religion & liberty of conscience to keep up the power of the Army as much as they could & thereby to curb & represse the spirit of ye nation (as they use to phrase it.) ye young Protr following (in this) his fathers steps, I meane in the study & indeavor of a civill settlemt, whereby a just provision might bee made allso for religious liberty, by a law, wthout keeping the nation under a force. & that things might run in their naturall channell. is lookt upon wth a jealous ey by the military part of the Councill least hee should mingle interests wth ye nation & master theirs, & so the Army wherein their places of power & profit lay by degrees become insignificant. To obviate this, presently after his entrance into the Governmt. they attempt to make the Army independent on him &c. A Parliament being called they find his interest to bee prevailing there against the Commonwealths-men (as they are miscalled) so that the other house is owned & agreed to bee transacted wth. they find this other house will bee no ballance to the

Exam

Comons as being too much of their temper (for though it bee true the old Prot., called severall Swordmen into that house to please the Army, yet hee wisely contrived it that they should not bee so many as to hurt the nation the Judges & severall Gentlemen of the Country quite of another temper being the Majr part) & easily perceive that whatever shall bee done by the Comons in ordr to the restraining of religious libertie, & the subjugating of the Army to the Civill Governmt. is likely to meet wth so great opposition in this other house. therefore they think it necessary to have the Parliamt garbelled or dissolved. & bec: they cannot procure this by perswasion they imbody. & resolve upon force. wch ye Protectr perceiving & understanding if the worke must bee done by them they intended only garbelling & to leave a remnant that should ~~bee~~ do their worke & put a pretext of legality ~~upon~~ whatever they should have a mind to; for prevention of this chuses rather to dissolve them. not dreaming as one ~~this~~ would think no man could of such a thing as this reg of — &c. This action of the army & procuring the Parliamts dissolution ~~being~~ occasioning a mighty accesse & confluence to them of wild-headed persons of all sorts. whom they refuse not as fearing they might have need of them, these infuse into the inferior officers a disaffection to Governmt by a single person. the streame runs so strong this way that the chief officers cannot wthstand it (& ~~ide~~ they indeavor faintly enough some of them at least) hence saye yt undertake the modelling of a new Governmt. they think it advisable rather to make the natio wr yt price of y ————

Sr. such persons as are now at the head of affairs will blast religion if God prevent not. the designe you said mee of some time since to introduce infidelitie or Popery they have opportunity enough to effect. I know some leading men are not christians. religion is lost out of England furthr then as it can creep into corners. those in powr that are friends to it will no more respect those persons then their own lifs. I am returning to ~~the~~ my old Statio being now at liberty beyond dispute. I am

Sr,

Yrs much obliged.

J How

May 29.

Right Worpll

I have seriously perused wt you sent, & have somewt considered now & many a time here-
tofore of my obligations to God, & prayed yt he would direct me how to answere yt,
& it is my constant Prayer yt he would reveale to me any errors & miscarriages, yt I
M have bin guilty of in such great affaires: But I have not discovered yt it was my
Duty, or lawfull in ye Sermon wch you mention, to have spoken wt you judged my
Duty. I am as far unsatisfyed with the wayes of men in doinge what I have lived
to see, as others yt may yet judge it their duty to expresse yt dissatisfaction other-
wise yn I do. I would not for a world owne what they have done: And yet I dare
not putt up yor prayers. I feare not much to speake or do wt I judge my duty for
ye service of my Lord. (For should you yt are 70 & I yt am 80 [illegible] be
deterred from duty by ye feares of sufferinge, ye proximity of eternity would make us
inexcusable.) But to deale plainly with you Sir, & tell you my heart, while I lament
ye sins of men, I admire ye Providence of God. I am not fallen out wth ye worke of Red-
emption, though I detest ye sin of Judas, & lament ye fall of Peter & all ye rest yt forsooke
ye Lord: Nor dare I say yt agt him yt sent Joseph into Egypt, as I dare agt him yt sold him
thither. Precept only cutteth me out my Duty in Positives, but Providence may do much
about Negatives & in ye suspendinge of my action: For no sin must be at any time comitted,
nor Duty omitted, but every good action materially taken, is not at all times formally good
or duty. Unseasonable Prayinge & Preachinge may be a sin. And I measure all meanes much
by their aptitude to their ends. Governmt is a meanes; & Gods Honor in ye Prosperity or good
of Church & Comon=wealth is its end. That wch is unfitt to attaine those ends, yea would destroy
ym is no Meanes, & so no Governmt desireable to me. There is no Power but from God & for God.
He never gave men (Power & Authority agt himselfe. Now when I observe together, 1o ye way in Church
& State before ye Warres, 2o ye strange streame of Providences, through all ye changes, in all the
three Nations, 3o The quality of ye People Nobility, Gentry & Comons, yt must vote if yor Petition
be granted; (amonge whom wt is one Sir ff. N. yt would be a miracle to putt an honest one on
their impiety, rather yn have any power to hinder it) who at this day, as certaine experience tells
us, would draw ye bloud of their godly Neighbors, merely on ye account of Godlynes, were not
their hands tyed: 4o The quality of ye Clergye yt must teach & guide ye Church (~~Christians~~ ye
havinge at present seemingly possession of ye Title of Bps) & lifeless & lewd Preachers beinge
their chiefest friends) it makes my heart tremble to thinke of ye change yt you desire
so yt I dare as well run into ye fire as use yor Prayer. And I am able sincerely to Professe,
yt if in this I be mistaken, it is for God & for ye Church & not for myselfe or any worldly
things. So yt I take myselfe to be called by God to stand still, till he make plaine my way.
I dare not goe agt his Precept on one side; nor dare I strive agt a streame of Providence
for ye apparent destruction of ye Church, on ye other hand. The Prediction of a certaine cap-
tivity by Jeremy, disobliged ye Jews from many actions, wch otherwise they were obliged to in obedi-
ence to their Kinge & in defence of their country. But yet wt I have done, more seasonably yn
in ye Pulpit, to tell men of their miscarriages in those affaires, it is no matter yt I open to you,
yn yt I open yors to ym. Did I know any good meanes yt were likely in ye least measure to
attaine ye end, I would quickly use it. But alas Sir, they have heard more yn you desire to set before
ym. And as I am past doubt yt labor you mention would be in vaine, & in so great doubt of the
issue, were I sure in this to speed, yt I dare not so much as beg it of God, so I dare not leave
my callinge to putt myselfe on such a journey. As you are no Nathan, so neither am I. And
I thinke yor Station doth suite you more to worke of yt Nature yn mine doth me: But yet
if I know my duty, I should not longe demurre. // As for my letter wch you talke of Printinge
I have much forgotten (through multitude of busyness) wt was in it: But as I remember yt there
was nothinge which I care who seeth, so also I remember yt there was nothinge yt I thought
worth ye seeinge, or else I had taken a copy of it (wch I never do of any but Theologicall
letters to my Brethren). Sir, had I received yors before it was so late, I had not put the
messenger to ye trouble of stayinge all night. As I must acknowledge yor great Condescension
so I crave yor pardon for ye faults of my hast, & remaine

Yor Servant

R. B.

To do nothing agt or Allegiance & obligations
to or lawfull Governors, I take for granted
we are agreed on: yea to do all for them
that by lawfull meanes we can

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To Sir ffrancis Netherſole

~~Sr~~ Yor two bookes lately published, especially yt of ye Trinity,
hath much increased my esteeme of you: Deeper & hard studys use so
much to take up the higher facultys, yt they are in lesse danger of sen-
suall & worldly snares: But ~~you must~~ can you suffer my free censure? Your
(notable infirmity is) too hasty confidence in yor first conceptions, not
staying till they are digested & ripened, & not desiring ye counsell
of some men of riper thoughts, & exacter distinguishing judgmts,
before you fixe & publish yors.

1o About ye Trinity, 1o You ill take ye Thomists opinion for truth, yt ye
three facultys of ye soule (Intellect, Will & Active or Executive power)
are but Accidents of ye soule. Had you well studyed ye Scotists & Nominalls
opinions for ye contrary, or had you without prejudice weighed what
Baxter in his Meth. Theolog. hath in a full Disputation said of it in
answer to all in Zabarell, & his owne & Scotus's argumts there produced
fully proving yt they are three formall inadequate conceptions
of ye soule, one in substance, & three [illegible] ad objecta, either as
Campanella calls ym Primalitys or Essentialitys, or as Scotus differ-
7o ing formaliter, or as Occam, relative ad objecta denominatione
extrinseca, you would have its like bin convinced. And had you read
yr owne prolixe disputation of ye same writer de Trinitate, you would
have had more digested conceptions of ye Trinity. I doubt not but by
~~Selfconsc~~ Selfconsciousnes, you meane Immediate & Essentiall Selfperception: And
perception is a fitter word than Consciousnes: For Conscire is Scire:
And Scire is ~~but~~ an Act but of one of the three facultys, whereas
Selfperception belongeth to all, & to all ye externall & internall sensa-
tions: videndo, audiendo &c percipio me videre, audire &c immediate
essentialiter, & yt wch is called ye Reflect act is but ye Intellects
review of severall perceptions in order to discourse.

And you mistake with Augustine in numbering Memory as one of ye three,
instead of Vitall-Active-Power; Memory being not distinct from
Intellect & Imagination: Of wch Suarez Metaph: & many more speake
well. Some other such things I passe by (as yor name of Three Minds &c)//

2o As to yor account of or Governmt, I am offended to find how little
you are understood by those yt I have seene yt write agt you:
And the reason is 1o because few readers escape confusion, & have
true distinct conceptions of Governmt, no not among Lawyers!
much lesse Divines: And 2o because you have bin guilty of their
mistaking you by miswording your conceptions, & seeme to have
bin defective in understanding yor selfe, especially in ye Termes
Authority, & Governmt & not sufficiently distinguishing of ye parts
of Governmt. Pardon my freedome in advising you how to answere them
by ye resolving of yor words according to ye following Principles//

1o Politicall humane Governmt hath two parts: One essentiall, of
Divine Institution & unchangeable: wch containeth 1o That God
be taken for Absolutely Supreame Ruler. 2o That he hath not left
mankind at liberty to live without policie, but by Nature & providence
(& his word) hath obliged men (ordinarily) to live in politike order.
3o That Rulers are his officers. 4o That his Lawes be ye supreame indi-
spensible Lawes. 5o That Rulers manage ye observance of Gods
universall Lawes: 6o That they overturne not 1o Mens Selfgovernmt
& propriety wch is presupposed to humane policie 2o Nor family Govern-
ment. 3o Nor pastorall Governmt, wch have all of Divine institution.//

7° The Bonum publicum or Salus populi is ye essentiall End of Governmt. //

2° But it is left to humane Determination, 1° who shall be ye Persons Governing: 2° whether one or many, Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy: Elective, Hereditary, by Lot &c. 3° wt power ye Rulers shall have over mens propriety in order to publike safety, & ye Rulers maintenance //

Conquest giveth no right to Governe: Nor do ye people give any of ye first Es-sentiall points: Nor is there any way of conveying wch is left to man, but by mutuall Contract: The people canot make a man King agt his will: nor he be King agt their will But Conquest is ye usuall way of Enterance, by putting on ye people a necessity to Consent: And man being a free agent, such a forced Consent bindeth. Bare submission is no Consent: yt is but telling ye Conqueror, you may kill me or spare me as you please. But promised Allegiance, or any act yt owneth his Authority is Consent. Ancestors settling ye forme of Governmt obligeth posterity: For who would take a Crowne on such termes as to hold it but at ye peoples will. yet a single Person not obliged Personally may remove to another Land, if he will quit all right in ye protection & priviledges of this // Being Contract is mutuall Consent, ye Interest of ye King is part of ye End, as well as ye peoples: & it is his due Honour & safety. For who else would be a King: yea & Gods honour in ye honour of his officer. These principles supposed —— //

1° you did not well to distinguish no more, between Gods part & mans. // 2° To leave out Contract so much as you have done. // 3° To deny Authority to be Jus Regnandi, & so take ye word unfitly. // 4° To say yt Usurpers whiles such have true Authority. // 5° To say yt ye Governmt being of God hath his Authority, wthout explaining wt you meane by Governmt, whether ye Person as Governour, or ye Exercitium, &c. // In short, you should say —— //

1° That the office in ye first Essentiall parts is of Gods making & comanding: And if an Usurper invade it, God owneth not him in ye invasion, nor hath he proper Authority wch is Jus Regnandi: But whereas Governours besides Right have an Obligation to do ye works, they being themselves under ye Obligation, tho they can give themselves no Right. But ye people may be under an Obligation to submit to him by necessity, & also to consent to his possession & exercise in case of true necessity of ye Land: & then he hath right, tho he shall answer to God for wrong in invasion. And yt wch God doth owne is ye existence & power of ye office as of his owne institution (wch I doubt not is yor meaning): As ye Priesthood & ye Reading of Moses Law were so farre owned by Christ, as to bid ye people use them, tho usurpers possest them. // This is yor argument plainly. The nation yt canot have such Rulers as they would must in case of necessity take such as they can: But a Conqueror (in short time) may bring a nation to such a necessity: Ergo &c. // The Major is proved 1° God hath fundamentally comanded Governmt (as being described): Therefore to be without all Governmt is to sin agt Gods fundamentall institution. // 2° And it is inhumane as pernicious to mankind: Were we but one yeare without any Governmt our Lives & Estates would be in ye power of ye rabble & we should be as sheep among wolves. The worst true Governmt is better than none. If the necessity be pressing, it is agt [illegible] to be ungoverned. //

E.g. Cromwells Conquest gave no true authority or Right to Govern. But should England have bin ungoverned, without Law, Judges, Justices, Constables, (or Ministers) 5 years because they would not have ye K. they had bin Rebells agt God, & pernicious to ym selves & to ye land.//

But Sr All this passeth over ye main Controversie of ye present times. Those of you offend by seeming to suppose a Usurpation will not be satisfyed till ye Qu. of K. James his Abdication be answered: And their argumt is not so much from his departure as many think: But its Grotius argumt de Jure Belli they rest on viz. Regem et perdere are inconsistent. He yt solemnly declareth himselfe bound to destroy both ye Forme & Matter of ye Kingdome, proclaimeth himselfe to be no longer Rex but publicus hostis (This reacheth not meer injury but perdition). But (say they) he yt declareth himselfe bound on pain of Excommunication & Damnation to destroy or Exterminate a whole protestant Kingdome unless they will damne their souls, & deliver up ye Kingdome to a forreign power, agt wch ye whole Kingdome is sworn, & also yt he will do it, & signifyeth this purpose by taking those Generall Councills wch bind him by his Religion & oblige him to this, & also by open attempting to put ye subordinate power by sea & land, military & judiciall into ye hands of men of ye same mind, doth declare himselfe to be publicus hostis & abdicate ye Governmt, as to ye Forme & Matter.//

This concerneth not Spaine, France, &c: for their religion bindeth ym not to destroy their Kingdomes, being Papists: nor doth it touch Nero or ye other Heathens. For it was not ye Empire but a small party of them, Nero or ye Senate: And they did it arbitrarily, not bound by Religion or oath. [illegible] did but ten of 40 years. And ye Christians scrupled not (if true) to joyne with Constantine agt ye persecuting Augustos at last.//

I do but tell you where ye stresse of ye controversie lyes. [illegible] 33 of think K. J abdicated before he left ye land.//

I doubt not but it is unlawfull for a party tho ye best to raise a civill warr for their own defence to ye endangering of ye whole. Their suffering is not so bad as a civill warr. Nor may a whole Kingdome raise a warr for any thing whose losse would not be worse than a warr. But as Nature alloweth private men a private selfe defence, so much more a Kingdome its necessary publike selfe defence.//

And though ye Insurrections & bloudy resistances of Clergy & Monks & Laity at Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, even agt Godly Christian Emperours, in the 4th, 5th & 6th centuryes confute ye tellers yt ye Christians of those times were all agt Resistance; yet no doubt but all those Resistances were sinfull & mischievous. And passive obedience is ye duty of all subjects, supposing ye selfpreserving power of Kingdoms & all Commonwealths. And yt he yt abdicateth being no King, hath no subjects. But whether this be their true stating of K. James his Case, is the matter in doubt: For no doubt but he had great cause to preserve himselfe by flight. K. Richard I. ceased not to be King when he went to Palestine, or was abroad a prisoner. I mention the state of ye case lest you contend not with those men yt open it.

13

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

19. Till you haue proved that I giue them just occasion, you must leaue me by your instance to mourne for ye church, while blinde ignorance and mistake doth carry on good men to serve Satan agt Love & peace, agt their good intents.

20. You are also utterly deceived in thinking none haue dealt as plainly with me as you. But friends may be as dangerous a temptation as enemyes: And parents and brethren must be denyed for Christ. God knoweth I beg of him day and night to saue me from errour and make me know his truth, what ever it cost me.

21. You mistake in thinking it is only their silence that maketh me take so many to judge with them as I do. They expresse their assent to the cause that I maintain, but prudence maketh them say that ye disease is so incurable that confutation will but exasperate it; and divers think yt my style is too keen (tho Paul say Rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith) And I dare not justify it, knowing my culpable ignorance and defects.

22°. Your desire to see my answer to Dr O. cometh a weeke after it is printed.

23°. Your opinion yt I explain not ye case of Will worship agt Mr Ralphson giveth me no confuting reason. I think I haue done it. Tell me what it is that you would haue further explained.

24°. You suppose me to be defending ye ceremonyes in dispute, when I am only 1° confuting them that make all Accidents, parts of worship and false worship or Idolatry if they haue not a particular divine institution; 2° And ye doctrine of th[em] that excommunicate all ye church of Christ for unlawfull ceremonyes.

25°. Particularly you write as if I pleaded that the crosse in baptisme (which I never used

in my life nor the surplice) is but a mode (and Cause
By which instances it appeares what worke mistake
do cause among us.

26. Mr Hickman (bred up neere me in his youth)
knows my mind and liketh it better than you
do. And he and I can confesse many humane in-
ventions when neither of us like renouncing
communion with all churches that use them
And ye words of his wch you recite are agt
Mr Ralphson and Dr Owen (from whom he dissented in Oxford)

27. When you say that I have not opposd Mr Ralph-
son but a notion of my own making, till you
answer what I have given as proofe from his
own words, it will passe but as another of yo
mistakes or untruths. The same I say of
Dr O & Mr Warner who expressly make
all that is in worship, belonging to it, or Acciden-
tall to be its parts that must have a particu-
lar Institution. And this mainly driveth against
a forme of words called a Liturgie: which had
it been only ye English I had scarce meddled
with Dr O. But it is all Liturgies as such,
and so an excommunication of ye body of
Christ the Catholick Church.

28° You again injuriously talke of adding affli-
ction. It's as if you said, give us leave to
call all men from communion with all Christs
church on earth, without opening our errour
or else you adde affliction to us. Sr if my
old Morall prognostication faile not, Satan
will sooner help you to a toleration for
not coming to any church, or worship of God
at all than us that are for publick church
worship. Remember when experience proveth
it that I told you, many nations will tole-
rate Atheisme and forbearing all publick
worship which will not tolerate Christianity
or Protestant publick worship, or

private church meetings where the publick are unlawfully managed. I conclude as I began. I do without dissembling thank you for your Bretherly warnings, and professe it's my duty to be cautelous in what I do. But I have shewed you by all these mistakes which you are guilty of, what a case ye poore church is in, and how comonly men put evill for good and good for evill and rashly believe & vend & propagate untruthes as verily thinking them the truth of God. Sr if you will ~~send me this Letter again &~~ let me see Dr O's larger papers which you say are intended for ye presse, I will do all in my power to stop mine agst him (tho ye Bookseller say 2 or 3 are sold already) And as I thank you for this, I will return them safely if they come in time. And I would hope they are not his own hand writing, because I know of old it is ye least Legible that I have seen of any Learned mans.

Yor servt

Ri: Baxter.

April. 1.

1684.

For the unknowne author
of an honest + friendly Letter
[illegible] Confuting Dr Owens
Manuscript

Reuerend Sr

I take my selfe very much beholden to you for yo last letter
not more willing to retract any error then a nother man to ta
to it, (as sone as I can discerne it) I were but a foolish enemie to m
owne soule: I think you neuer found any more willing to obey you
counsel when ye mistake is proued: but I cannot do all that every ma
expecteth till men are better agreed among themselues. that which
one thinkes ought to be retracted, another thinkes is a truth so
necessary that ye retractation of it sauoreth of heresie. it had bin
a double fauour if you had bin pleased long agoe when you first saw
that which you accounted error, to haue invited mee to a revocation
it, before I had continued in it so long: I should as gladly haue disowned
it to ye face of ~~[illegible]~~ tyrants as I shal do now; And if I professe to you that I scar
knowe a worke in ye world that I should more gladly addresse my
to than the entertainment of yt truth which I haue bin mo
injurious to by former error, I account this no matter of great com
=ation; for me thinkes there is nothing more natural to me as a man
to be desirous of knowing, & to loue ye truth especially to entertai
it with delight vppon new acquaintance, as beeing ye cure of fo
error, and by its noueltye hauing som aduantage to afect: and he
unworthy to be called a christian or a man that loueth not tru
so dearely as to account it his glory, and take it for his comfort to
owne it to ye shame of his former error or to the hazard of his carna
accomodations, if it be a truth of any considerable weight & use
but I must confesse sr I haue an understanding yt is not somu
lead by other mens authority, conceit or confidence, as some expect.
fame I would knowe more, & professe what I knowe, & therfore
exceedingly loue a teacher, yt will bring mee home ye light
evidence: but I never was moued with [knowe or I'le imprison
thee; recant or I'le ruine thee] no more then I should be moue
to loue a man that would say [loue mee or I'le hange thee or
thy throat] reason, true reason must do it, or nothing will do
with me: nor will I for favor, liberty or life, say I take that to
true or false which I do not: for them that work with Chalyb
arguments, I can quietly let them take their course: if my
silencing (which is ye most grievous) or my banishment, imprisonm
or death will satisfie ym, I am past doubt through ye helpe of go
that it shall be easyer to me yn ym, & that it shall make no grea
diminution of my peace, if it make not a great addition to my
comforts. I must professe to yo (as a freind) that I haue lately
expected suffering vppon this prognosticke; yt by ye late ~~mo~~ serious
study of christs sufferings through all his life, & ye reason of them, I a
growne if not to long to be conformed to my lord, at least to se no gre
hurt in suffering for any truth or duty: shal a superstitious zealot
take such pleasure, to haue a supposed chip of ye crosse of christ
or use ye signe of it, or see ye holy graue at Jerusalem, & shall I not
take more pleasure in ye fellowship of his sufferings, & following him wi
ye crosse which he hath commanded mee to beare. oh sr is there a
hope that when I haue almost worne out nature in a poore imperfect
service of my lord, I ~~should~~ shall end my work in suffering with him & wi
I haue so long stood so neare ye graue that now my death might b
so farre improued & sanctified as to be ye concluding acte of my obedien
I may easily be beleued by yo, if I tell yo that I shall not seeke for suffer
& truly I see not any such ~~great~~ hurt in it as should make mee fly
it at ye rate of sinning. I hauing toulde yo my generall thoughtes, I co
to ye prticulers & all that there I haue to say is, that if you will procu
mee a free & safe conference with any man in england that wi
giue mee reason & not railing & violence, I heare giue it yo unde
my hand, that I will do ye best I can to understand ye truth, & profe

[illegible] all ye errors hee shall convince mee of.
If you will favor mee so far as seriously yr selfe to peruse my
itings, before you judge, & then to chuse out the words expressin
he cheife errors that you desire me to recant, & anexe breefly yor
convincing arguments, I shall thankfully set open my mind to the
receiving of yor evidence. as to ye case of governmt & obedience,
there is no Theologicall difference at all among us, yt I knowe of,
but only about points of ye Lawe of ye land. & if I erred there, my
great error was in thinking that being ignorant of ye Lawes
I was unable to judg of lawe controversies, & that ye courtes of justic
are ye judges of it to ye subiect that is Ignorant, & ye hiest court
had ye finall judgmt. as a generall councill in church controver-
-sies, & a colledge of physicians in a case of medicine. I am satisfyed
that it is unlawfull to beare armes agt ye kings Authority or person
and that ye lawe is the kings publick governing will. but if I erred
it was by thinking that his privat will by a private messenger, yt
saith he hath a comission which I never sawe, was not to bee
understood as certainly as his publick governing will proclaimed
by his publick hiest court. And my errors in lawe I have little
reason to be tenacious of, being so ignorant in our lawe as
as indeed I am. Deare Sr yor friendly assistance by real
convincing evidence in this or any case, will be most
gratefull to yor obliged servt Ri Baxter

if ye choose any of ye Theses cited by ye Bp of worcester
I humbly crave yt you first consider them in my
owne Booke

Sir Mr E giving me leave I think good under my own hand to thank you for yr late letter
& to tell you I am much at one, My Melancholy is stirred up wth a little of spirit concerns
me to ward agst occasions from without as well as to take inward medicines The speech
to me of a choise dissenter when I espied wth E. J. yt I was pleased yt ye sp: purity of yr worship
lost by communicating did a little trouble me, as much as if Mr R had said to me wt
he did ~~him~~ to Mr Sparry lords day fortnight overtaking him as he came riding from a
2 preaching abroad Mr Sparry friendly asking him where he had been, yt day was (I
think) too confidently & ~~unchari~~ contemptuously answered. [illegible] Sr & worse then you
have been reflecting upon his communicating, wch I thus far mention to you yt
you may consider whether it may not be convenient to give him an admonition who
rayseth wth prejudice to one among ye good people agst some of his brethren, but I leave
that to yr prudence, wth renewed thanks I rest

yr obliged
I. W.

[illegible]

[illegible] think) we could [illegible]

[illegible] have been [illegible] communicating [illegible]

[illegible]

16

For the Reverend Mr Baxter
in London.

Leave with Mr Nevil Simmons ~~att~~
Bookseller att the three feathers
in Pauls churchyard

3

London

Reverend Sr

Whereas that Learned judicious and Godly divine (now with God) Dr Owen, did draw up some heads of Argument to be improved for ye defence of those dissenters who could not satisfie their consciences in holding communion with the Church of England in theire way of worship as established by Law; which tho as yet not prepared by any for ye designed end, have been spread abroad and are come to your sight and as tis reported you are writing an answer to ym, this is therefore humbly to desire you to stay a while, for those papers which in pursuance of the Drs designe are preparing for ye presse, which if you please shall be sent you in MS. and if you will send us your Animadversions on wch & [illegible] this Controversie be managed with that Love and Candor which becomes suffering and reproached Christians we will thank you: God knowes tho we cannot conforme soe far as you doe yett we are sincere Lovers of Truth, we pray for it and as ye Lord enables us we study hard to find it, but yet must professe the result of all to be this, every day more and more we are confirmed in our nonconformity; and are more then confident that we have better reasons for our staying from Church then you have for our going thither, however having some sence of our many infirmityes and weaknesses and knowing wee know but in part wee are willing to receive what helpe you or any other man can afford us, but desire that this present juncture disputes about matters of this nature be caryed on with all Christian meeknesse and compassion especially to ye suffering side, for some with greefe of soule speake it & pray ye Lord you may lay it to heart, that you and such others as have

have loaded us wth reproaches Charging us as guilty of great Sins and p
ing us to ye worlds Sufferers for our Sinns, when wee Suffer ye lash of
and 35th off Eliza: for not going to Church you have not only justifie
those whoe punish us but have (thow wee hope not designedly) [illegible]
animated them to add much sharpness to their former severity
seeing you know wee Cannot answer for our selves without falling unde
penallty of severall Lawes you deale not with us as you would be do
wth all your selfe, which wee judge is not faire, as in that answer of
to Mr Ralphson wherein you are soe Insultant and Satyrycall. You say you m
Testifie agt our Sinn but are you infallible or is it impossi
for you to Err: to speake plainly for the Lords Sake Consider is there
not Some of Selfe in it wn you writt this Invective, was
not his talking ffrivolously of K. B. ye moveing Cause [illegible] the
tartness of yor Answer, to ye Bishop of Cork and Rosse in ye
discourse he wth much Christian temper Admonished you of som
miscaryages, [illegible] moves me to feare you have Cause to Suspect yo
selfe; this wth all humility and due respect I offer to yor Serious
Consideracon the Good Lord Grant it may bee of Good use to you:
As to ye present Controversie you know yt a great many learned and God
Divines have offered very much agt ye Ceremonyes & against
kneeling at ye Reception of the Sacram: and if you were required
to Subscribe your Assent and Consent to every thing in ye ordinary
days Service & way of Administring ye Sacram in ye Church of Engl
I am apt to think you would decline it. Wee are of oppinion that
Cann be proved yt ye Church of England requires such Conformity as
an overt act of our approving those prayers and Ceremonyes &c yt they
make ym termes of our Communion wth them: and you say if a Congregacon
of men of Eminent Sanctity and order, should esteeme and worth
may by humane ffraylty take some one ffalshood or uncertaine
thing to be necessary to Communion; as some doe ye Antiquity of
the hebrew points, you Cannot have Locall Communion wth ym
ffor ye Same reason wee Cannot have locall Communion wth ye Church
off England and therefore are ffree ffrom Guilt.
But wt if wee were guillty of ~~that~~ Sinn in not going to ye Church
off England; is there noe way but printing to rebuke
or Could not you Satisfie your Conscience by writing to Mr
Ralphson: what must every good minister write bookes against
the Sinns of his neighbours and ffriends: or if you must
write agt our Sinns: why doe you not write allsoe agt persecu
and ye Sinns of those whoe take ye oxford Oath: I am sure yo
judged ye taking yt Oath a Sinn Some yeares agoe: you and ye gr
a Sinn as not going to Church: and looked on Persidiousness
Persecution & Perjury to be ye Crying Sinns of the nation wth

Guilt of ye latter you charged the Conforming Clergie, ye principall
Corporacons and parishes, all ye Militia and those nonconformists
tooke ye Oxford oath and you thought ye whole kingdome ought
humbled for this iniquity: and those now living that took this oath
guilty of so a great scandall hardning ye whole kingdome in their
But wn you heard the Church dissenters tooke this oath: yt is, those
that [illegible] goe to Church & Sacram; I say when you heard that ma
such to qualifie themselves for an office tooke ye Oxford oath
you were silent you gave noe testimony against, but advised some
to goe to Mr Humfrey to know how wth satisfaction they might
Committ soe great a sinn: you could not advise to it tis true
but Mr Humfrey could, and tho you were convinced it was soe grievous
a sinn yet you were content such men should committ it, and
as tis reported, now you are for takeing it and have promoted the
publication of Mr Corbett's book about it whereby you have pro
a sore temptacon to Mr Nat: Vincent who by Mr Corbett's
book and ye reputacon you have given it hath been convinced
of ye lawfullness of that oath as he himselfe professeth.
Sir have you altered your oppinion in good earnest, really I cannot believe
soe much, verely a man soe very much against it & soe tenacious of his
oppinions cannot suddenly change but if you think it still unlawfull
you are under a particular obligacon of clearing your selfe
and of witnessing agst this sinn, I beseech you therefore in the name
of the lord deale plainly in this matter doe nothing by partiality
doe as much to keepe us from sins of commission as from sins of
omission, doth ye land groane because of oaths persecution
perfidiousness and perjury and those sinns that cry aloud for devine
wrath and will you not endeavour to save mens soules from them
must you write against a not coming to Church a supposed sinn
tender consciences who are harrassed by ye execution of severall
Lawes and have you not one word against a plaine and manifest crying sinn
Reverend Sir I speake my conscience and hope you will take it in
part, it may be they are but a few that will deale faithfully wth you
but because I love and honour you I dare not be silent, it grieve
me to ye very soule to heare you soe much spoake against, but wh
troubles me most is your giving soe much occasion to open their
and that yet none will deale plainely and affectionately wth you: oh how many
~~who~~ by their silence when with you, have moved you to think
are of your oppinion in most things when in truth they are not.
Sir if you write any thing on Dr Owens reasons desire a sight of it,
that you would explaine your meaning more fully about worship
you blame Mr Ralphson, but yett acquitt not your selfe: me thinks
should be a great deale of difference betweene yt
ordering of worship wch you say is necessary stated by wt you call a subordin
particular) and ye Ceremonyes in controversie: for ye Ceremonyes in dispute
are some more then ye manner ordering instituted worship. the
not only modes but Medias of worship Surplice & Cross added to
seeme more then ye mode

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[illegible] greater then the Subordinate ordinance of Baptisme; ye Mr Hick[illegible] [illegible] of ye Bishop of Winchester's answer to Mr Knewstubbs in ye Conference att Hampton Court, will be a sufficient reply to all you have grounded on this distinction of yours against Mr Ralphson, but the Question was whether ye Church had power to institute an externall significant signe, to which among other things he had for answer that kneeling on ye Ground knocking on our breast and lifting up our hands are Cerimonyes significant yet are and may lawfully be used. But saith Mr H the Bp might as well have held his peace for tho these are significant Cerimonyes yet they are not the significant Cerimonyes ye nonconformists scruple, for the scrupled Cerimonyes are such as have humane institution ordained signification Mysticall Appropriation to Gods solemne worship and service soe farr Mr Hickman:

Now Sr whoever engages ~~[illegible]~~ in this controversie against humane Cerimonyes in religious worship does not confine his discourse to ye manner of preaching or reading or singing or praying but direct their argument against what is made a means of worship as prayer and preaching &c: I shall instance only at this time in the signe of ye Cross & the [illegible] many other Cerimonyes that are in common among those of the Church of England & Rome where it is prety manifest you have not opposed Mr Ralphson But a notion of your owne making from which alone you squeeze most dreadfull Consequences: and cann you quiet your selfe in the loading a sufferer with so much reproach by mistakes adding affliction to ye afflicted and will you treat ye dead after ye same manner, for ye Lords sake reflect on what you have done and consider well with your selfe before you publish any thing further I pray ye Lord to give you his blessing to have written

Yor sincere ffriend
and unworthy Brother

You are desired to returne
an answer by ye bearer who
knows where to leave it for me

~~70~~17

Vol. 6.
BAXTER
LETTERS.

fol.246. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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x

My Lord

Being by Episcopall Ordination vowed to the Sacred Ministry, and bound not to desert it when by Painfull disease and debility I waited for my Change, I durst not spend my Last dayes in Idleness; and knew not how better to serve the Church then by writing a Paraphrase on ye New Testament Purposely fitted to the use of ye most Ignorant and the Reconciling of Doctrinall Differences about texts variously Expounded. Farre was it from my designe to reproach the Church or draw men from it, having therein Pleaded for Diocesans as Successours of the Apostles over many Churches though I confute the Overthrowing Opinion which setteth them over but one Church, denying the Parishes to be Churches. But some Persons it is Like offended at other Passages in the Booke, have thought fitt to say that I scandalize the Church of England; and an Information being Exhibited in the Kings Bench and a Tryall before a Comon Jury, on my Owning the Booke, the forthwith found me Guilty without hearing my Defence. And I have cause to Expect a severe Judgment the begining of the next Terme and all this on a Charge that my unquestionable words, were Meant by me to scandalize ye Church, which I utterly deny. If God will have me end a Painfull weary Life by such a Suffering I hope I shall finish my Course with Joy but my Conscience Comandeth me to value the Churches Strength and Honour before my Life, and I Ought not to be silent under the scandall of Suffering as an Enemy to it, Nor would I have my Sufferings increase Mens Prejudice against it. I have Lived in its Comunion, and Conformed to as much as the Act of Uniformity Obliged one in my Condition. I have drawne Multitudes into ye Church, and Written to Justify the Church & Ministry against Seperation when the Paraphrase was in the Press: and my displeasing Writings (whose Eagerness & faults I Justify not) have been my Earnest Pleadings for the healing of a divided People and the Strengthening of the Church by Love and Concord on Possible termes. I owe satisfaction to yow that are my Diocesan, & therfore presume to send you a Copy of the Information against me, And my Answer to the Particuler accusations: humbly intreating yow to spare so much tyme from your weighty business, as to peruse them or referre them to be perused for your satisfaction. I would faine send with them one sheet [in vindication of my slandered Life and Loyalty and of Positive Proofs that I Meant not to accuse ye Church of England, & of ye danger of Exposing ye Clergie to Charges of thoughts and Meanings as Prejudice shall Conjecture] but for feare of displeasing yow by Length. For Expositions of Scripture to be thus tryed by such Juries as often as they are but called Sedition is not the Old way of Managing Church Differences, & of what Consequence yow will easily Judge. If your Lordship be satisfied that I am no Enemy to ye Church & that my Punishment will not be for its Interest, I hope yow will vouchsafe to present my petition to his Matie that my appeale to ye Church may suspend ye sentence, till my Diocesan or who his Matie shall appoint may heare me & report their sence of the Cause. By which yor Lordship will I doubt not many wayes serve ye wellfare of ye Church, as well as Oblige Your Languishing Humble Servant

Worthy and ~~most~~ much honoured freind 19 Tottridge Jan 16. 1670

I at last received yours, and take my selfe obliged to give you some account
my apprehensions of it. The freedome as you call it wch you exercise is
too much, but such a plaine expression of your thoughts, as I take to
best becomming honest men, though flattery is now so much expected,
it goeth for a great duty, & ye want of it for offensive sowernes;
men can suit their words truely to ye thing they speake of, wthout any
savour of uncharitablenes. And ye honour wch you disclaime I mentioned
not as that wch was regardable by you, but as duty in me, had I gone
that way to worke. And all this assureth me yt a free returne of my thoug
will not be distastfull to you. As to ye scope of your letter, I doubt not but yo
write according to your opinion in a zeale off God and truth & scripture,
but I thinke, not according to knowledge. That you are confident in your
opinion is no wonder: It is so wth almost all mankind. For men know what
reall or seeming evidence appeareth to ymselves, but they know not any of
that wch appeareth not unto ym, how clearly soever it be knowne to
others. Therefore while a man knoweth but in part, and knoweth not
how much more is yet unknown to him, or knowne to others, he cannot
know yt he erreth, for then he should cease to erre. For goodnes &
sincerity I unfeignedly take you to be very farre above my selfe.
But for ye right judging of those points in controversy before us, I sup-
pose you to erre, as confidently as you suppose me to erre. You are per-
swaded that you judge according to ye word of God, and I am as much p
~~you~~ perswaded that I judge according to it. And if it were not so, we
did not differ. And as you entitle Christ and his word to your opinion
do not wonder if I do so by mine. And if ye zeale of Christ make you
wish that I did not make knowne my judgment, wonder not if it make me
wish as much that you had neither received nor made knowne yours. I
am afraid of being selfe conceited and proud of my owne understanding,
that is of thinking more highly of it than is meete, when I consider how
worthy a person I dissent from. But then if I should dissent from thou-
sands as worthy, yea from ye universall church, since ye dayes of
ye apostles till now, I should be lesse able to lift up my face against ye
same accusation. And though I make not man ye master of my faith,
yet I find on my selfe a strong obligation in point of reason and hu-
mility to suspect my owne poore darke understanding, when it wou
seeme wiser in a palpable matter of history than allmost all ye church of
Christ, from ye beginning untill now. In doctrinall Reasonings may give
one man so much advantage of another, yt I am apt to be much in doubt
in such controversies, where ye evidence is not very cleare and cogent
But in matters of fact, where I have nothing to do but know by his-
tory what hath been ye constant practice of ye churches, I take

no more pride to be Confident of what J know; & cannot but know,
than to be Confident yt J read your Letters. And your historicall nar-
ratiue of ye Lords day, J am assured is so farre from true, as J
am heartily sorry you will venture to thinke, without better en-
quiry, yt wch competent acquaintance wth history might, almost
as easily haue shewed you to be untrue, as if you had denyed as
much ye custome of baptizing. J thanke you for your warning
not to gather things hastily from Indices of bookes, or Citations of
Authors: My library is neere an hundred miles from me; but J purpos
not to cite any authors wch J haue not long agoe read. Its about 30 ye
since J studyed my selfe into full satisfaction in this matter, as to y
point of church-practice from ye Apostles dayes till now. J suppose yo
thoughts of it haue bin of later beginning, & yt yor time & other occa-
sions haue not allowed you to turn over so many bookes about it, as J
haue done. And J would take it for a fauour, if you or any friend of
yors will name me one church, or one Christian, yea or one Heretick,
yt denyed not ye resurrection, & so was unfit for ye name of a seem-
ing Christian, yt euer was against ye separation of ye Lords day to holy
worship till later times. J confesse yt J cannot say there was none; but J
remember not to haue read in all ye fathers, Councills, church history,
or Epiphanius, Augustine, throughout or Philastrius Catalogue of Hereticks, of any
church, sect, party, or person, christian, or other Hereticks yt euer once
made question of it. Are not you & J then at great odds in our historicall opi-
nion? Do you thinke yt Antichrist was ye Author of all ye Christian Assemblies
by wch yt day hath been celebrated from ye Apostles times till now? Was
Antichrist ye Author of ye workes of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, O-
rigene, Ignatius, Eusebius, Athanasius, & all ye rest of ye Antients yt record it.
If it be so great a part of Gods discouery of late as you imagine, why was
Dr Pocklington, and Dr Heylin (who hath said much more agt ye Lords
day sabbath then euer you did or any other of late times) & Laud &c ac-
counted ye aduersaries of truth for their endeauours? J speake not of thei
opinion of ye 7th day (in wch they were against you) but of ye first day,
in wch they tooke your part, and said in effect ye same yt you do. And was
it not God yt reuealed it to ym, if it be he that reuealeth it to you? Its like
so, because truth is ye same in whose hands soeuer. And its no excesse
of humility to thinke, yt all ye later churches, euen of Presbyterians, Inde-
pendts, Anabaptists, & all other parties now among us, who are commonly agt
your judgment, are as unlike to be all forsaken of God in this point
as you and ye few yt you know of your opinion. J speake none of this
to call you to a humane faith, but to tell you yt were J on our side with
few as you are in ye end of ye world, & not one Church that J know o

joine wth you) And all ye Christian world since ye Apostles daies,
ye other, I should think yt ordinary humility bound me, to proceed w
lesse Confidence than your words import, & wth greater suspition
of my owne understanding. As for ye Empire in ye East, you talke
of, I suppose you meane an Empire of unlearned ignorant Christians
in ye South, even Abassia in Ethiopia, who do indeed keepe both
daies, and also Circumcision & many other Jewish ceremonies;
But they never questioned yt can be proved, ye Divine separation of
ye Lords day. But of those things I hope to give you a fuller account
otherwise, though you consent not. While you thinke yt I am agt
ye word, & I thinke you are agt it, you may allow ye same reasons
for my pleading for what I take to be Truth, as I do for yours: And
wch of us soever it be, yt proveth to be in ye wrong, will be ye over-
valuer of his owne understanding.//

When you talke of my being excellent of late but in one thing, you
erre if you thinke that I was ever excellent in any thing; medio-
crity in so great a worke as I have lived in; is higher than I dare pretend to;
though in my greatest ignorance I may have leave to lament ye greater ignorance
of many that think ymselves wise too easily. And pardon me while I tell you, that
you seeme to make your own understanding [illegible] too confidently ye measure of your
estimation of others; while you count yt an excellency wch suiteth wth your own opinion,
though it be but fundamentally a point of Law, wherein so great a number of those
whose churches you will not enter, & whose lives neither you nor I comend, were
thus excellent long before me. Why should I be accounted excellent for doing that
which multitudes of ye most debauched in ye land do? I suppose you will not
venture to say, that there is any known Theologicall difference between ye
parties; both being agreed yt every soule must be obedient to ye higher powers
and not resist. (Though it is sad that Law-Differences should have such woful
Consequents, as they had.) The 5th Commandmt is (even in ye sense) acknowledged
on both sides; But Christ himself was accused for treason for giving so dark
an answer about ye Roman power, when he was asked: And Paul would not tell
the Romanes whether ye Senate or Emperour were ye higher power, when
he charged all to obey the higher power; because it was not a point
of Theology; And yet ye ignorance of it might have cast ym into such cala-
mities as ours, if ye Emperour and Senate had gone to war, and each ~~he~~ com-
manded ye Christians to assist them.// As to your judgmt of Formes, and of my
books, & of my going to ye publick Assemblies where you left me 8 yeares agoe,
I have little more to say, than that I believe that you speake as you thinke,
& yt what you do is in ye uprightnes of your heart, though wth a mistaking
& yet over confident judgmt. Wch I may have leave to thinke till you or some
e hath given better proofe of your opinion, than yet I ever saw. I had
be left by you at a Church [illegible]

[illegible] I am sorry that you ~~must~~ should be one that I must part with; unlesse
you had led me to a better church, where I might ~~have~~ ordinarily have
solemnely worshiped my Creator & Redeemer; For what day soever prove
ye right I am sure, It should be separated principally to publick Church Com-
munion & holy worship; And I will not plead for ye first day, and keepe
none; nor will I prefer no=church & No=worship, before ye Parish Chur-
ches where are some humbler and better Pastors than my selfe,

And as to our discourse of Images, wch you mention, I did & do confesse, yt
taking Imago largely for Signum or Representatio, & not for simulacrum
& Idolum as ye 2 Commandmt doth, So a forme of prayer is an Image of
ye prayer of ye mind, & so is extemporate prayer, & so are all words, &
so are all writings, & bookes, & so is your Letter to me, an Image of those
religious thoughts wch it expresseth: And if I were of your mind yt no such
Image is Lawfull wch man inventeth, I should thinke a printed Bible
~~were~~ unlawfull, & every booke, & sermon & prayer yt ever I saw
or heard unlawfull. I told you then yt scripture doth not any otherwise
determine, whether we shall print ye Bible, or divide it into chapters & verses,
nor what words it shall be translated into, nor wch translation to use, nor in metre
of psalmes, nor wt tunes, nor wt method, and words each sermon shall be in, nor
whether we shall use notes for memory &c than by Generall Rules (as 1 Co all to e-
dification, in order &c) And while I find you in these either of a contrary opinion
or saying nothing agt such unsound consequences, wch if owned would set all
churches & christians in ye Quakers silence, I must needs thinke yt you
expound Gods word without his word, and take your owne addition for his word.
And I am past doubt yt your making ye scripture a rule not only for faith, worship &
holy living, but so much more as you intimated to me, even a particular as well as
generall rule, for every circumstance of these and every other duty, is a greater mis-
take, & of more perilous tendency, yn I thinke meet now to expresse to you, having
done it in another manner. If it do make void all yt Lawes of ye Land, wch be not Scrip-
ture, & all ye precepts of parents to their children, then how can you found your opinion agt
ye unlawfullnes of ye late warres, upon ye Lawes, when you must take ym to be all un-
lawfull, as being additions to ye perfect word of God. And as I remember you supposed
(or denyed not) yt according to yr exposition of ye 2 Commandmt, a Catechisme or a forme of prayer is
an Idol, wch a parent or mr shall teach his child, & a forme of prayer wch such a one as Calvin
Hildersham, Gibbs &c shall compose for himselfe, & a sermon wch he composeth by study into
method & words for ye people. But I am not grown so mortifyed in my Reason, nor so venturous of
my soule, as to believe such things, & to choose rather to be of ye church wch is of yor opinion (wch
I never was acquainted with) yn of yt Universal church wch in all ages hath been agt it. And I
thinke by this rule you must take ye Creed for an Idol also, because [illegible] is not in scripture
when I thinke of ye confidence yt can animate such opinions, & ye tendencie of ym, blame me
not to be as sorry for you, as you are for me, there being few persons whose sincerity I e-
ver loved & honoured more yn yors. If my papers on these subjects shall see ye light, I beg only an
patient impartiall consideration of ye evidence wch they offer you, whether it be of God
or not. But to do it without strong prejudice, is a request to high for me to offer you. I leave
[illegible] for light to either of you [illegible] life. Your most hearty lover & Honourer &

4 If it be for not Repenting 1. Can you bring all the sinners about us to repentance by excommunicating them why then are the openly wicked so numerous 2. Do you thinke men can change their Judgemt merely because they are comanded or excommunicated. If a man study & pray & endeavour to ye uttmost to know the truth, & you say yt yet he erreth, will a censure cure his understanding E.g. a Nestorian, a Monothelite, an Anabaptist &c; Much lesse when a man knoweth yt he is in the right, & the censurer fighteth against Truth & Duty. ||

Men in some diseases will rage at ye sight of certaine things, wch would not much trouble ym if the disease were cured. Macedonians & Nestorians that were judged Hereticks ymselves, could not beare the Bps & meetings of the Novatians: But Atticus could, and they lived together in christian Love. I know those places now in England where a Conformable and nonconformable minister live in so great Love & the later go stil to ye parish churches, & the former sometimes come to ym as yt no considerable trouble ariseth by their differences: And I know other places where the publike ministrs cannot beare any yt heare not ymselves, yea or yt [illegible] constantly hearing ym, heare any other yt dissenteth. But they seeke to winne dissenters as Fowlers would bring birds to the net by shouting & throwing stones at ym, & anglers would catch fish by beating the waters.

VI I will tel you also yt I much dissent from you in yt when I told you yt the tyranny of Prelates hath done more hurt than the disobedience and discord of the People towards ym, you said you do not thinke so. Qu. Do you thinke yt theeves have killd as many men as warres have done? If it be true yt Julius Cæsar & his Armies killed 1192000 persons besides those yt he slew in the civill warres, yt Darius lost at once 200000, & abundance of such instances in lower degrees may be given, sure poor theeves & murderers come farre short of this acct: And so it is in the present case. Gregory Nazia was a wise & good man, who saith the people were factious & too unruly, but (at Court.) were honest & meant well: But how sadly doth he describe the Bps as Raging over in their Councils, & as the farre greater causes of al calamity: Judge by ye twenty instances yt I before gave you about their Excommunication: How few Heresies or Schismes were they of old yt the Bps were not the notorious causes of. The Samosatenians, Apollinarians, Macedonians Nestorians, Acephali & Monothelites, yea the Donatists, Novatians, & Phantastiks, & almost all; The Arrians began by a Presbiter, but if Petavius cite them truly (as he doth) two many Bps led him the way: & most of the Bps followed, & were the men that kept up & increased the heresie, farre beyond ye People or the presbyters. Eutichus a Monke began his cause: But he was quickly contemned by his followers, & did little in comparison of Dioscorus, Severus, & many hundred more Bps.// And is it the people or the Bps yt now keep East & West in mutuall Damnations: Have the peoples divisions done more harme, than the Papall Schisme & usurpations & Cruelties, killing about 2000000s as is said of Albigenses & Waldenses, the Inquisitions bloody warres agt the Germane Emperors & many English Kings, ye rebellion agt the Greek Emperor Leo Isaurus, & destruction of the Easterne Empire, or Smithfield ~~empire~~ Bonefires & innumerable other cruelties, desolations, heresies & schismes? Are al these lesse than the abuse of libertie by inferiors, in praying, preaching or disorders? "Judge Hale saith yt he had a friend "yt stored a very great pond of 3 or 4 acres wth a "great number of fish, & at 7 years end only "put in two very smale Pikes, & at ye draught of "his pond there was not one fish left, but the two "Pikes grown to an excessive bignes & all the "rest wth their millions of fry devoured by the "paire of tyrants. Hale of the Orig. of man. Sect 2 c. 9. p. 208. The Blocke had ~~bin~~ bin a better ruler. The Lord forgive ye Presbyterians their overkeenes agt Sects, before the Pikes have made an End of them. Pardon truth to, Yor Servt. R. B.

For Mr Dodwell

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Arguments for prædetermination.

1 Arg: The certainty of divine p^escience cannot be maintained wth out asserting physicall p^edetermination for ye certainty of Gods p^escience depends not only upon his decrees concerning contingents w^t shall be future & w^t not but upon an infallible execution of those decrees. now being y^t nothing can infallibly execute y^e æternall decrees of God but only physicall p^edetermination it follows y^t ye certainty of divine p^escience cannot be maintained wth out asserting physicall p^edetermination

2 Arg: The denyall of physicall p^edetermination destroys Providence for ye worke of providence is to appoint every thing its p^ticuler end and to carry it out to an infallible attaim^t of y^t end, now its hardly imaginable how all ye creatures should be carryed out to ye appointed ends soe as never to misse of y^m: in case we assert not a divine p^emotion f^m God wch does direct those creatures, w^ch, ~~and~~ not furnished wth Principles to understand ye will of God, to act towards their appointed End. it would be strang to see all ye Creatures wch have not Principles of their owne to direct y^m to hit by ~~the~~ chance upon their severall ends wch must of necessity be graunted in case we deny this divine p^emotion: That Philosopher's Opinion is as probable as this wch maintaines y^t ye world was made by an accidentall concourse of Atomes. 252

3 Arg: If there be noe such thing as this p̄motion then theire is a positive being in ye world wch: has not an imediate dependence upon & production fro: God. by this positive being I meane ye Action of a Creature wch: if ye: Creature be not excited & determined to by p̄determination it will not be easy to conceive how ye Action has its imediate dependance upon and p̄duction fro: God. Now to say yt there may be a positive being wch: has not an imediate dependance upon God is to destroy ye very formalitye of a Creature and to be not a little injurious to ye independency of ye: Creatr.

4 Arg Evry creature wch: is [illegible] in ye same way subordinate to God as a passive instrumt: is to a free agent: must of necessity be determined by God in every Action but all creatures are in ye same way subordinate to God Ergo: both Script. and Reason makes ye Minor manifest Is: 10. 5 O Assyrian ye Rod of mine Anger 15 v. shall ye axe boast it selfe against him yt heweth therewth.

Reason because all ye Creatures are more subordinate to God both in their beings and Actions then one Creature is to another therfore if one Creature has such dependance upon another as it cannot act except it be determined by it none of ye Creatures can act except they receive this p̄motion fro God.

5 Arg It's manifest yt ye divine will did concurr wth ye humane will of Xt. by way of p̄determination for Xt declares Joh: 5. yt he could doe nothing of himselfe & attributes all to ye ~~his~~ ffather this principle being supposed it will follow yt God concurres in ye same way wth ye will of evry man; for if ye will of evry man does as much depend upon ye will of God as ye humane will of Xt. upon ye divine then ye consequence is good but ye will of evry man depends as much upon God as ye humane will in Xt upon ye divine if not then ye will of evry man is especially more p̄fect then ye humane will in Xt. for dependance speakes imp̄fection Therfore where there is a lesser degree of dependance there must be more essentiall p̄fection

Excuse the Transcriber a young Scholler.

Dr Hill

Sr
as to your letter for wch I thanke you, I willingly
acknowledge ye Trinity in unity & Xt to be not meere man
but true God, in ye scripture sense, therefore I am
a Christian, then as to your syllogism, you know yt I denie
ye minor wch if it should be false, how great must ye errour
needs be, wch unchristians all ye Apostles & primitive Xtians
& all true believers in ye world quâ such;
if I graunted both your propositions your argument
would not conclude me to be no Xtian, but only no
perfect Xtian, & surely such of my adversaries, can be
no good ones who are not only so erroneous & stiff in
their errours but so uncharitable also.

for ye present I must denie ye major. viz:
He yt denieth yt in Xt wch is most essential in him, denieth Xt
for admit your minor was true, yet Jesus was called
Xt, in respect of his unction; but God above whom
there is no other God (as Justin martyr according to ye
mode of those times oft calls ye Father) cannot be anointed.
Maldonate in Evang. thinkes yt ye disciples did not
know ye eternal generation till after ye resurrection
& yet they knew yt Jesus was ye Xt ye sonne of ye
living God wch seem to be used as words of ye same
importance Matth. 16. 16. Joh. 6. 69. & marke & luke
say only — thou art ye Xt. & for this confession
were declared blessed.

Justin martyr sayth yt many orthodox Xtians placed
ye Divinity of Xt in his unction as I noted before,
but I doubt you will hardly find one good Testimony
in any of ye three first Centuries for yt wch you account
most essential I have read ym & can find no such
thing, but of ye Arrian opinion enough, for
surely Origens Testimonie for matter of Historie what
was or was not believed in ye churches must needs
be of great Authoritie. see contra Celsum. li. 8 ([illegible]) p.
where he sayth yt it is no wonder yt some few amongst
so great a multitude of believers, should hold rashly

p— σωλῦσα τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν δε
but wee (sayth he) doe not hold so, who beleive
himselfe, saying, my Father is greater than I.
what a multitude was there then of no xtians, in
those days & after, when ye world groaned under
Arrianisme when Athanasius was against ye
world, & ye world was against Athanasius &
ye Arrian Councells were most & biggest, when
Constantius said (as Theodoret reports) quis tu es
Liberi, qui solus cum scelerato isto (Athan:)
li: 2. c: 16 facis? — num authoritas urbis major est quam
authoritas orbis?

To confesse Jesus to be ye xt is next to nothing
since ye grand Apostacy, but in ye primitive
Church an exalted Saviour was in better request:
it was to warpe indeed, in my opinion, to budge
a foot from yt towards any Angelical or superangeli=
=cal essentialities or personalities, call ym what
you will, for they could not tell what to call ym
first. wch produce yt noted saying of Hierom: obtestor
beatitudinem tuam per crucifixum, ut mihi vel
dicendarum vel tacendarum hypostaseων detur li=
=bertas; I glory in yt one mediatour, ye man
xt Jesus, made Lord & xt — ps. 8. Lord what
is man &c.

All ye world hath seemed to apprehend some re=
=pugnancy to reason, but I have seldome troubled
my selfe to confute yt opinion by reason, adhering
wholly to Scripture; nor doe I know any yt pretend
to use reason more in yt case, than Protestants
use to doe in ye point of transubstantiation
I am not wholly unexercised in philosophie new
& old & doe beleive by what I have read in
Mornay & others & yt little discourse I had with
you, yt I guesse at your method;

Once I heard a ffreind of mine bewaile ye ill successe
wch Keckerman had with Goslavius a Bebelno; but
for my part let any man prove his opinion by scrip-
=ture & I will renounce my philosophy

If you had applied ye superangelical nature to ye
holyspirit, who is ye Angell of Gods presence
Is. 63. 9. 10. I should have liked it & for ye
union of God with Xt or Xts being partaker of ye
divine nature, who can deny it in Xt who acknow-
=ledgeth it in Xtians 2. pet. 1. 4. though in Xt
more eminently & transcendently ye spirit of God
without measure perpetually resideing in him.

But in my owne defence & to prove I am a
Xtian. let me syllogize too.

Hee yt beleiveth yt Jesus Xt was conceived by ye
holyspirit according to ye Creed [& luc. 1. 35.]
beleiveth him to be principally & more fully to be
called ye sonne of God than of man, even ac-
=cording to his humanity.

But I beleive yt Jesus Xt was &c. ergo.

The major is your owne. of origin. sinne. p. 222. l. 19.

The minor is my confession & ye confession of all
Christians. if so then sure I beleive him to be ye
sonne of God, ye Xt. ergo. I am a Xtian.

& to give ye minor more full weight, I beleive
moreover according to ps. 2. 7. Ro. 1. 4. yt Xt
was regenerated as ye sonne of God, by ye resur-
=rection from ye dead, by ye almighty power &
spirit of God, in respect of his immortal, impassible
& glorious body & his being enstated into all
power both in heaven & in earth. how then doe I
hold a person of such dignity & majesty to be
a meere man; how a meere man even in respect
of his essence as our exterminating Drs are pleased
to say: But rather as ye Kings sonne

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must needs be a priest, so Gods Sonne must needs be a God, though not God himselfe no more than ye Prince is ye King, understanding those things in Scriptural sense & such as implys no imperfection. These things are cleare enough but education interest, corrupt philosophy, ye pretended authority of ye church, & ye clamours of Apostates, are of mighty power to entoxicate men against ye clearest arguments. I know also yt ye inscrutable judgment of God must concurr who lays stumbling blocks even in Scripture. see Tertull. de praescript. c.39 nec periclitor dicere ipsas quoque Scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas, ut haereticis materias subministrarent, quum legam oportere haereses esse, quae sine Scripturis esse non possunt. I said Apostates, for who can denie, but yt as to this controversie ye pope of Rome hath been all along as orthodox as ye best of you. youl say he holds yt there is a God; I reply but not as a Xtian. One said to me, ye pope is exactly orthodox in ye Trinitie ergo he is not Antixt. I answered Hee is Antixt therefor search him well upon yt head & cry, for that.

The Lord give us understanding in all things.